THE SVRVEY OF CHRISTS SVFFERINGS FOR MANS redemption: AND OF HIS DESCENT TO HADES OR HEL *for our deliuerance:*

D-4-29

By THOMAS BILSON Bishop of Winchester.

BIBL CANT CAD

The Contents whereof may be seene in certaine Resolutions before the Booke, in the Titles ouer the Pages, and in a Table made to that end.

ROM. 6. V. 10.
In that (Christ) died, he died to sinne ONCE.
ROM. 10. V. 6. & 7.
Say not in thine heart, Who shall descend to the bottomlesse deepe?
That is to bring Christ backe from the dead.
AVGVST. Epist. 99.
Quod fuerit anima mortificatus Iesus, quis audeat dicere?
That Iesus was dead in soule, who dare auouch?
Quis nisi Infidelis negauerit fuisse apud Inferos Christum?
Who but an Infidell will denie Christ was in Hell?

Perused and allowed by publike Authoritie.

LONDON,
Printed by *Melchisedech Bradwood* for *Iohn Bill.*
M. DC. IIII.



1059.94

TO THE HIGH AND MIGHTY, WISE, AND RELIGIOVS PRINCE,

IAMES by the grace of God King of *Great Brittaine*, *France*, and *Ireland*, *Defender of the true and Christian Faith &c.*

MOst religious and renowned Prince, if the Heathen, reaching no farther than the light of Nature could leade them, sawe those Common-weales would soone flourish, whose Gouernors were giuen to the study of Philosophy; how much rather must Christians ascribe that to heauenlie Wisdome, which they did to earthly, and confesse those Realms to be blessed indeed, where the chiefe Rulers are carefull to seeke first the Kingdome of God, & to prefer the loue of true pietie before all respect of humane policie? For since Gods purpose and promise is to *honour them that honour him*; and no good thing can be wanting to those that rightly worship him according to his will; how liberall benedictions & mercifull protections may those Princes hope for at Gods hands, who set their hearts wholly to seeke him, and make all their wayes straight in his sight? This fauour from heauen, to be guided by good and godly Princes, the Realme of England hath tasted a long time, to their no small comfort; whiles for these 45 yeeres by the Christian care of a most milde and gratious Queene, (now with God) they haue beene directed to the trueth of the Gospell of Christ; and defended in peace from the violence of all impeachers and impugners of either. And after her decease, though our vnthankfulnesse had prouoked the wrath of God, and our vnfruitfulnesse well deserued, the Kingdome of God should be taken

1. Sam. 2.

from vs; yet he that is rich in mercie towards all that call on him, reſpecting more the glory of his name, leſt his enemies ſhould blaſpheme, than any worthineſſe of ours, not onely continued, but increaſed his accuſtomed goodneſſe to vs; and gaue your Maieſtie, being the lineall and rightfull heire to the Crowne of this Realme, a preſent and peaceable entrance with the greateſt applauſe of all ſtates, ſorts, and ſides, that hath beene ſeene theſe many ages; and ſpecially of the godlie, who ſaw the happineſſe of the former gouernment would be doubled by the manifolde gifts and graces of your Chriſtian and Princely integrity, clemency, bounty, wiſdome, and piety. And ſurely their hope hath not deceiued them: for who ſo hath rightly diſcerned, and duely conſidered your benignesſe of nature, your ripeneſſe of iudgement, your deepneſſe of wiſdome, your vprightneſſe of iuſtice, your readineſſe to mercie, your bounteouſneſſe to the beſt, your euenneſſe to all, your deſire of peace, your care of your people, your fauour to your Cleargie, and reſpect to your Church; your promptneſſe in profeſsing, and ſtedfaſtneſſe in eſtabliſhing the true ſeruice of God amongſt vs, which your Highneſſe hath conſtantly ſhewed ſince you came to the Crowne, can not but acknowledge that to be iuſtly applied to your Maieſtie, which was firſt ſayd of Salomon: *Bleſſed be the Lord your God, which loued you to ſet you on the Throne* (of all Britaine) *becauſe the Lord loued this land, & made you King to doe equitie and iuſtice: happie are thoſe your ſeruants, which ſtand euer before you, and heare your wiſdome.* Whereof, becauſe it pleaſed God and your Maieſtie, I ſhould attend you aſwell at your Table in your firſt Progreſſe into theſe Countries of Surrey and Hampſhire, as at your conference for matters of Religion, and aſſemblie of States for the welfare of this Realme, I can beare certaine and aſſured witneſſe; as likewiſe can the reſt of your Nobles and Biſhops then preſent; who all, with no leſſe admiration than contentation, heard, with what ſharpneſſe of vnderſtanding, matureneſſe of knowledge, ſoundneſſe of reaſon, firmneſſe of memorie, and aptneſſe of ſpeech, your Highneſſe entred, debated and reſolued the greateſt and hardeſt points of diuine and humane wiſdome; ſhewing in euery of them ſuch dexteritie, perſpicuitie, and ſufficiencie, as I profeſſe

feſſe before God without flattery, I haue not obſerued the like in any man liuing. As therefore I iudge the whole Realme bleſſed and beloued of God for giuing them a Prince of ſuch rare prudence, intelligence, and experience; ſo doe I after the example of the Apoſtle *thinke my ſelfe happy*, that I ſhall this day bring theſe matters in queſtion before ſo learned, religious, and iudicious a King, no leſſe skilfull in the ſacred Scriptures, than carefull to continue the true Chriſtian faith thorowout his Dominions, without diſſenting from the will of God reuealed in his Word, or departing from the primitiue Church of Chriſt in her beſt and pureſt times. Act. 26.

May it then pleaſe your excellent Maieſtie to be enformed, that vpon ſome mens too much forwardneſſe to innouate as well the doctrine as the diſcipline of the Church of England, (they thinking thoſe deuices alwayes beſt, which are neweſt) it was rife in Pulpits, and vſuall in Catechiſmes, that the death of Chriſt Ieſus on the Croſſe, and his bloudſhed for the remiſſion of our ſinnes, were the leaſt cauſe and meane of our redemption; but he did, and muſt ſuffer *the death of the ſoule, and the very ſame paines which the damned doe in hell*, before we could be ranſomed from the wrath of God; and this was that deſcent of Chriſt to hell, which we are taught by the Creed to beleeue. This opinion began to preuaile ſo faſt, that children were trained to it, and the people led to controle the Scriptures, as not rightly deliuering the true cauſe of our redemption by Chriſt, in that they mention no meane to ranſome vs from death and hell, but the bloud of his croſſe, and death admitted in the bodie of his fleſh; and therefore in all ſuch places we muſt (as they ſay) by a kinde of Synecdoche conceiue the death of the damned to haue beene ſuffered for a ſeaſon in the ſoule of Chriſt, and that to be the full and perfect price of our redemption. I was much grieued, I confeſſe to your ſacred Maieſtie, to finde this ſo often in Catechiſmes, and frequent in Pulpits, and without iuſt ground in the Word of God to be ſo confidently blazed, whiles the doctrine of this Realme, propoſed by publike authoritie to the people in the Booke of Homilies, was neglected and loathed: And vpon conference with the moſt reuerend Father the late Archbiſhop (now with God)

was

was aduiſed in open audience to deliuer, what the Scriptures teach touching our redemption by the death and bloudſhedding of Ieſus Chriſt the Sonne of God. Which accordingly I did, declaring by occaſion of the Apoſtles words, *Be it far from me to reioyce, but in the Croſſe of Chriſt*, firſt the *Contents*, and then the *Effects* of Chriſtes croſſe. In the *Contents* of Chriſtes croſſe I ſhewed what Chriſt ſuffered by the witnes of holy Scripture, and what he ſuffered not; and there ioyned this iſſue; That no Scripture doth teach *the death of Chriſts ſoule*, or *the paines of the damned*, to be requiſite in the perſon of Chriſt, before he could be the Ranſomer of our ſinnes, and Sauiour of the world. And becauſe the proofs, pretended for this point, might be three; *Prædictions*, that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer thoſe paines; *Cauſes*, why he muſt ſuffer them; and *Signes*, that he did ſuffer them: I likewiſe inſiſted on all three, and ſhewed there were no ſuch *Prædictions*, *Cauſes*, nor *Signes* of the true paines of hell to be ſuffered in the ſoule of Chriſt, before he could ſaue vs. Wherein, his Agonie in the Garden, and Complaint on the Croſſe were examined, as well by the rules of holy Scripture, as by the maine conſent of all the Fathers. And leſt the death of Chriſt ſuffered in the bodie of his fleſh on the altar of the Croſſe, as it is deſcribed in the Scriptures, and the ſhedding of his precious bloud ſhould be diſabled or diſtruſted of any, as no ſufficient meanes or price of our redemption; in the *Effects* of Chriſts croſſe, I prooued the *merits of Chriſtes ſuffering* to be *infinite* in reſpect of his perſon, who was God, and of the perfection of his obedience vnto the death of the Croſſe; the *maner of his offering to be bloudie* foreſhewed by the Sacrifices of the Law, and ſealed by the Sacraments of the Goſpell; the *power* of his *death* to be *mightie* as able to conquer Sinne, Hell, and Satan; the *comfort* of his *Croſſe* to be *neceſſarie* to which we muſt all be conformed to ſuffer with him, before we can raigne with him; the *victorie* thereof to be *heauenly*, in that he roſe the third day into a celeſtiall and eternall life, hauing all his enemies vnder his feet. Yet for peace ſake I yeelded, the name of hell-paines might in ſome ſort be tolerated in the ſufferings of Chriſt, if we meant thereby great and intolerable paines, as the word is ſometimes metaphorically taken in the Scriptures,

The ſermons

Scriptures, at the leaſt by our vulgar tranſlation: for the word indeed was Sheôl, which is vſed aſwell for the graue, as for hell; and ſo thoſe ſpeeches of Dauid, That the *paines of Sheol found him out or compaſſed him*, might import the paines of death, which brought men to their graues.

And concerning that Article of our Faith, *Chriſt deſcended to Hell*; I taught, it might not by the courſe of the Creed be referred to Chriſt liuing, but to Chriſt dead, and ſafely note the conqueſt which Chriſts manhood after death had ouer all the powers of darkeneſſe, declared by his reſurrection, when he roſe Lord ouer all his enemies in his owne perſon; Death, Hell, and Satan not excepted; and had the *Keyes* (that is, all power) *of death and hell* deliuered him by God, that thoſe *in heauen, earth, and hell* ſhould ſtoope vnto him, and be ſubiect to the ſtrength and glorie of his Kingdome. Theſe things were firſt vttered by ſpeech, and after committed to writing, that aſwell the parts as proofes of euery point might more plainly appeare to all that would examine them. My care was in either of theſe to ioyne with the doctrine preſcribed by the booke of Homilies to be taught in the Church of God to the people; That there *is none other thing, that can be named vnder heauen, to ſaue our ſoules, but this only worke of Chriſtes precious offering his bodie vpon the Altar of the Croſſe. For ſo great was Gods wrath and diſpleaſure towards ſinne, that he could be pacified by no other meanes, but only by the ſweet and precious bloud of his deere Sonne. And ſo pleaſant was this ſacrifice and oblation of his Sonnes death, which he ſo obediently and innocently ſuffered, that God would take it for the onely and full amends for all the ſinnes of the world.* As for Chriſts deſcent to hell, I deliuered the ſame ends and intents, which the booke of Homilies doth, where it ſaith; *Chriſtes death deſtroyed death, and ouercame the Diuell. His death deſtroyed hell with all the damnation thereof. Chriſt paſſed thorow death and hell, to the intent to put vs in good hope, that by his ſtrength we ſhall do the ſame. He deſtroyed the Diuell, and all his tyrannie, and openly triumphed ouer him, and tooke away from him all his Captiues* (meaning all the Elect) *and hath raiſed, and ſet them with himſelfe amongſt the heauenly Citizens aboue.*

The firſt and ſecond Sermon of the Paſſion.

The Sermon of the Reſurrection.

Theſe things thus preached and printed by me, it may pleaſe your excellent Maieſtie to vnderſtand, were firſt impugned

pugned by an haſtie and humorous *Treatiſe*, whiles my Sermons were yet vnder the Preſſe; and after by a larger and warier *Defence*, which is this that I now refute. The Treatiſer ſliding from the things propoſed by me, (wherein he could not open his mouth but with as many vntrueths as words) did beare men in hand the queſtion was, Whether Chriſt ſuffered for vs the wrath of God, or no; whereas I mooued no ſuch doubt, but rather acknowledged, That all which Chriſt ſuffered in ſoule or in bodie, was the wrath of God againſt our ſinnes; if we ſpeake as the Scriptures doe of puniſhments prouided for this life, where Chriſt did ſuffer, and not of the *wrath to come*, which is the vengeance prepared for the Diuell and the damned in another world. And becauſe in this Treatiſe I found moe diſtempered pangs of erroneous follie, than aduiſed ſteppes of learning or religion, I refelled the chiefe reaſons thereof in a *Concluſion* added to my Sermons, as they were in printing; not thinking it worth my time or paines to make any longer refutation of him, that remembred ſo little of that I had vttered, and reaſoned ſo looſely for that which he would eſtabliſh.

The Treatiſe.

The Concluſion of the Sermons.

No ſooner were thoſe Sermons and that Concluſion publiſhed, but the curious Brethren, ſeeing their kingdome of conceits impugned, made their obſeruations on both, and ſent their collections and reaſons to the Treatiſer, that he might make a freſh *Defence*; correcting in many things his former raſhneſſe, and now leading him rather cunningly to cauill with the Fathers ſpeeches, than ſo proudly to diſdaine their teſtimonies: which maketh him not only to change his minde in many matters from that he ſayd before, but often to croſſe himſelfe in the ſelfe ſame leafe, whiles he doth not marke what he ſayth out of his owne heart, and what he bringeth out of other mens ſupplies and papers. In this *Defence* (for ſo they call it) they labour more to impeach my proofes, than to iuſtifie his former reaſons; and as it were ſlipping their owne necks out of the coller, they inuade my Sermons with their whole might, making the world beleeue, I haue not only proued nothing, but vttered ſuch ſtrange poſitions, as no Diuinitie will endure. Howbeit in their hoateſt onſets I might

The Defence.

ſoone

ſoone perceiue, they ſtill wreſted my words from their right ſenſe, as they did both Scriptures and Fathers; and ſhrouded themſelues vnder certaine generall and ambiguous phraſes, as, That Chriſt ſuffered *the proper wrath and meere iuſtice of God, and full puniſhment of ſinne, in ſubſtance, though not in circumſtance*; with which they ſeeke to blinde the Reader and intangle the Opponent, that he ſhould neuer finde their exact and particular Aſſertion, but they would alwayes be ſure to haue a refuge to their large and vnknowen couerts; from which they ſtep not an inch, and without which they ſay nothing, for feare to be taken tardie with hereſie or open impietie.

To waſte time, and enter brabbles about words, my manifolde buſineſſes and publike ſeruices did not ſuffer me; and had not my late Soueraigne (now with God) at her laſt being at the Caſtle of Farnham taken knowledge of the things queſtioned betwixt me and them, and directly commanded mee neither to deſert the doctrine, nor to let the calling, which I beare in the Church of God, to be trampled vnder foot by ſuch vnquiet Refuſers of trueth and authoritie, I confeſſe to your excellent Maieſtie, I had made farre ſhorter worke with them, and not ſpent a quarter of the paper which now is beſtowed on the cauſe. Vpon her appointment, which was ſacred to me (notwithſtanding my ſickneſſe, which detained me two yeeres from ſtudie, whiles I was forced to ſeeke the recouerie of my health, and many other affaires and attendances, which continually called me away) I beganne to reuiew the whole; and ſince there was neither order nor method in their writing, to trace them in their confuſion, which hath beene moſt tedious; and in the end to let them ſee, That neither for themſelues, nor againſt me, in that whole Defence they haue vttered one true ſentence; though the waightieſt and moſt of their matters, beſides their darke and deceitfull generalities, be propoſed with *as it were, in a ſenſe, it ſeemeth, after a ſort*, and ſuch like wauering and perplexed ſpeech. I haue opened to your moſt ſacred Maieſtie, moſt prudent Prince, the cauſe and courſe of this large Suruey, which it hath pleaſed God to reſerue to your Princely view, my late Soueraigne being taken out of this life the beginning of that Summer, wherein I meant

to commit it to the Preſſe; and ſo had I done the firſt yeere of your Maieſties entring into this Realme, had not the infection of your principall citie, and my attendance on your Maieſtie (as my duetie bound me) here in this countrey ſtayed me.

The points handled in the former Sermons, and iuſtified in this later Suruey, are many, and thoſe very materiall; the chiefe heads whereof, though they appeare aſwell in the Titles ouer ech Page, as in the Table prepared of purpoſe to helpe the confuſion of their Defence, yet I will ſummarily contract and annex to theſe preſents, that your Princely wiſdome may with more eaſe perceiue in euery of theſe things controuerſed, what I defend; and cenſure the ſame, when it hath pleaſed your Highneſſe at your leaſure to view the particular parts and proofs, as it ſeemeth beſt to your learned and religious iudgement. My only deſire, and humble petition to your moſt ſacred Maieſtie, as becommeth a Chriſtian Biſhop, is, That in the foundations of our faith, I meane the worke and meane of our Redemption and Reconciliation to God by Ieſus Chriſt, men be not ſuffered, vnder your godly gouernment, to preach or publiſh their *vnwritten fanſies*, and by their continuall Synecdoches, which are manifeſt additions to the Word of God, to alter and inuert the Trueth, ſo plainly, fully, and frequently deliuered by the Apoſtles of Chriſt in the ſacred Scriptures: leſt if they get this liberty, with vnneceſſary figures where they liſt to interlace the Word of God in theſe maine points of Saluation, they leaue neither doctrine nor diſcipline ſound in the end.

And as in the firſt queſtion they adde to Chriſtes ſufferings the death of the ſoule and of the damned, though there be no ſuch thing warranted or witneſſed in the Scriptures; ſo in the ſecond they outface Chriſtes *Deſcent to Hell* with phraſes and figures, when it is plainly profeſſed in the Creed, (where not phraſes of ſpeech, but Articles of faith are deliuered) and expreſſed in the Scriptures, That Chriſtes *ſoule was not left (or forſaken) in hell*; and that very place alleaged by Peter, as properly pertaining to Chriſt, and no way common to him with Dauid, who being *a Prophet, knew that God had ſworne with an oath to raiſe vp Chriſt, to ſet him vpon his Throne, & to make him Lord* (of all)

and

and Christ, that is, the anointed Sauiour of his people from Sinne, Death, and Hell. And though all the Fathers Greeke and Latine from the Apostles times, haue receiued, beleeued, and deliuered that to be the sense of Peters words; as likewise of Pauls: That Christ, *who ascended on high, descended first to the lower parts of the earth*; yet they sticke neither at Scriptures, Creeds, nor Fathers, but wrench and wrangle with them all, subiecting euery thing to their sleights and shifts, that they may raigne as they will in the Word of God. Where likewise they shame not to condemne all the Fathers Greeke and Latine, as conspiring against the Trueth, and peruerting the Scriptures, by altering the authentike vse of words; for which they appeale to Plato and prophane Poets. This the Treatiser blusheth not to write: *This I affirme; It is only the Fathers abusiue speaking, and altering the ancient sense of Hades, that hath bred this errour of Christes descending into Hell; their vnapt and perilous translating it into Latine, Inferi; and our naughtie and corrupt translating in English, Hell, hath confirmed the same. And note heere this first; It is a thing too rife with the Fathers, yea with some of the ancientest of them, to alter and change the authentike vse of words, whereby consequently it is easie for errours and grosse mistakings to creepe in.* This lowd and lewd Proclamation he maketh against all Christian Writers, Greeke, Latine, and English, since the first foundation of the Church, and yet therein erreth most absurdly and shamefully. For the Greeke Fathers vse the word Hades, as the Apostles and Euangelists did; for the place where torments after this life are prepared for the wicked; and the prophane Græcians (one conceit of Socrates excepted) did alwayes take it for a place of darkenesse vnder the earth, whither they thought good and bad descended; the wicked to punishment, the better sort to such delights, as carnall men dreampt of after death in their Elysian fields. In both these questions I haue not spared (most religious Prince) aswell to examine the Scriptures with all diligence, as to shew the confession and resolution of Christs Church long before our times, that all the world may see, I maintaine none other grounds of Faith, nor sense of Scripture, than haue beene anciently, constantly and continually professed, and beleeued in the Church of Christ for these

Treat. pag. 95.

fifteene hundred yeeres, till this our preſent Age; and the ſame allowed and ratified by the publike lawes of this Realme, which your Maieſtie in your moſt Princely wiſdome and courage profeſſe to vpholde and continue.

God for his holy Names ſake bleſſe your moſt ſacred Maieſtie, and proſper all your vertuous and Chriſtian cares, that as in learning and wiſdome, in clemencie and pietie, he hath made you the Mirrour of this Age; ſo in peace and proſperitie, in concord and vnitie, in all happineſſe and felicitie, he may exalt you aboue all your neighbour Princes; and hauing vnited the two Realmes of England and Scotland in one ſubiection vnder your Princely right and regiment, he will knit the hearts and hands of both to honour and ſerue you, loue and obey you, and your royall iſſue after you, to the worlds end.

Your Maeſties

moſt humble ſubiect
and ſeruant

THO. WINTON.

THE CHIEFE RESOLV-
TIONS OF THIS
Suruey.

THe cleerenes and fulnes of the Scriptures in the worke of our Redemption is exactly to be reuerenced; ſo as no man ought to teach or beleeue any thing touching our redemption by Chriſt, which is not expreſly witneſſed in the ſacred Scriptures: much leſſe may we diſtruſt the manifeſt words of the holy Ghoſt to be impertinent or vnſufficient in declaring the true price and meane of our redemption.

The maine ground of the Goſpell, which the Apoſtles preached, *the faithfull* receiued, wherein *they* continued, *and* whereby *they were* ſaued, *was this*; *That* Chriſt died for our ſinnes according to the Scriptures, and was buried, and roſe the third day; according to the Scriptures. *Since then we are reconciled to God by the death of his Sonne, we muſt acknowledge none other death of Chriſt then that which he ſuffered in* the bodie of his fleſh, after which *he was buried, and* from which *he roſe the third day, which death the Scriptures moſt apparently deſcribe to be the death of Chriſts bodie.*

If we were redeemed by the bloud of Chriſt, and God propoſed him *(to be)* a Reconciliation through faith in his bloud, which was ſhed for the remiſſion of ſinnes; *we may not preſume to appoint a new price of our redemption, or new meane of our reconciliation; ſince by the bloud of* his croſſe Chriſt hath pacified both the things in earth, and things in heauen; and the bloud of Ieſus Chriſt cleanſeth vs from all ſinne.

The Scriptures doe no where teach, nor mention the death of Chriſts ſoule, or the death of the damned, which is the ſecond death, to be needfull for our redemption. We muſt not therefore intrude our ſelues into Gods ſeat to ordaine a new courſe for mans redemption.

If the Spirit doe quicken, and the iuſt liue by faith, and he that abideth in loue, abideth in God, who is life; *it was vtterlie impoſſible, but the ſoule of Chriſt in that abundance of Spirit, euidence of Faith, aſſurance of Hope, and perfection of Loue, which he alwayes retained, ſhould alwayes liue to God.*

Life and death being oppoſed as priuatiues, and ſo not to be found in one and the ſame ſubiect at one and the ſame time; the ſoule of Chriſt alwayes liuing, could neuer be dead. Neither could a dead ſoule be pleaſing to God, (who is whole life, and therefore hateth death as contrarie to his nature;) when yet he was alwayes well pleaſed with Chriſt.

Where ſome imagine extreame paine in Chriſts ſoule may be called the death of his ſoule; that poſition is repugnant to the Scriptures: for the greater the paine which the ſoule feeleth, and endureth with innocencie, confidence, obedience, and patience, (ſuch as were all Chriſtes ſufferings) the more the ſoule liueth and cleaueth to God, for whoſe glorie it ſuffereth ſo much ſmart; as appeareth in Martyrs, whoſe ſoules do moſt liue in their greateſt torments.

The late deuice of hell-paines in Christes passion is not only false, but also superfluous: for the true paines of hell neither are, nor can be suffered in this life, where, by Gods ordinance extreame paine driueth the soule from the bodie: much lesse can man or Angell endure them with obedience and patience, as Christ did all his paines. And what need was there of hell-paines in the crosse of Christ, since God can by euery meanes, or without meanes raise more paines in bodie or soule, than any creature can endure.

Christs soule could not be strooken with any horrour of Gods displeasure against him, since in his greatest anguish he professed God to be his God, and his Father, and by prayer preuailed for his persecutors (as appeared after by their conuersion) and gaue eternall life to the soule of the Thiefe hanging by him, and beleeuing on him. Now to giue life is more than to haue life; and restore others to fauour he can not, that himselfe is in displeasure.

Hell-fire, which the damned and diuels do and shall suffer, is a true and eternall fire prepared by the mightie hand of God to punish aswell spirits as bodies; and this errour, That the fire of hell was only an internall or spirituall fire in the soules and consciences of men, was long since condemned in Origen by the Church of Christ.

Reiection therefore, desperation, confusion, horrour of damnation, externall and eternall fire, which are the torments of the damned, and true paines of hell, can not without blasphemie be ascribed to Christ. Christ therefore suffered neither the death of the soule, nor the paines nor horrors of the damned, or of hell.

Euery sinne is common to the whole man, who is defiled *euen with* thoughts *that be euill; not only because the bodie is the* Seat, *wherein, and the* instrument, *whereby the soule worketh; but also for that the first* infection *of sinne commeth to the soule by the bodie, and the first* information *and* prouocation *to sinne riseth from the senses and affections, which are mooued with corporall spirits; and all the parts and powers of the bodie attend the will with most readie subiection to haue each sinne (which the soule conceiueth)* impressed *on them, and* executed *by them. And therefore the suffering for sinne in the person of the Mediatour, must be common both to bodie and soule in such sort, that as in transgressing, our soules are the principall Agents, so in the suffering for sinne, his soule was the principall Patient.*

Christ would vse no power to assuage the force and violence of his paines, (though he wanted none, as appeareth by his ouerthrowing them with a word, that came to apprehend him;) but submitted himselfe to his Fathers will with greater obedience and patience, than any man liuing could. We may therefore safely beleeue, That the iustice of God condemning sinne in *(Christes)* flesh, *proportioned the paines of his bodie,* in which hee bare our sinnes, *to the strength of his patience; and so both his paines and his patience farre exceeded all mens. The rather for that Christes sense did not faile him by degrees, as ours doth, when the paines of death are extreamest, which driue our soules from our bodies; but hee did in most perfect sense feele the sting and bitternesse of paine to the last breath; by reason he was of his owne accord, at an instant appointed by his Father, to breathe out his owne soule, and so did, to the great admiration of the Centurion that obserued it; and consequently hee re-*

tained

tained firmneſſe of voice, and exactneſſe of ſenſe, all the while his paines were at ſharpeſt.

The ſoule is puniſhed in this life by her vnderſtanding, will, affections, *and* ſenſes, *according as their obiects, directed and ſtrengthened by God, make violent and vehement impreſſions; the torment of hell-fire being the iudgement of another world. Neither is God the tormenter of ſoules in hell with his immediate hand, but by his wiſdome and power hath ordained euerlaſting fire, as an externall Agent aboue nature, to take vengeance of damned men and diuels according to their deſerts.*

No Scripture doth teach, That God with his immediate hand tormented the ſoule of his Sonne on the Croſſe, or in the Garden; notwithſtanding Chriſtes ſoule was full of feare and ſorow in the Garden, and of griefe and paine on the Croſſe: all which outward and inward paſſions ne did, ne could peruert Chriſts will, nor oppreſſe his power; but they muſt all be voluntarie, that they might all be meritorious; and the more Chriſts power was to admit them, when he would, as he would, and becauſe he would; the more his obedience was to the will and hand of God, who forced nothing on Chriſt againſt his will, but by that which was offered and ſuffered, tried the obedience of his Sonne, and accepted all from him as a moſt willing Sacrifice.

The wrath of God puniſhing our ſinnes in the perſon of Chriſt, was neither ſuch as the Damned in hell, nor as the Reprobate in earth doe ſuffer; but rather common to the members of Chriſt, who muſt drinke of this Cuppe, haue fellowſhip with his afflictions, and be conformed to his death, though they neuer feele the true paines of hell, nor haue their ſoules tormented by Gods immediate hand. Neither was it any other wrath, than ſuch as might ſtand with Gods loue towards his Sonne, (who did not hate him for our ſakes, but loued vs for his) and was Fatherly tempered to the ſtrength of Chriſtes manhood, and graciouſly ouerruled and quenched by the fauour that God bare to the perſon of his Sonne. And therefore the termes of meere and proper wrath *(if they meane proper to the damned) are falſe and impious in Chriſtes ſufferings, which neither in* maner, meaſure, *nor* purpoſe, *did agree with the torments of the damned.*

The true and full ſatiſfaction for our ſinnes, muſt not be deriued from the ſingularitie and infinitie of Chriſtes paines, longer and greater than which the damned and diuels doe euery one ſuffer; but from the dignitie of the perſon, who being the only and eternall Sonne of God that made vs, humbled himſelfe in our ſtead, and in our nature to reſtore vs, and offered recompenſe for our ſinnes, which was his ſubmiſſion and obedience vnto the death of the Croſſe, more pleaſing to God than our condemnation to hell could haue beene: for in this ballance betweene the wrath of God againſt our ſinnes, and the loue of God towards his Sonne, neither was his iuſtice neglected, nor his loue ouerſwayed; but a ſweet and wiſe temper of both was prouided for the manhood of his Sonne, firſt to ſuffer with patience, and then to raigne with glorie; that all the ſonnes of God might be the more willing and readie by his example to obey the will, and abide the hand of God, before they did enter into his Kingdome.

The Scriptures witneſſing, that the Sacrifices of God are a troubled ſpirit, this might not want in Chriſtes Sacrifice for ſinne; but he approching the preſence

ſence of God with and for our offences, lawfully might, and exceedingly did feare the greatneſſe and iuſtneſſe of Gods anger againſt our iniquities; and as deeply ſorrowed, that Gods holineſſe was ſo careleſly deſpiſed, and highly diſpleaſed with our manifolde iniquities. Which inward ſacrifices of feare and ſorrow for vs, and our ſinnes, in the perſon of the Mediatour, were no leſſe acceptable to God than the ſimple ſuffering of paine.

Since Gods power is deſpiſed, where it is not duely feared, and ſinne is iuſtified, where the diſpleaſing of God is not thorowly ſorrowed; in preſenting vs and our cauſe to God, Chriſt was to yeeld for vs, and in our behalfe that infinite ſubmiſsion and feare to the power of God prouoked, and contrition and ſorrow to the holineſſe of God offended, which we could neuer haue done. And without theſe to offer to beare the burden of our ſinnes, was to make light account of our ſinne againſt God, and of Gods wrath againſt our ſinne, which was farre from the Sonne of God.

There might therefore in Chriſtes ſacrifice for ſinne not without iuſt cauſe appeare exceeding feare and ſorrow, yet both religious, and meaſured by the rules of obedience and humilitie, though paſsing grieuous to the ſoule of Chriſt. Neither were theſe ſubmiſsions and afflictions of Chriſts ſoule anſwerable to his perfection, and our tranſgreſsion, if they did not reach to the higheſt degree of feare and ſorrow, that mans nature in Chriſt was capable of, without diſtruſt of Gods fauour, or diſlike of his iuſtice.

Chriſt did not pray in the Garden contrarie to his Fathers knowen will, but made an expreſſe and ſpeciall reſeruation thereof euen in the firſt part of his prayer. Neither was he amazed and confounded in all the powers of his ſoule and ſenſes of his bodie, as theſe Preſumers teach, but he prayed with faith, and ſuffered with obedience; both which require perfect vnderſtanding, will, *and* memorie.

Manie things might concurre to increaſe Chriſtes ſorrow in the Garden, as the reiection of the Iewes for ſpilling his bloud, the diſperſion of his Church, all flying and forſaking him; the continuall rage of Satan againſt his weake and fearefull members; Chriſt now in his temptations and afflictions beholding theirs with great compaſsion and griefe of heart: which is it that Hilarie ſaith;

De Trinitate li. 10. Et triſtitia de nobis eſt, & oratio pro nobis eſt. Chriſt ſorrowed for vs, and prayed for vs.

An Agonie is properly a vehement contention of minde to preuaile in that we vndertake, rightly weighing and ſtriuing to remoue the difficulties and impediments obiected to hinder the euent.

Chriſtes bloudie ſweat, if it were naturall, muſt proceed rather from zeale and intention of minde, than from feare and ſorow; which coole the bloud, and quench the ſpirits; whereas the ſpirits muſt be mightilie kindled, and the bloud much heated and thinned, before it can iſſue forth by ſweat. And ſince by the words of Saint Luke, Chriſt fell into an Agonie after an Angell appeared from heauen, and comforted or ſtrengthened him (with a meſſage from God) it ſeemeth rather an effect of Chriſtes intentiue prayer which the Scripture there mentioneth; than a conſequent to any other paſsion or paine.

Chriſtes intentiue prayer, after comfort receiued by an Angell from heauen, might proceed from his ardent deſire, care, and zeale of our redemption from

the

the wrath of God, and protection from the rage of Satan. And therefore, as the Prophet foreſhewed he ſhould not onely beare the ſinnes of many, but pray for the Treſpaſſers, Chriſt might ſpend all the ſpirits and powers of bodie and ſoule in moſt vehement and feruent prayer, euen vnto a bloudie ſweat, to haue all his members pardoned their ſinnes, and reconciled to God by the ſacrifice of his bodie, which he would offer for them; and alſo to haue Satan caſt out from accuſing them, and in the end trodden vnder their feet.

If Chriſtes bloudie ſweat were ſupernaturall; we muſt aske no cauſe thereof, but leaue it to his ſacred will, who could aboue nature doe what he would. That it was no proofe of hell paines, appeareth plainly, becauſe Chriſt after in greater paines on the Croſſe did not ſweat bloud; and of all thoſe, whom theſe men imagine ſuffered hell paines in the Scriptures, no one can be produced, that euer ſweat bloud.

The word (forſaking) vſed by Chriſt in his Complaint on the Croſſe, doth not in all the Scriptures inferre the paines of the damned; but in the wicked it noteth reiection, deſperation, and feare of damnation; and in the godly it argueth want of protection, or decreaſe of conſolation in their troubles. In Chriſt it might ſhew the time, *the* cauſe, *the* maner, *or the* griefe *of his being ſo long forſaken, and left to the rage and reproch of his perſecutors, without any ſenſible ſigne of Gods loue towards him, care for him, helpe in his troubles, or eaſe in his paines; but it doth not prooue, that Chriſt thought himſelfe forſaken of Gods fauour, grace, or ſpirit; which feare or doubt could not be in him without a manifeſt touch of error, and want of faith.*

Chriſt neuer feared nor doubted, that he ſhould or could periſh vnder the hand of God perſuing our ſinnes in the bodie of his fleſh; but for the ioy ſet before him, endured the Croſſe, and deſpiſed the ſhame; *and as S. Peter ſayth of him at the time of his ſuffering, he alwayes* beheld God at his right hand, that he ſhould not be ſhaken; *and* therefore his heart reioyced, and his tongue was glad, and his fleſh reſted in hope, becauſe his ſoule ſhould not be forſaken in hell, nor his fleſh ſee corruption.

Chriſt was made a curſe for vs, in that he ſuffered the temporall and corporall curſes of the Law threatned vnto ſinners, as all ſorts of afflictions belonging to this life, and in the end, a painfull and ſhamefull death, by which he aboliſhed the ſpirituall and eternall curſe of God due to vs for ſinne; but he was neuer inwardly, truely, nor eternally accurſed of God, ſince by taſting of our externall curſe for a time, he made vs partakers of his ſpirituall and celeſtiall bleſſedneſſe for euer.

Chriſt who knew no ſinne, was made ſinne for vs, that is, either the puniſhment of our ſinnes, or the ſacrifice for our ſinnes: for we were healed by his ſtripes, and he gaue himſelfe for vs a ſacrifice of a ſweet ſmell to God. *Being then an holy and acceptable ſacrifice to God for ſinne, he was neither defiled nor hatefull to God with our ſinnes: but ſuffered,* the iuſt for the vniuſt; *that is, he tooke vpon him the puniſhment of our ſinnes, though he were moſt innocent; and by the holineſſe of his perſon, ſubmitting himſelfe to the death of the croſſe, purged our vncleanneſſe; by his innocencie, couered our guiltineſſe; and by his fauour with God, reconciled vs that were enemies.*

Chriſt bare the full puniſhment of our ſinnes; that is, not all which we ſhould haue

haue borne; for then he must haue beene euerlastingly reiected, confounded and condemned to hell fire, which are most horrible blasphemies; but he bare so much of the punishments of this life, where he suffered, as in his person by the iust iudgement of God was most sufficient for all our sinnes.

TOuching *Christs descent to hell, the words are plainly cited by Peter out of Dauid, that* Christes soule *(after death)* should not be left in Hades, *which Saint Luke in his Gospell vseth for the place where torments are prepared for the wicked after this life. And in that sense is the word vsed thorowout the New Testament; as likewise the Greeke Fathers tooke it for the place vnder the earth, whither the soules of all men were condemned for sinne, and where the Diuels detaine and torment the wicked. That Christ likewise* descended to the lower parts of the earth, and to the (bottomlesse) deepe *after death, is vouched by Saint Paul; whereupon the whole Church of Christ from the beginning hath confessed his descent to hel to be a point of Christian pietie.*

Peters Sermon (in the second of the Acts) intended not simply to proue that Christ was risen from the dead, as Lazarus and others were; but affirmed farder of him, That God raised him vp, to set him on Dauids Throne; that is, to make him King of Glorie. *This he prooueth, In that Christes* flesh could not see corruption, nor his soule be forsaken in hell; *which was verified in none, no not in Dauid (who were all dead,* and saw corruption) *but only in the Messias. It was therefore impossible, that either death or hell should detaine Christ, but he was to rise Lord of death and hell, and the Sauiour of all his from both; as appeared by his* ascending to heauen, and sitting at the right hand of God. *Neither was this strange to the Iewes, who were taught to expect that to be performed by the Messias, which God promised by his Prophet;* O Death, I will be thy death: O Hell, I will be thy destruction.

Sheol *in the Olde Testament signifieth the Graue, and Hell; that is, the places whither the dead bodies of all men went, and whither the soules of the wicked dead in sinne descended after death. And therefore where it is distinguished from the death of the bodie, or referred to the soule after death, as it is in Dauids words applied by Peter to Christ, it apparently signifieth Hell.*

The ends of Christes descent are likewise deriued from the Scriptures, as the destroying of the Diuels kingdome, and triumphing ouer powers and principalities, and making an open shew of them, spoiling them by deliuering all his Elect, dead, liuing, and yet vnborne, from the right, power, and feare of eternall death; taking into his hands the Keyes of Death and Hell, *that he might be Lord of all, in* Heauen, Earth, and Hell.

The Creed is not a Collection of Greeke or Hebrew phrases vnknowen to the people, but a short summe of the Christian faith prouided for the simpler sort of men to learne by heart. And therefore, as nothing is superfluously repeated, so nothing is obscurely couered in it. And though this Article, He descended to hell,

hell, *wanted for a time in ſome Churches, euen as ſome part of Scripture did; yet was it retained by all Chriſtian Writers, as a ground of true religion from the Apoſtles time; and profeſſed in ſome Churches very anciently in their Creed, and at laſt generally receiued in all places.*

All the Fathers of Chriſtes Church with one conſent teach this as a point of the Chriſtian faith, That Chriſt after death deſcended to hell; *inſomuch that Auſten reſolutely ſayth,* Who but an Infidell will denie, that Chriſt was in hell? Epiſtola.99.

Where Abrahams boſome was, neither was, nor is agreed amongſt the learned: only Auſten rightly inferreth out of Chriſtes words, That being a place of comfort, and farre off aboue Hades (where the rich man was tormented) with a great Gulfe ſetled betwixt thoſe two places, it could be no part, nor member of hell. Epiſtola.99.

The reſt, which are very many, appeare by the ſeuerall Titles ouer ech Page, or by the Table prouided to finde the ſame with more facilitie.



THE SVRVEY OF CHRISTES SVFFE-RINGS FOR MANS REDEMPTION.

IT may ſeeme ſomewhat ſtrange to thee (Chriſtian Reader) as it doth likewiſe to me, that one and the ſelfe ſame cauſe, being twice now debated and diſcuſſed in writing on either ſide; we ſhould at the laſt be farther from agreeing on the true ſtate of the controuerſie than we were at the firſt entring into the matter. If the fault be either in the doubtfulneſſe of my words propoſing it; or in the diuerſneſſe of my mind defending it; I refuſe no reproch of follie, and inconſtancie; but if I keeping cloſe to the points which I firſt propounded, and calling vpon the aduerſe part, with as great vehemencie and importunitie as I could, to goe directly to the iſſue, and no way to digreſſe from the things in queſtion; the Impugner truſting more to the couert of his words, than to the ſoundneſſe of his proofs, will of purpoſe ſhunne the marke prefixed, and roue at pleaſure with doubtfull and deceitfull termes, to hide the nakedneſſe of his ſide, and to make the Reader beleeue he hath matter of moment, when indeed he doth not ſo much as vnderſtand himſelfe, or take any knowledge of the chiefeſt things which I obiect or alledge; then is he woorthie to beare the blame who beſt deſerueth it, and thou (Chriſtian Reader) mayeſt ſoone perceiue, and aſſoone pronounce both for thine owne eaſe, and for an end to be had in this ſtriſe; (for to thee the Confuter referreth himſelfe, and ſo doe I) whether of vs flieth the touchſtone of trueth, and faileth in the due proofe of his doctrine, as neere as God ſhall giue thee wiſdome to diſcerne light from darkneſſe, and grace to preferre trueth before falſhood.

In the Preface of my Sermons publiſhed, I much miſliked, and openly charged the ouer haſtie Diſcourſer, that called himſelfe *H. I.* for [a] *cleane changing the ſtate of the firſt Queſtion:* and to the maine diuiſion of his Treatiſe, where he ſayth, *The whole controuerſie hath in it two points; the firſt, That Chriſt ſuffered for vs the wrath of God, &c,* I replied in my concluſion, [b] *It was too much boldneſſe to outface the world in print, that this was the poſition which I impugned. There were too many witneſſes there, for me to denie, or for him to belie the Queſtion, he knew it well enough, but he could not tell how to proue that which I then reproued, and therefore he ſhranke from it, and dallied with generall and doubtfull termes.* And leſt either the patient Reader, or ſtrict Examiner, ſhould be forced farre to ſeeke for the chiefe points by me denied or affirmed in thoſe Sermons; I purpoſely and plainly numbred and deliuered them in ſuch ſort, as none could miſtake them, but he that would wilfully ouerleape them. My words thou wilt pardon me to repeat (good Chriſtian Reader) that thereby thou mayeſt ſee whether I alter or new frame my firſt queſtions and reſolutions, as this Prater

[a] Præfat pag. 9. lin. 2.

[b] Conclu. pa. 243. l. 5.

pretendeth, by his euery where complaining of my manifolde *ambiguities*, *fallacies*, and *contrarieties*; or he rather dissembleth the weakenesse, and couereth the badnesse of his cause vnder certeine perplexed and confused phrases, as anon thou shalt heare more at large. These are my words in the foresayd [c] Preface.

[c] Pag. 2. l. 10.

I laboured (in these my Sermons) *to prooue these foure points: First, That it was no where recorded in holy Scriptures, nor iustly to be concluded by the Scriptures, that Christ suffered the true paines of Hell. Secondly, That as the Scriptures describe to vs the paines of the Damned and of hell; there are manie terrors and torments, which without euident impietie can not be ascribed to the Sonne of God. Thirdly, That the death and bloud of Christ Iesus were euidently, frequently, constantly set downe in the writings of the Apostles, as the sufficient price of our Redemption, and true meane of our Reconciliation to God, and the verie same proposed in the figures resembled in the sacrifices of the Law, and sealed with the Sacraments of the New testament, as the verie ground-worke of our saluation by Christ; and so haue beene receiued, and beleeued in the Church of God, foureteene hundred yeeres, before any man euer made mention of hell-paines to be suffered in the soule of Christ. Lastly, where the Scriptures are plaine and pregnant, That Christ died for our sinnes, and by his death destroyed him that had power of death, euen the diuell, and reconciled vs when we were strangers and enemies in the body of his flesh through death: besides, That the Holie ghost in these places by expresse words nameth the bodily death of Christ, as the meane of our Redemption & Reconciliation to God; no considerate Diuine might affirme or imagine Christ suffered the death of the soule; forsomuch as the death of the soule must exclude Christ from the grace, spirit, and life of God, and leaue in him neither faith, hope, nor loue, sanctitie, nor innocencie, which God forbid any Christian man should so much as dreame. And if any man to maintaine his deuice, would inuent a new hell, and another death of the soule, then either Scriptures or Fathers euer heard, or spake of, they should keepe their inuentions to themselues: it sufficed me to beleeue what I read, and consequently, not to beleeue what I did not reade in the Word of God, which is and ought to be the foundation of our faith.* Whether there be any darkenesse or doubling in my speech, I leaue it to thy censure, good Christian Reader. I affirme touching our redemption and reconciliation to God, what the Scriptures affirme, and as neere as I could in the selfe-same words: I denied the late additions of some men in matters of so great weight, which the Scriptures by their perpetuall silence denie, and by their open and euident consequents disprooue and impugne. If any man thinke my Sermons in these points lesse euident, or pertinent to the purpose than my Preface; let him looke to the places where these things are handled, and iudge in Gods name, as he findeth cause; remembring that he which withstandeth or neglecteth the trueth, withstandeth and neglecteth his owne saluation.

First that no Scripture doth witnesse or warrant Christs suffering the true paines of hell in his soule; see either the [d] propoſing of their opinions that so thinke; or the examining of their [e] proofes which are brought for that conceit; or the shutting vp of that part, which sheweth the summe of all aforesayd, which I close in this wise: [f] *Then are there in the sacred Scriptures neither any predictions that Christ should suffer the paines of hell in his soule heere on earth; nor causes why he must suffer them; nor signes that he did suffer them; and consequently, whatsoeuer is pretended, no proofe, that these sufferings must be added to the Crosse of Christ, before the worke of our saluation can be perfect.* Secondly, that such paines of hell, as the Scriptures expresse and auouch, may not be applied to Christ, without apparent impietie, reade what I [g] write concerning the particulars, and settle thy iudgement (gentle Reader) as thou likest best. I desire not to preuaile, where I bring not sufficient proofe: emptie words on either side, are slender meanes to quiet thy conscience, or settle thy faith, if thou seeke to be religious. Thirdly, where the whole course and tenor of the sacred Scriptures do plainly and fully ascribe our Redemption and the remission of our sinnes to the death and bloud of Christ Iesus; I dare not delude the words of the Holy ghost, as if they were euery where *improper* or *imperfect*, but by the foure first [h] effects of Christs crosse, I

[d] Sermons. p. 8. lin. 22.
[e] Serm. p. 11. l. 24.
[f] Serm. pa. 41. l. 14.
[g] Serm. pa. 48. l. 34.
[h] Serm. p. 42. l. 2.

make

make it appeare how ſufficient our ſaluation is by the bloud of Chriſt, without anie ſupplie of hell paines to be ſuffered in the ſoule of Chriſt. Laſtly, ſince no Chriſtian man may doubt, but we are redeemed and ſaued by the death of Chriſt, how [i] farre it is from all ſenſe and ſhew of holy Scripture to ſubiect Chriſt to the death of the ſoule, and how repugnant to the mouthes and mindes of the ancient and catholike fathers, I inſert a ſpeciall diſcourſe, and thence obſerue, that where & whenſoeuer the Holie ghoſt ſpeaketh of the death of Chriſt, he meaneth the death of Chriſts body ſuffered on the altar of the Croſſe, and by no meanes the death of Chriſts ſoule. [i] Serm. p. 73. li. 13.

Theſe things being thus ſenſibly and plainly ſet downe to the view and reach of all men, were they neuer ſo ſimple, if they were Chriſtians; what reaſon had you, Sir Refuter in your Treatiſe to ſlide from all this, and to delude your Reader by telling him that the *whole controuerſie had in it two points:*

1 *That Chriſt ſuffered for vs the wrath of God:*

2 *That after his death on the Croſſe, he went not into hell in his ſoule:*

as if I propoſed or proued nothing in the firſt part of my Sermons, but that Chriſt did not ſuffer for vs the wrath of God? did I, or could I make or mooue anie ſuch queſtion, that in preciſe words taught *the* [k] *wrath of God againſt our ſinnes was verie great in the Croſſe of Chriſt?* did I not in plaine termes aſcribe to Chriſt [l] *a double ſenſe of Gods wrath: the firſt* [m] *purſuing our ſuretie being innocent and obedient, and euen his owne and onelie ſonne with all maner of corporall and temporall ſcourges vnto death, before it could be pacified?* the next *a* [n] *ſerious contemplation of that eternall and intolerable vengeance, which the Iuſtice of God had in ſtore for vs, by reaſon of our manifolde ſinnes, whoſe danger and deſtruction touched him as neere, through the tenderneſſe of his loue and pitie, as if it had beene imminent ouer his owne head?* But this you will ſay is not the wrath which you meane. Sir whatſoeuer your meaning be, which is ſcant knowen to your ſelfe, as anon we ſhal better perceiue, the words of your Treatiſe ſetting the very queſtion, to which your Reader muſt looke, ouerlaſhed with two palpable vntrueths, vnfit for a man of that care and conſcience which you would ſeeme to haue. For firſt this could be no queſtion with me, whether Chriſt *ſuffered for vs the wrath of God*, who exactly affirmed that Gods wrath was great in the Croſſe of Chriſt, and admitted in the ſoule of Chriſt a ſight and ſenſe of Gods temporall wrath inflicted on his bodie, and of Gods eternall wrath prepared for our ſinnes. Againe, had I moued that queſtion, which I neuer meant, doth the firſt part of the controuerſie containe no more but Whether Chriſt ſuffered the wrath of God or no? are your hell paines ſo ſoone vaniſhed into ſmoake? is the death of Chriſts ſoule no queſtion with you? whether the death of Chriſts bodie, and the ſhedding of his bloud be the full price of our Redemption, and cauſe of our reconciliation to God, is it not worth the asking, nor worth the anſwering? but you ranne from the reſt not able to iuſtifie that which I diſproued; and then, as your maner is, you catch a large and licentious word, and currie that till you confound both your ſelfe and your Reader. For who but you would haue propoſed ſuch a queſtion, Whether Chriſt *ſuffered for vs the wrath of God*, knowing that in the Scriptures themſelues, according to which we muſt frame our ſpeech in matters of faith, there are many degrees and differences of Gods wrath, whereof ſome may be attributed to Chriſts ſufferings without offence; others can not without plaine impietie? and therefore the queſtion which you propoſed in your Treatiſe was but a very ſtale to make your Reader gaze at, whiles you ſhifted aſide from the matter which I moued.

[k] Serm. p. 133. li. 13.
[l] Ibidem. li. 30.
[m] l. 14.
[n] l. 34.

[The one (you will ſay) is a proofe of the other; for he *which ſuffereth Gods wrath, muſt needs ſuffer the paines of hell.*] That was and muſt be the whole ſtrength of your Treatiſe, vnleſſe you will confeſſe that you meant to waſte your paper, and mocke your Reader with a number of emptie and idle fanſies. But how faint and feeble that foundation was to beare ſo great a building, the [o] concluſion of my Sermons doth ſufficiently ſhew. In which I tolde you, that either your argument muſt be vitious, if your antecedent were particular; or if to make your argument good, you enlarged

[o] fo. 243.

your antecedent to be generall, your first proposition would be both iniurious and blasphemous. For though Christ might and did suffer some parts of Gods wrath, as the Scripture vseth that word, which is all that your indefinite proposition will implie; yet it would no way follow that he therefore suffered the paines of hell. And if, to amend your consequent, you did affirme that Christ suffered the whole wrath of God, and euery part thereof, and so by consequent the paines of hell also; the forme of your argument was bettered, but your antecedent, on which the conclusion must depend, was a most false and wicked assertion: for then must Christ haue suffered reprobation, desperation, eternall damnation, and what not. Whether this exception were sound and good, I leaue to the iudgement of the Reader; verily, I haue either forgotten the first principles of Logicke; or els it was a full and plaine subuersion of your misshaped reason.

Their foure restraints of hell paines.

But you now amend the matter in your last defence, and where your chiefe position was before indefinite, *Christ suffered for vs the wrath of God*; and so did neither good nor harme to the maine question of Christs suffering the paines of hell; vpon better aduice, you make it generall and say; *Christ suffered all Gods wrath*, but with foure restraints to saue your opinion from apparent falsitie and heresie. For first you adde, [p] *all Gods* PROPER *wrath*; next, if it *be a punishment for sinne, and no sinne*; thirdly, *as touching the essence and nature thereof*; fourthly, so farre as *was due generally for all mankinde to suffer*. But Sir Defender, this is not to maintaine your first argument, but to confesse, and recant your former follie, when you see your position impugned as friuolous and childish, if it be particular; or as erroneous and impious, if it be generall; to come in with foure fresh limitations in a new pamphlet before you can saue your generall assertion from sensible impietie and infidelitie. Howbeit take your fourth, to returne to trueth is neuer too late: Let your generall proposition stand fettered & restrained with these foure brakes: I must aske you now, not onely how you proue this generall Collection, *Christ suffered for vs all Gods wrath* in the same nature and maner that we should haue suffered it, sauing your foure exceptions; but also, what parts of Gods wrath you leaue inclosed in your generall affirmatiue, when all these are excluded. Which two demands I wish thee (good Reader) to haue in speciall remembrance against we come to debate the Defenders question, that thou mayest see both what cause leadeth him so to collect, and what trueth is in the generall, when these particulars are excepted.

[p] Defence p. 7. l. 32.

That Christ *tooke our infimities and bare our sorrowes* is confirmed by the Prophet Esaie, and alleaged and expounded as well by Saint Mathew in his Gospell, as by Saint Peter in his first Epistle; in either of which senses we may safely graunt the meaning of the Prophet to be generall, though his words haue no speciall adscription of all, or some. Saint Mathew declaring how Christ cured with his very word such as were possessed by diuels, and healed all that were sicke, affirmeth that to be [q] fulfilled *which was spoken by Esaias the Prophet, he tooke our infirmities and bare our sicknesses*, meaning *he tooke* from vs our *infirmities* and recouered our diseases. And in this sense the generall is most true, that Christ tooke away all our infirmities, and recouered all our sicknesses, were they corporall or spirituall, temporall or eternall, that we should feele the full burden of none of them. Neither did our Sauiour only take our sorrows from vs, but he also tooke them vpon himselfe, which Peter obserueth when he saith (Christ) [r] *himselfe bare our sinnes* (that is, the burden and punishment of our sinnes) *in his body on the tree*. And in this sense likewise, it is very true that Christ bare the burden of all our sinnes without exception, but not all, and the selfe same burdens of our sinnes which we should haue borne. For he that so enlargeth Saint Peters words, which this Discourser so much laboureth, extendeth them to reprobation, pollution, desperation, damnation, and to all the punishments prepared for the wicked in this life and the next, which is the depth and height of all impiety. I wish the Defender therefore to get him some better ground to erect his frame vpon, he will else prooue himselfe an euill Disputer, and a woorse beleeuer. Saint Paule hath a third sense gathered

[q] Math. 8. vers. 17.

[r] 1. Pet 2.

thered out of this place, when he ſaith, [f] *We haue not an high Prieſt that can not be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, but was in* ALL THINGS (tried or) *tempted in like ſort,* ‖*yet*‖ *without ſinne.* That Chriſt was tried and preſſed with all our infirmities may hence be collected, but with theſe two additions *like to his brethren*, and ſtill WITHOVT SINNE. *for he muſt be like* (not to the reprobate, much leſſe to the damned, but) *to his* [t] *brethren in all things*, that is by partaking as well fleſh and blood with them, as ſufferings and tentations like them, yet alwaies without ſinne. Then as the godly neither doe nor can ſuffer the true paines of hell in this life, which are the iudgements and torments of the damned in another world; no more did Chriſt ſuffer them in this life. And where conſcience of ſinne, ignorance of Gods counſaile, and weakeneſſe of faith ſometimes draw the godly to doubt of Gods fauour, and affright them with the horror of hell; from theſe, and all like inward tentations and motions of ſinne, Chriſt muſt be moſt free, in whoſe ſoule was no lacke of grace, nor touch of ſinne; but the fulneſſe of Gods ſpirit, aſſured knowledge of Gods will, and perfection of all humane integritie and innocencie, beſides the perſonall vnion and communion of his Godhead, which kept him both from doubting of Gods loue towards himſelfe, and from fearing damnation as due to him or poſsible to be laide on him.

[f] Heb. 4.

[t] Heb. 2.

[Your limitations you will ſay, ſerue to exclude thoſe punihments which Chriſt neither did nor might ſuffer. For Chriſt ſuffered onely *in this life, and but for a time, and without ſinne*; and yet ſuffered all, and the very ſame puniſhments ſo limited, as you limite them, which the damned doe, and thoſe were the paines of hell.] If you begin (Sir Defender) to limite the words of the holy Ghoſt to your liking, I thinke it a ſafer and ſurer courſe to heare and receiue S. Peters and S. Pauls limitations annexed to their owne words, and other defence againſt all your attempts I deſire none. Chriſt *himſelfe* (ſaith Peter) *bare our ſinnes in his bodie on the tree.* Heere ſee we not onely the perſon *who*, euen the ſonne of God; and the place where, and time when; *on the tree*, not after; but alſo the part in which he bare the puniſhment of all our ſinnes, to wit, *in his body. He muſt* (ſaith Paul) *be like his brethren in all things*; that is, infirmities, tentations, and ſufferings, but ſtill *without ſinne.* What is this to the paines of hell, which are the deſtruction of bodie and ſoule excluded after this life from the ioy and bliſſe of Gods kingdome, and tormented among diuels with euerlaſting fire?

[*That* (you thinke) *is my groſſe imagination of hell, the fire there is a toyiſh fable; the greateſt paine in hell is the ſenſe of Gods fierie wrath, which he inflicteth with his immediate hand vpon the ſoule lyable to ſinne without any meanes or inſtruments; the ſubſtance whereof becauſe Chriſt ſuffered* (as you ſay) *for a time in this life, though not in hell nor for euer, he ſuffered the verie ſame paines of hell as touching the eſſence and nature thereof, which the damned doe; though in circumſtances of time and place his ſufferings ſomewhat differed from theirs.*] Your quinteſſencing and new framing of another hell, which the Scriptures neuer ſpeake of; your quenching hell-fire with a fanſie; your appointing God to be the tormentor in hell with his immediate hand; your nice diuiding betweene the ſubſtance and circumſtance of Gods eternall iudgements; your placing the ſubſtance thereof in the apprehenſion of the ſoule, and that as well in this life as in the next, with a number of like audacious and deſperate deuiſes to vphold the name or the ſhade of hell-paines in the ſufferings of Chriſt, wee ſhall anon diſcuſſe, when we come to your opening of the queſtion; in the meane while the Reader muſt marke, The queſtion is not whether Chriſt bare the burden of all our ſinnes on the tree, or whether he were touched and tempted in all things like to his brethren, yet ſtill without ſinne, but whether it can be prooued by the Scriptures that Chriſt muſt beare all and the ſelfe ſame burdens of our ſinnes which wee ſhould haue borne in this life, and the next, and which the damned doe and ſhall beare. Your diſtinction of the ſubſtance and circumſtance of Gods endleſſe and mercileſſe vengeance of ſinne in hell, we ſhall quickly let the Reader ſee how vainely you preſume it with-

out all warrant of holy Scripture, and how falsely you applie it to the person of Christ against the manifest Scripture, if first we obserue how handsomely you set downe the doctrine which I defend in the next words to your owne hieroglyphicall question, of purpose that if you cannot by trueth ouerbeare it, you may at least by falshood disgrace it.

[a] Defence. p. 7. His [a] contrary [*opinion* (say you) *we conceaue thus, that Christ suffered for our sinnes nothing else, but simply and meerely a bodily death altogether like as the godly doe often suffer at the hands of persecutors, sauing onely that God accepted the death of his sonne, as a ransome for sin, but the death of his seruants he doth not.*] Had you not seene and read my sermons printed before you made this late defence, you might haue excused your selfe (Sir defender) by forgetting or mistaking my wordes; but after so often and open repeating them in Print, what cause can be imagined why you should thus apparently peruert my words, and purposely forsake the points which I proposed, saue onely that finding the foile, and doubting a fall, you would gladly slippe your necke out of the collar; and seeing no better meanes, you thinke it more skill to stand wrangling about the Question, then to be taken tardie with saying iust nothing in a matter of the greatest weight, and chiefest regard in Christian religion. My words are euery where plaine enough as well in deliuering as debating the question, *that Christ suffered no death saue only the death of the bodie, by the verdit of holy Scripture*; and therefore whatsoeuer the Scripture speaketh of Christs death, it is intended and referred to the death of Christs bodie on the Crosse, and by no meanes to the death of his soule. The words of my preface are these: [x] *Where the Scriptures are plaine and pregnant, that Christ died for our sinnes, and by his death destroyed him that had power ouer death, euen the Deuill, and reconciled vs when we were strangers, and enemies in the body of his flesh: besides, that the holy Ghost in these places by expresse words nameth the bodily death of Christ, as the meane of our redemption and reconciliation to God: no considerate Diuine may affirme or imagine Christ suffered the death of the soule.* When I come in my Sermons to handle that point I thus beginne it. [y] *That Christ did or could suffer the death of the soule, is a position farre from the words, but farther from the groundes of sacred Scriptures.* When I shew the Fathers doe ioyne in the same resolution with the Scriptures, I say, [z] *Rightly therefore doe the Ancient Fathers teach, that Christ dying for our sinnes suffered* ONELY THE DEATH OF THE BODIE, BVT NOT OF THE SOVLE. Concluding their testimonies I capitulate in this wise; [a] *I hope to all men learned or well aduised it will seeme no Iesuiticall phrenzie, but rather Christian and Catholike doctrine, that the Sonne of God dying for our sinnes suffered* NOT THE DEATH OF THE SOVLE, BVT ONELY OF THE BODIE. If you vnderstand not these words (Sir Defender) your Reader will iudge you fitter to learne your a b c, then to dispute questions in Diuinitie; if you doe conceaue them, and will peruert them, let him likewise pronounce whether it be sinceritie or impudencie in you, thus to outface the matter against my plaine speach, and to make Proclamation that I defend Christ suffered nothing else for our sinnes but simply and meerely a bodyly death altogether like as the godly often doe at the hands of persecutors. Had you said, I maintaine Christ suffered no death, but onely a bodily death, I would haue asked you by what Scriptures you or all your adherents can disproue it; but charging me as you doe with this opinion, that Christ suffered nothing else but simply and meerely a bodily death altogether like the godly; I must tell you this is one of your trueths, which many men will call a malitious leasing, since my wordes are publikely extant to the contrarie. My first resolution was; Christ [b] saw before hand that going to his Crosse he should tast all kindes of calamities, and so it came to passe. For betweene his last Supper and his death, he was betrayed of *Iudas*, abiured of *Peter*, forsaken of all his followers; he was wrongfully imprisoned, falsly accused, uniustly condemned, he was buffeted, whipped, skorned, reuiled; he endured cold, nakednesse, thirst, wounding, hanging, shame, reproach, and all sorts of deadly paines; besides heauinesse of hart and agonie of mind, which oppressed him

[x] Pref. p. 3 l. 8.

[y] Serm. p. 73. l. 13.

[z] Serm. p. 78. l. 32.

[a] Serm. p. 83. l. 28.

[b] Serm. p. 4. l. 4.

him in the Garden. All this I affirme Christ ſuffered before his death, and therefore all this beſides his meere bodily death; to which I added 'all thoſe afflictions and paſsions of the Soule, which naturally and neceſſarily follow paine and accompany death. You perchance would annex the paines of hell, and the death of the Soule, but thoſe are the very points in queſtion which I then did, and yet doe vtterly exclude from the ſufferings of Christ. 'Serm.p.87. l.23.

Where you ſay, I hold, Christs death was altogether like as the godly doe ſuffer at the hands of Perſecutors, I know not what you meane by your altogether; in ſome things his death was like theirs, in many things vnlike. A wrongfull and painefull death of the body he ſuffered at the hands of the Iewes, as the godly doe often at the hands of their perſecutors; and a full perſwaſion he alwaies had of Gods exceeding and aſſured loue and fauour towards him, in the middeſt of all his anguiſhes, as the godly haue in theirs, though in farre leſſe perfection then his was; but as touching the cauſe, the manner, the force of his death, I make it *altogether* vnlike theirs. They inherite both ſinne, and death, from their Parents, and ſo of neceſsity muſt die, and putrifie in the graue; he did inherite neither, but being free from both, yeelded himſelfe to die, that he might purge and aboliſh ſinne. Death wreſteth our ſoules from our bodies, be we neuer ſo patient, whiles ſence doth laſt; he breathed out his ſoule powerfully, and willingly, which none could take from him, except he would lay it downe of his owne accord. Our bodies doe rot in the graue, and lye in corruption, which is the dominion of death, till the time, they ſhall be reſtored; his body could not be diſſolued to aſhes, becauſe neither part of his humane nature might periſh, after it was once vnited to his Diuine; but lay in the graue without corruption reſiſting death, and roſe with ſpeede in glory ouerthrowing death, firſt in him ſelfe, and after in all his members at their appointed time. So that death is now a neceſſarie conſequent to our ſinfull nature, his voluntary death was the ſatisfaction for our ſins, and pacification of Gods wrath, reſtoring vs againe to Gods fauour, which through ſin we had loſt. Thus haue you both ſwarued very far Sir Defender from your owne queſtion, which your ſelfe put in your firſt Treatiſe though wide from our purpoſe, and wholy miſreported the doctrine which I formerly auouched by Scriptures, and Fathers; giuing ſmall hope you will deale more ſincerely in the reſt, that enter ſo corruptly at the firſt, but you will now open the whole ſtate of the Queſtion, which we are content to heare.

[*The opening of the whole ſtate of the Queſtion. For the better vnderſtanding whereof we muſt note theſe principall things.*] What you call the opening of the Queſtion, I may better call the darkning and obſcuring of the Queſtion with many trifling and tedious obſeruations, with many new found, farre fet, and ill applyed phraſes, with many bold and falſe aſſertions powred out of your owne braines, without any ſhew or ſo much as pretence of holy Scripture. And if you may be ſuffered thus to raigne and reuele in matters of Religion at your pleaſure; it is an eaſie way for you to conclude any thing without any great paines or proofes. For you bring vs a world of wordes warranted by no mans authoritie, but by your owne, and out of them you frame falſe poſitions fitte for your fancie, and vtter them as vndoubted principles of Chriſtian Religion; which indeede haue in them neither truth, nor ſence, when they come to be examined. As is your matter, ſo is your method, tumbling and toſsing too and fro, like the vnſettledneſſe of your head, and ſpending twentie pages in meere confuſion and contradiction, for which cauſe I muſt be driuen to recall your conceits to ſome ſpeciall heads, leaſt in purſuing your ſteps I looſe both my ſelfe and the Reader. i Defenc. p.8.

The things which you diſorderly ſhuffle, and I ſhall be forced more largely to handle, concerne either the *offender*, which is *man*, or the *offence*, which is *ſinne*, or the *Iudge*, which is *God*; or the *puniſhment* which is *death*, or the *ranſommer* and *redeemer*, which is *Chriſt*. I meane to meddle with no more in any of theſe, but what directly pertaineth to this queſtion, and ſerueth aptly to exclude your conceits, and truely

truely to establish the collections which I make. First then, touching [1] MAN who consisteth of body and soule, the doubt will be whether the whole man sinned in Adam, that the whole might suffer in Christ; or whether the soule onely sinned, that the soule of Christ onely must suffer. Secondly in [2] SINNE must be remembred how it *commeth*, and what it *bringeth*. Sinne is either COMMITTED, as by Adam, or INHERITED, as by vs all; or ASSVMED, as by Christ, who tooke vpon him the punishment of our sinnes though neither committed nor inherited by him. And of it selfe sinne breedeth in the offendor, where it is not remitted, clensed, and remooued by the blood of Christ; POLLVTION of the whole man, STING of conscience, and REVENGE of Gods wrath in this life and the next. Thirdly, for the [3] IVDGE which is God, we must learne, *from what ground*, within him the punishments of his elect in this life doe proceede, whether from his Iustice, or from his loue, or from both mixed together, by *whom he executeth* his iustice in earth and in hell, whether by his immediate hand, or by inferiour ministers and meanes, *with what measure* he proportioneth it, as well to the faithfull in this life, as to the faithlesse, till the number of their sinnes be full; and lastly, to *what purpose he directeth it*, either to *reuenge* sinne, as in the wicked and *damned*; or to *represse* sinne as in the godly, or to *declare* his iustice, as in Infants baptized; or to *perfit* his graces, as in the best of his Saints here on earth; or to *purge* and *abolish* sinne, and to *prooue obedience* as in the person of Christ Iesus. Fourthly, [4] DEATH which is the *wages of sinne*, and includeth all the punishments prouided here, and elsewhere for sinners, is either *corporall* parting the soule from the bodie; or *spirituall* separating the soule from the life, and grace of God; or *eternall*, excluding both bodie and soule, from the ioy, and blisse of Gods heauenly kingdome, and wrapping them both in the darkenesse, fire, and horrour of hell for euer. That all the paynes and griefes of this life, are the seedes of death, and wayes to death, and so come vnder the name of death, which driueth the soule from the bodie, is now presumed, and shall be prooued in place conuenient. Fiftly, concerning the [5] REDEEMER, which is Christ; to whose sufferings all that is aforesaid must in some sort be referred, the question is, in *what part*, and *how farre* he *suffered*, *feared*, or *apprehended* the wrath of God against our sinnes: but without question we must know and beleeue that his person was naturally and infinitely beloued of God, (all the elect being imbraced and accepted onely for him, and in him) and that the dignitie of his person and depth of his fauour with God, (when hee submitted himselfe to shew his obedience, and maintaine Gods iustice, by the shame and sharpenesse of the Crosse, receiued in his humaine nature) was the right ground, and true cause of our Redemption and Reconciliation to God; whose patience vnto death was a greater and acceptabler sacrifice to God for sinne, then all the world; yea then all earthly and heauenly creatures were worth. And to increase or strengthen this voluntary sacrifice for sinne, the paines of hell were no way needfull since Christ was to shew his obedience in this life onely, and after death to rise and raigne with glory, and by that which he suffered on the Crosse, he was to learne the obedience of a Sonne, and not the vengeance due to deuils. In all these issues, if I would take the Discoursers trade, to affirme what I list, without any further proofe, I could end the whole cause in as fewe wordes as I haue expressed it; but since that will neither content the Reader, nor conclude the gaine-sayer, I must haue leaue in larger maner as occasion serueth, both to repell the Defenders bold presumptions, and to confirme those things which I take to be safer Resolutions in Christian Religion.

The *principall* things which you would haue noted (Sir Discourser) are either *defective* in their diuisions, or *coincident* in their partes, or *repugnant* to your purpose.

[4] Defence p. 8. l. 6. [4] *All suffering of paines in man* (you say) *is from God, either properly from his Iustice, or from his holy loue; either from himselfe alone, or also from his instruments and inferiour meanes: and that for sinne either inherent, or imputed; either as Correction or as punishment; either immediatly or mediatly as anon we shall further see.* Not one of these foure partitions, which you make the fortresse of your cause, is sound and sufficient; and the

fift

fift is the ſelfe-ſame with the ſecond, it onely varieth in words. In theſe two diuiſions (*all ſuffering of paines in man is from Gods Iuſtice, or from his holy loue ; either as correction or as puniſhment*) you roue obſcurely, but abſurdly, at the *ground*, the *meaſure*, the *purpoſe* of all paines and puniſhments, as they come from God on all men, be they wicked or godly, Chriſt himſelfe not excepted ; either in this world, or the next. For the GROVND of them, you ſay they *proceed from Gods iuſtice properly, or from his holy loue*. The MEASVRE and PVRPOSE of them you confound in ſaying *either as correction, or as puniſhment*, which you ſhould diſtinguiſh.

From Gods iuſtice properly on men infected with ſinne commeth nothing but puniſhment, that is their due, which the iuſt Iudge awardeth them. From *Gods loue*, of it ſelfe commeth nothing but *grace* and *bliſſe* ; for which cauſe he is the fountaine of Grace, and father of Mercy to ſuch as he loueth. In the *reprobate God hateth* their *ſinnes*, and ſo their *perſons*, being the *committers* or *inheriters* of *ſinne* ſtill abiding. In *the elect*, Gods holineſſe *diſliketh* their *ſinnes* as much as the others ; but their *perſons* he *loueth* and *fauoureth* for Chriſt his ſonne, in whom they are choſen. And though the full and due puniſhment of their ſinne, which is ſpirituall and eternall death, be tranſlated from them, and aboliſhed in Chriſt ; yet when men redeemed and freed from the heauie burden of their ſinnes doe not earneſtly repent them, or eftſoones frequent them, God for the conſeruation of his holineſſe, and demonſtration of his righteous iudgement to all the world, doth ſooner and ſharper viſit and puniſh with the corporall and temporall ſcourges of this life his owne children, neglecting or reſuming their ſinnes, than his enemies ; whom with longer patience he ſuffereth to heape vp wrath againſt the day of wrath. A[e] *iudgement mercileſſe* therfore, as S. Iames calleth it, is and ſhall be to the wicked, whereas in the godly *mercy reioyceth* againſt *iudgement*, but not without iuſtice. For [f] *iudgement* (which in God can neuer be without iuſtice, ſince he is the righteous Iudge of the world) *muſt begin at the houſe of God*, [g] *and when we are iudged, we are chaſtened*, (with a mercifull iudgement) *that we ſhould not be condemned with the world*. And though in the afflictions of the godly, there be many things added of fauour ; as the meaſure, which is tolerable, not ouerwhelming their patience ; the purpoſe which is holy, to recall them from the delight and cuſtome of ſinne, and to perfit the graces of God in them ; the comfort which is great, that God loueth their perſons, when he purſueth their ſinnes ; the promiſe which is ſure, that if they ſuffer with Chriſt, they ſhall reigne with Chriſt, and ſuch like ; yet the ſmart of Gods rod, and ſharpneſſe of his whip, wherewith he awaketh the negligent, and tameth the vnruly, proceed from his iuſt iudgement, and commend his holineſſe which hateth all ſinne in whomſoeuer ; and declare his iuſtice to the whole world, that he wincketh not either at the waiwardneſſe, or at the careleſneſſe of his owne children. The places in Scripture witneſsing thus much are infinite, and eaſie for euery childe to obſerue ; and therefore one ſhall ſuffice for all. To his Church God ſayth by the mouth of Ieremie, [h] *Though I vtterly deſtroy all the Nations, where I haue ſcattred thee, yet will I not vtterly deſtroy thee ; but I will correct thee by iudgement, and not vtterly cut thee off. I haue ſtricken thee with the wound of an enemie, and with a cruell chaſtiſement for the multitude of thine iniquities, thy ſinnes were increaſed. Thy ſorrow is incurable for the number of thine offences, ‖ becauſe ‖ thy ſinnes were increaſed, I haue done theſe things vnto thee: ‖ But ‖ I will reſtore health to thee, and heale thee of thy wounds.*

[i] [*The godly in this world doe ſuffer paines for their ſinnes ; but theſe whatſoeuer they be, (yea though death it ſelfe) are improperly called puniſhments, they are chaſticements of ſinne.*] This new Grammer doth beſt become your newe doctrine. All paines for ſinnes whatſoeuer, ſuffered by any of the elect in this life, are chaſticements, but in no wiſe you may indure to haue them called puniſhments, except very improperly. What is a chaſticement properly, but a puniſhment moderated with loue and mercy? And ſince you be ſo preciſe that no paine ſuffered by any of Gods children may properly be called a puniſhment ; whence I pray you is the word puniſhment deriued? not from the Latine word *punire* to puniſh? and *punio* from *pœna*, which our Engliſh

e Iames 2. ver. 13.

f 1. Pet. 4.

g 1. Cor. 11.

h Ierem. 30.

i Defen. p. 10. l. 29.

English tongue resembling the Latine, calleth paine? so that paine and punishment are wordes of one deriuation, and so properly of one signification, and by force of the wordes properly, all paine for sinne is punishment for sinne. And therefore in all mens iudgements sauing yours, chasticement is a punishment tempered with fauor, and not a paine excluding all punishment as you make it in your dissolute diuision. Read either the text, or notes of the Geneuian Translation of the Bible, which you would seeme so much to follow; or whose translation you will, and see whether they doe not contradict your childish conceite, that the Chasticement of Gods children is no punishment. [k] *Moses was punished for their sakes*; and againe, *God* [l] *doth not punish with the hart*; & the Wiseman speaking vnto God, [m] *with how great circumspection* (saith he) *wilt thou punish thine owne children.* And vpon those words of *Ieremie*, [n] *O Lord correct me, but with iudgement, not in thine anger*; they of Geneua note, [o] *He onely prayeth that God would* PVNISH THEM *with mercie*, which *Esay* calleth *in measure* ca. 27. *for here by iudgement is ment, not onely the* PVNISHMENT, *but also the* MERCIFVLL MODERATION *of the same.* So that Chastisement noteth the measure of the punishment, which God fauourably inflicteth on his children, not according to their sinnes, nor exceding their strength. [p] *He hath not dealt with us* (saith *Dauid*) *after our sinnes, nor rewarded vs according to our iniquities.* [q] *There hath no tentation taken you* (saith *Paul*) *but such as belongeth to men; and God is faithfull which will not suffer you to be tempted, aboue that you be able, but will giue the issue with the tentation, that you may be able to beare it.* Yea, to his enimies God mitigateth the heauinesse of his hand at first, and giueth them time and place to amend before he destroyeth them. [r] *I gaue her space to repent* (saith *Christ*) *but she repented not*; and therefore when the measure of their sinnes waxeth full, God repaieth them the fulnes of vengeance, which is puuishment proportioned to their sinnes; and this is the due and proper punishments of those that are wilfull, and doe not repent their wickednesse.

[k] Psal. 106.
[l] Lament. 3.
[m] Sapient. 12.
[n] Ierem. 10.
[o] Ibid. lit. q.
[p] Psal. 103.
[q] 1. Cor. 10.
[r] Reuelat. 2.

[s] [*The paines of the godly are partly remembrances to cause repentance, partly Chasticements to humble vs and mortifie sinne in vs; but these whatsoeuer they be* (yea though death it selfe) *are improperly called punishments.* Here you touch after your loose maner the purpose of God in afflicting his seruants, which you say is to reforme them, but in no wise to punish them. If God had none other meaning in afflicting the faithfull, but to reforme their sins, nor none other meanes to doe that, but by paines, your speech had some truth; but because God hath diuers purposes in so doing, and diuers waies without paines to amend his children, this that here you bring, as the rest else-where, is a blind groping besides the truth, and a bold presuming that you are in the truth. God many times lodeth the best and chiefest of his Saintes with oftner and greater troubles, then he doth the meaner sort; not because their sinnes are more then others, or they neede more amendment then the rest; but to TRIE their faith, as in [t] *Abraham*, and [u] *Iob*; or to shew the [x] perfection of his grace, as in *Paul*; or to prepare them to glory, as in [y] *Lazarus*; or to [z] conforme them to Christ, whose steps they must follow; and often to declare his iustice, as he did in striking *Dauids* child, when the sinne was both repented and pardoned in the Father. In the [a] sickneste and death of which child, as of all other infants regenerate by Baptisme, there neither was, nor can be any vse of Repentance, humiliation, or mortification for themselues; and consequently by your owne diuision, since to them it can be NO CORRECTION, it must in them be a punishment of sinne, not actually committed by them, but naturally deriued to them by the guilt and corruption of their Parents. Yea, the generall paine laid on *Adam* and all mankinde, as dissolution by death, priuation of originall light and grace, corruption of sinne, infection of soule, which declare vs all to be the children of wrath by nature; were they corrections or punishments of *Adams* sinne, since after death there is no repentance nor amendment of life, and the rest are neither barres to sinne, nor retraits from sinne, but either parts, effects, or causes of sinne? which sticke so fast, and beare such

[s] Defenc. p. 10. l. 29.
[t] Heb. 11.
[u] Iob. 1.
[x] 2. Cor. 12.
[y] Luk. 16.
[z] Rom. 8.
[a] 2. Sam. 12.

rule

rule in many euen of the elect, that no gentle or fatherly admonitions, reprehensions, or comminations, will preuaile with them, but they must be ouerruled and wearied with sharp and pearcing scourges, before they will see or forsake the loathsomnesse of their sinne. Wherein though it be a great fauour of God, rather to persue them with all temporall plagues vnto their conuersion, then to let them run headlong to euerlasting perdition; yet the meanes which he vseth are mixed with iustice and mercie, and are rightly beleeued to be punishments fully deserued by their sinnes, though not fully proportioned to their sinnes, the iust and full wages whereof in sinfull men can be none other but death corporall, spirituall, and eternall. So that your diuision, *all paine from God is either correction, or punishment*; and your position *no paine in the godly is punishment*, are not onely friuolous and false, but repugnant each to the other: for so much as paine commeth from God for probation of faith, perfection of grace, assurance of saluation, encouraging of others by example, as well as for correction; and death and correction in Infants, where correction hath no place, must by your owne partition be a punishment of sinne inflicted on the first Man and all his posteritie. The which because we all inherite from our Parents, and had it in vs at our birth, when there was no vse of correction for vs, it was then in vs all, and so still remaineth a punishment of our first Parents sinne; though by the grace, and price of Christs death, we are and shall be freed from it.

Christs bodily death, part of the punishment of our sinnes.

But come to your purpose, and apply this to Christ, for thither you bend and thereat you shoote; is your diuision true in the sufferings of Christ? then since by your owne assertion [b] *chastisements and remembrances*, (which are the branches that you make of Correction) belonged nothing at all to Christ, and indeede there could be no cause to correct any sinfull corruption or affection in him, where no sinne was; it is a plaine confession that the bodily death and paines which Christ suffered on the Crosse, were the punishment of our sinnes in his body; and consequently a part of that curse which was impose on the first mans sinne; which you so stifly denied in your Treatise, where you said; [c] *Therefore Christs dying simply as the godly die (that is a bodily death) may in no sort be called a curse or cursed.* And if to shift of this contradiction, and confession of the truth of my answere to the place of S. *Paule, Christ was made a curse for vs*, you referre these words (*as the godly doe*) not to the same kinde of death which is bodily in both, but to the same cause of death, which was different, in Christ and his members; Remember good Sir, the words are not mine, but your owne; I put many differences betwixt the death of Christ, and his Saints; as namely the cause, the manner, and force of his death, which I haue touched [d] before; but the kind of death which was bodily, and not Ghostly, is all one in Christ and the godly. For Christ died not the death of the Soule, no more doe the godly, when they depart this life, albeit they may oftentimes whiles here they liue, draw neere to the death of the Soule by sinning, which Christ could not. And if you begin now to be better aduised, I am not displeased with it; it shall suffice that mine answere did, and doth stand true, that Christ in suffering bodyly paines and death for vs, suffered a part of the same punishment and curse which was laid on all mankind for the sinne of *Adam*.

[b] Defenc. pa. 11. l. 12.

[c] Treatise. pa. 45. l. 1.

[d] Supra pa. 7.

[e] [*We must note especially that to suffer (as the godly doe) Chasticements and corrections, is not to suffer or feele Gods wrath, nor the punishment of sinne: except it be in a very improper speech. To suffer the true punishment, satisfaction, proper payment and wages of sinne, onely that is to suffer properly and truely the wrath of God: now then seeing the paines which Christ for vs did feele, were indeede properly the punishment, and payment and vengeance for sinne, such as the godly doe in no wise suffer, Christ onely hauing wholy suffered that for vs all: Therefore indeede his sufferings proceded from Gods proper wrath, and were the true effects of Gods meere Iustice, bent to take recompence on him for our offences.*] Thou hast in these words (Christian Reader) the bulwarke of this mans cause, concluding that Christ suffered the MEERE IVSTICE, PROPER VVRATH, and very

[e] Defen. pa. 9. l. 34.

very CVRSE of God for sinne. The frame of his reason, if I vnderstand it, (as who vnderstandeth his mysteries but himselfe?) is this. *All paine in man is from God, either as correction of sinne, or as punishment for sinne. In Christ there was no (* ‖ *cause and so no neede of* ‖ *) correction: his sufferings therefore were the punishments of sinne.* They were punishments for sinne; *Ergo*, they *were the true punishment, proper payment, wages and vengeance of sinne, which proceeded from Gods proper wrath, and were the true effects of Gods meere iustice, bent to take recompence on him for our offences.* His termes of TRVE, PROPER, and MEERE, ioyned to the PVNISHMENT, VVRATH and IVSTICE of God, are not warranted by any Scripture, much lesse referred to the sufferings of Christ, nor so much as prooued by any testimony, defined with any certaintie, directed by any part, or expounded by any meanes; but onely proiected as Ridles, and laberinthes to weary the wise, to angle the simple, and to refuge himselfe, when he shall be pressed with the falsitie and impietie of his assertions. Least therefore we wrangle about words in vaine, which is his desire and deuise, that he may seeme to say somewhat, and carry the Reader into a forest of strange and vnknowen phrases, where he shall hardly discerne what either side saith; I thinke it needefull first to declare what the Scriptures meane by the *wages of sinne* and *wrath* of God, and so to trie in what sense, and with what truth his termes may be added to them, and applyed to the sufferings of Christ.

[f] Rom.6. [g] Genes.2. [f] [*The wages of sinne is death*, saith S. *Paul*. God himselfe foretold *Adam* it should be so. *Whensoeuer thou eatest* (of the forbidden tree) *thou shalt* [g] *die the death*. Then how many kinds of death, are by God threatned and inflicted on sinners; so many parts must the wages of sinne containe. Now those are three, the death of the Soule in this life, which I call *spirituall*; the death of the body leauing this life, which I call *corporall*; and the death of both in the next world, which I call *eternall*. For as man had two parts by which he did liue, Soule and body; and two places wherein he might liue if he obeyed God, earth for a time, and heauen for euer; so disobedience depriued either part of man in either place, of the life which he should haue enioyed, and subiected him to the feares, griefes, and paines of death, both here, and in hell for euer.

The life of the body is the vnion of the Soule with the body; the effects whereof are sense, and motion, to discerne, obtaine, and performe that which is needfull or healthfull for the body. And as the presence of the Soule bringeth life to the body, so the departing of the Soule taketh life from the body, and leaueth it dead, that is, voide of all action, motion and sense, as to euery mans eyes is apparent in dead bodies. The Soule therefore in the Scriptures is vsually taken for the life of the body, which proceedeth from the Soule, and is maintained by the Soule; And these phrases to [h] *seeke a mans Soule, to lay* [i] *downe his owne Soule*, or to *giue* it for another, to *powre out* his *Soule vnto death*, with such like, doe properly expresse the death of the body, quickned by the Soule, because men loose or leaue this life, when they loose or leaue their Soules. And where God threatned death to *Adam*, euen the very same day in which he should transgresse, we must not thinke that God either delayed the punishment longer, or extended it farder, then his words at first imported. When therefore the very same day that they sinned, God said to the *woman*, [k] *increasing I will increase thy sorrow*, and to the man, *In sorrow shalt thou eate all the daies of thy life*, we must acknowledge, that from that time forward, death began to take hold, and worke on both their bodies, though not by present separation of the Soule from the body, (for *Adam* liued after that 930. yeeres) yet by *mortalitie, mutabilitie, miserie*, and namely by *sorrow* and *paine* as the instruments and agents of death. [l] *Worldly sorrow causeth death*, as *Paul* witnesseth; and a [m] *broken hart* (saith *Salomon*) *drieth the bones*; yea, [n] *sorrow hath slaine many*. And were it not so written, yet experience and nature teacheth vs, that griefe of mind, and paine of body, where they continue or increase, consume the flesh and hasten death; so that when God, the same day that they sinned, subiected them to *sorrow* and *paine*, which before they felt

[h] Math.2. Rom.11. [i] Ioh.13. 1.Ioh.3. [k] Genes.3. [l] 2.Cor.7. [m] Prouerb.17. [n] Eccles.30.

felt not. He made way for death, that it might continually worke in them, and weaken them till they returned to duſt. [o] *The time of this life* (ſaith Auſten) *is nothing elſe but a race to death, and truely after a man beginneth to be in this body, he is in death.*

[o] *De ciuitate Dei. li. 13. cap. 10.*

The life of the ſoule is not her vnderſtanding and will, which ſhe can neuer loſe, no not in hell; but onely the trueth and grace of God, by whoſe ſpirit ſhe receiueth the light of faith to direct her, and the ſtrength of loue, to ſtirre and incite her in this life to beholde, deſire, and embrace the holineſſe and goodneſſe of Gods bleſſed will and promiſe, for her euerlaſting happineſſe; which with patience and comfort of the Holy ghoſt, ſhe expecteth till Gods appointed time do come. The lacke or loſſe of this inward ſenſe, and motion of Gods ſpirit, which only can quicken the ſoule, is the death of the ſoule, depriued of her life, which is God, and left to herſelfe in blindneſſe and hardneſſe of heart, and giuen ouer vnto a reprobate minde, and vile affections, to worke wickedneſſe euen with greedineſſe; till contempt of Gods will, and deſperation of his mercy doe fearefully end her miſerable time in this life, and violently draw her from hence to ſee, and ſuffer the terrible iudgements of God prouided for ſinne in another world.

Life euerlaſting, is the perfect and perpetuall viſion and fruition of Gods glorious preſence in the heauens, where vnſpeakable light, and honour, ioy, and bliſſe, ſhall compaſſe, and repleniſh bodie and ſoule in the fellowſhip of Chriſt, and his elect angels for euer. The excluſion and reiection of the wicked from this heauenly felicity, together with the ſhame and confuſion of ſinne wounding and ſtinging the conſcience without eaſe or reſt; and the dreadfull horror of hell, the place of darkneſſe and diuels, hauing in it continuall flames of intolerable and vnquenchable fire eternallie tormenting the ſoules and bodies of the damned; the Scriptures call the *ſecond death*, becauſe it is neuer inflicted but after the firſt death; and likewiſe *wrath to come*, for that the ſtate of this preſent life is not capable of thoſe extreame torments, which are reſerued for another world. And leaſt I ſhould ſeeme to make degrees and parts of eternall death out of mine owne head; let vs briefly view, whether the word of God do not witneſſe the ſame. [p] *There ſhall be weeping and gnaſhing of teeth* (ſayth Chriſt) *when you ſhall ſee Abraham, Iſaac, and Iacob, and all the Prophets in the kingdome of God, and your ſelues thruſt out at doores.* [q] *Many of thoſe that ſleepe in the duſt of the earth ſhall awake* (ſayth Daniel) *to perpetuall ſhame and reproch;* [r] *Their worme ſhall neuer die,* ſayth Eſay. The Lord that willed his good and faithfull ſeruants to enter into their *maſters ioy*, when he came to the ſlouthfull and vnprofitable ſeruant, commanded to be [s] *taken from him euen that he had*, and *to caſt him into vtter darkeneſſe.* The Iudge himſelfe forwarneth he will giue this ſentence on the wicked in the laſt day, [t] *Depart from me, ye curſed, into euerlaſting fire, prepared for the diuell and his angels. They ſhall be* [u] *tormented in fire and brimſtone* (ſayth Iohn) *and the ſmoke of their torments ſhall aſcend euermore, and they ſhall haue no reſt night nor day.*

[p] Luc. 13.
[q] Daniel 12.
[r] Eſa. 66.
[s] Matth. 25.
[t] Ibidem.
[u] Reuel. 14.

This is that [x] *euerlaſting perdition* and [y] *vengeance of eternall fire*, which the wicked ſhall ſuffer in hell, and this is the full and complete puniſhment and wages of ſinne, repaying the reprobate according to their deſerts, when their ſinnes come once to that ripeneſſe and fulneſſe, that they may no longer be endured by Gods iuſtice; the two former kinds of deaths in this world being ſuch as are either deſpiſed, or deſired, by the wicked. For nothing is more acceptable to them, than without all feare, or care of God, to follow their willes, and purſue their luſts; which is the death of the ſoule; and the death of the bodie which they can not decline, they labour to neglect; and though they murmur at God for it, as if man had beene framed at firſt mortall, yet finde they no great hurt in it, becauſe they know not the ſequel of it; and perceiue it to be common to good and badde, and to leaue no ſenſe of paine behinde it. And indeed the outward puniſhments of this life are by Gods bountie, and patience ſo tempered, not only with comfort to the godly, but with moderation to the wicked, that they warne all men to feare and flie the wrath to come, and giue time and place for amendment. [z] *The old inhabitants of the holy land, thou (Lord) diddeſt hate* (ſayth

[x] 2. Theſſ. 1.
[y] Iude ver. 7.
[z] Sapien. 12.

the

the Wiſeman) *for they committed abominable works, as ſorceries, and wicked ſacrifices; neuertheleſſe thou ſparedſt them alſo, as men, and didſt ſend the forerunners of thine hoſt, euen hornets to root them out; not that thou couldeſt not deſtroy them with one rough word, but in puniſhing them by little and little, thou gaueſt them ſpace to repent.* The Apoſtle
[a] Rom. 2. ſayth the ſame, [a] *Deſpiſeſt thou the riches of Gods bountie, and patience, and long ſuffering, not knowing that the bountie of God leadeth thee to repentance? but thou after thine hardneſſe, and heart that can not repent, heapeſt vnto thy ſelfe wrath againſt the day of wrath, and of the declaration of the iuſt iudgement of God, who will reward euery man according to his works.*

The wrath of God is alſo diuerſly taken in the Scriptures; ſometimes for the *inward diſlike*, and *hatred* that God in his *holineſſe* hath of all iniquitie; ſometimes for his *iudgements threatned, or executed againſt ſinne*, whether they be tempered with *loue* or *patience*, to *worke* or *expect* repentance, as in his owne, and in this *life*; or *proportioned* to the *deſerts* of wicked and impenitent ſinners, for *ſubſtraction* of *grace*, as to the *reprobate* in this world, or *infliction* of *vengeance*, as to the *damned* in hell. Such is the holineſſe of God, that he can loue no wickedneſſe, but by nature and of neceſsity
[b] Pſal. 5. doth and muſt hate all vnrighteouſneſſe in whomſoeuer. [b] *Thou art not a God, that*
[c] 2. Cor. 6. *loueth wickedneſſe* (ſayth Dauid) *neither ſhall euill dwell with thee.* [c] *What fellowſhip hath righteouſneſſe with vnrighteouſneſſe? or what communion hath light and darkneſſe*; What fauour then and allowance ſhould iniquitie finde with God, that is the very fountaine and flaming fire of all holineſſe? To declare Gods perfect hatred againſt all ſinne as well of the faithfull as faithleſſe, the Scripture witneſſeth not only that *his ſoule abhorreth* the outrages of the wicked, which are an *abomination vnto him*, but alſo that he is
[d] Prouerb. 6. *diſpleaſed* and *grieued* with the ſinnes euen of his elect. [d] *Theſe things the Lord hateth*
[e] Zacharie 8. (ſayth Salomon) *yea his ſoule abhorreth them.* [e] *All theſe are the things that I hate ſaith the Lord*, by the Prophet Zacharie. [f] *The fooliſh ſhall not ſtand in thy ſight, thou hateſt*
[f] Pſal. 5. *all them that worke iniquitie*, ſayth Dauid to God. *The Lord will abhorre the cruell and deceitfull man.* Yea God is diſpleaſed and grieued with his owne, when they ſinne a-
[g] Deuter. 32. gainſt him. [g] *The Lord ſaw it* (ſayth Moſes) *and was ſtirred to anger, with the prouocation of his ſonnes and his daughters.* When Dauid had ſlaine Vriah, and taken home
[h] 2. Sam. 11. his wife; *the* [h] *thing diſpleaſed the eies of the Lord*, ſayth the Scripture. Likewiſe when
[i] 1. Paral. 21. he numbred the people, [i] *God was diſpleaſed with that deed.* Eſay remembring the
[k] Eſa. 63. mercies of the Lord towards the houſe of Iſrael, ſayth; [k] *hee was their Sauiour in all their troubles, he was troubled, and the angell of his preſence ſaued them: but they rebelled*
[l] Epheſ. 4. *and grieued the ſpirit of his holineſſe.* The Apoſtle confirmeth the ſame: [l] *Grieue not the Holy ſpirit, by whom ye are ſealed vnto the day of Redemption.* Then as the loue of all righteouſneſſe is a naturall and neceſſarie conſequent to Gods holineſſe; ſo the diſlike and hatred of all ſinne is rightly and properly appertinent to his diuine puritie; neither muſt the godly take it for an improper kinde of ſpeech, but fully beleeue and plainely confeſſe, that God is truely and greatly diſpleaſed with their ſinnes, leſt in their hearts they bring him within compaſſe of liking or allowing their vncleanneſſe: and when they repent, they muſt not onely tremble at the prouoking of ſo righteous and fearefull a Iudge, but chiefly ſorrow for the diſpleaſing and offending the holineſſe of ſo gratious and louing a father. This diſlike and deteſtation of diſobedience euen in his owne children, which God of his holineſſe hath, the Scripture often ex-
[m] Exod. 4. ver. 14. preſſeth by the name of Anger, though no puniſhment follow. [m] *The Lord was very angrie with Moſes* (ſayth the Scripture) when he ſo long refuſed to goe at Gods ap-
[n] Numb. 12. verſ. 9. pointment to deliuer the children of Iſrael out of Ægypt. God was likewiſe [n] *verie angrie with Aaron and Miriam* his ſiſter, for ſpeaking againſt Moſes, though Aaron was not puniſhed for it, and Miriam quickely healed of her leproſie. So God him-
[o] Iob. 42. verſ. 7. ſelfe profeſſed to Eliphaz the Temanite, ſaying; [o] *My wrath is kindled againſt thee, and againſt thy two friends*, though he willed them to ſacrifice for their offence, and promiſed to accept Iobs prayer for them. The ſame may often be obſerued in other places of the Scriptures.

The

The wrath of God is likewiſe taken for the threates, whereby God denounceth what he will inflict on the wickedneſſe of men; or for the ſharpe reproofe, which hee vſeth againſt ſinne committed. [p] *I ſware in my wrath, they ſhall not enter into my reſt,* ſaith God of the diſobedient Iſraelites in the wildernesſe. [q] *In mine indignation, and in the fire of my wrath haue I ſpoken it* (ſaith God by Ezechiel) *ſurely at that time there ſhall be a great ſhaking in the land of Iſrael.* So Dauid, [r] *Then ſhall ‖ God ‖ ſpeake to them in his wrath, and terrifie them in his ſore diſpleaſure.* Wherefore Dauid prayeth for himſelfe, [s] *O Lord reproue me not in thine anger*; knowing that Gods rebukes and threates ought to be as much regarded and feared of the faithfull, as his plagues.

[p] Pſal. 95.
[q] Ezech. 38.
[r] Pſal. 2.
[s] Pſal. 6.

Laſtly, all the Iudgements of God, *awaking the negligent, ſcourging the diſobedient, obdurating the impenitent* in this life, or *reuenging the Reprobate*, here and in hell, are in the Scriptures called the wrath of God; of which ſpeech there can be no queſtion, becauſe the word of God giueth plaine & plentifull euidence in euery of thoſe parts: onely the Diſcourſer auoucheth, that the two firſt, are no degrees nor effects of Gods proper wrath; though the Scripture call them wrath, but are ſo termed by a very improper ſpeech. Theſe are his words: [t] *To ſuffer chaſtiſements and corrections as the godly doe, is not to ſuffer, or feele Gods wrath, except it be in a very improper ſpeech.* And this is one of the maine *points*, on which he putteth the iſſue of the queſtion. [u] *I affirme* (ſaith he) *Chriſt ſuffered Gods proper wrath and vengeance: You thinke, all afflictions whatſoeuer, ſmall or great, and towards whomſoeuer, are the effects of Gods wrath: but that is not ſo, except in a moſt improper ſpeech. To the godly their afflictions both ſmall and great, are Gods fatherly and gracious chaſtiſements, and no effects of his proper wrath.*

[t] Defen. pa. 9. l. 35.
[u] Defen. p. 13. l. 2.

Thou muſt not forget (Chriſtian Reader) from what beginning we come to this iſſue. This Rouer taking vpon him to prooue, that Chriſt ſuffered the true paines of hell, and of the damned, made this his foundation, [x] *That Chriſt ſuffered the wrath of God for vs; which he affirmed to be equall to hell it ſelfe, and all the torments thereof.* Mine anſwere ſhortly was, *I did not ſee* what this propoſition, *Chriſt ſuffered for vs the wrath of God*, if it were granted, could helpe his cauſe, or hinder mine. [y] *For the wrath of God extended to all paines and puniſhments, aſwell corporall as ſpirituall, in this life and the next, were they temporall or eternall. So that no paine or puniſhment, ſmall or great, could befall the bodie or ſoule of Chriſt, but it muſt needs proceed from the wrath of God.* To this he now replieth, *To* [z] *ſuffer (as the godly do) chaſtiſements and corrections, is not to ſuffer or feele Gods wrath, nor indeed the puniſhment of ſinne; except it be in a very improper ſpeech.* Where firſt obſerue that theſe words *(as the godly do)* are not conteined in mine anſwer, but intended by him in his replie. The ground on which I ſtood, was that *all the miſeries of mans life whatſoeuer they be, came firſt from the wrath of God reuenging the ſinne* of our firſt Father; and ſo are degrees and parts of that wrath wherewith God puniſhed the tranſgreſsion of Adam. I named no miſeries peculiar to the godly, but common to them with the wicked; neither did I touch any ſpeciall maner of ſuffering as the godly do ſuffer; but prooued that the Scriptures, which muſt teach vs all how to ſpeake in Gods cauſes, called them wrath euen in the godly. And conſequently, ſince Chriſt ſuffered *ſorrow, paine*, and *death*, which came for ſinne, and are common to all, he might and did ſuffer the wrath of God for vs, and yet not the paines of the damned.

[x] Treatiſ. pa. 33.
[y] Concluſ. pa. 243. l. 27.
[z] Defen. p. 9. l. 35.

[You caſt about afreſh (Sir Diſcourſer) in your defence, and tell vs the Scriptures ſpeake *verie improperlie*, when they call the miſeries of this life the *wrath of God*; and therefore you bring vs a new phraſe of your owne framing, and ſay the godly in no wiſe doe *ſuffer Gods proper wrath*, that is, *properly taken*, or *properly ſo called*, which Chriſt did ſuffer as you affirme.] Is your learning ſo good (Sir Defender) that you will applie to God *wrath, indignation, and furie* properly ſo called, which are the higheſt degrees of Gods anger againſt the wicked? Haue you forgotten, who tooke vpon you ſuch knowledge in the Hebrue tongue, that the vſuall words whereby the Scripture expreſſeth the wrath of God againſt the wicked, do import the [a] *noſe*, the [b] *heat*, the [c] *boiling*, the [d] *kindling*, the [e] *exceſſe* and rage of God againſt the wicked? which

Phraſes of Gods wrath in Scripture againſt the wicked are improper.

[a] *aph.*
[b] *chemah.*
[c] *ketſeph.*
[d] *charon.*
[e] *eeurah.*

words if you referre to God by way of proper ſpeech, you make of euery one of them a barbarous and blaſphemous hereſie. So that your late coined diſtinction of Gods wrath by improper ſpeech towards his children, and his wrath properly ſo called againſt his enemies, is vaine and fooliſh: the words in Scripture that note Gods wrath againſt his enemies are moſt improper, and are tranſlated from the behauiour of angrie men to God, of purpoſe to ſtrike a terrour into the wicked, of that great and grieuous iudgement which they ſhall receiue. But whatſoeuer the words deſigne in their naturall ſignification, which the Chriſtian faith forbiddeth vs to attribute properly vnto God, becauſe they expreſſe humane affections and corporall paſsions, which are not in God: by the anger which is in God againſt ſinne, the Scripture meaneth nothing els, but his moſt holy diſlike of ſinne in whomſoeuer, and his moſt iuſt and conſtant will and decree, in ſome to reward ſinne according to deſert, which is vengeance in this life, and the next; in others ſo to temper the puniſhment of ſinne with loue and mercie, that whatſoeuer he inflict on bodie or ſoule, ſhall tend to the praiſe of his iuſtice and mercie, and end with the conſolation and ſaluation of their ſoules. And by the anger which proceedeth from God, are in the Scriptures intended either his threats againſt ſinne, or his puniſhments of ſinne, be they corporall or ſpirituall, temporall or eternall, mixed with mercie, or proportioned only to iuſtice.

If you relinquiſh your holdfaſt of improper ſpeech, and raſe that vnaduiſed ſhift out of your booke; (for God hath in him no wrath properly ſo called, but his holineſſe diſpleaſed, and iuſtice prouoked by ſinne, are improperly named his wrath in the Scriptures;) Let vs come to the proprieties of the things themſelues, and ſee whether chaſticements for ſinne doe properly proceede from Gods loue onely, or from his iuſtice tempered with loue and mercy. Of the wicked I ſhall not neede to ſpeake much, we make no great queſtion of them; howbeit euen their externall puniſhments in this life are not voide of Gods bountie and patience diuerſly bleſsing them with earthly things, often warning and ſparing them, by giuing them time and place to miſlike and leaue their ſinnes; and length-fully expecting their ſubmiſſion and amendment, which the Apoſtle calleth [f] *the riches of Gods bountie, patience, and long ſufferance, leading* (euen the obſtinate and hard harted) *to repentance:* The doubt is of the godly; whether their afflictions which are corrections and chaſticements for ſinne, riſe only from Gods loue, or rather from his iuſtice mixed with loue. I affirme the Scriptures doe directly and diſtinctly propoſe in the chaſticements of the elect as well iudgement and wrath, as mercy and loue; and that not by abuſing the words, but by reſeruing to either their naturall proprieties, and ſeuerall conſequents; the one for the commendation of Gods iuſtice, the other for the demonſtration of his mercy, and conſolation of the afflicted.

[f] Rom. 2.

[g] *For his wicked couetouſneſſe I was angry,* (ſaith God) *and did ſmite him,* ‖ *but* ‖ *I will heale him, and reſtore comfort vnto him.* He muſt be more then abſurd, that will imagine, God would or could ſay, *for his wicked couetouſneſſe* I loued him; that were to make God the abettour and embracer of wickedneſſe, which is wholy repugnant to his Diuine ſanctitie and glory; the words therefore muſt ſtand as they doe without any euaſion of improper ſpeech, and Gods anger in this place muſt plainely differ from his loue, which cannot be added to theſe words without euident impietie. Since then the cauſe was *ſinne* which God doth perfectly hate in whomſoeuer, euen in his owne, and the *ſmiting* came for *ſinne* and from anger, it is not poſsible this chaſticement ſhould ſpring onely from loue, but ioyntly both muſt worke together, I meane Gods anger againſt ſinne, and his loue towards the perſon, to make the puniſhment tolerable, and comfortable to the bearer. The like rule God giueth for all that belong to the true ſeed, and ſonne of Dauid, which is Chriſt. *If* [h] *his children forſake my law, and walke not in my iudgements; I will viſite their tranſgreſſions with the Rod, and their iniquitie with ſtripes; but my mercy will I not take from him.* God threatneth no loue to ſinne, he threatneth anger; the ſtripes here mentioned are not the loue of a father, but mitigated by loue; the mercy here promiſed, is not adioyned

[g] Eſay 57.17.

[h] Pſal. 89. 31. 32.

ned as the onely cause of this correction, which is ascribed to the transgressions and iniquities of the children; but it serueth for a salue, to heale the wound, which Gods iustice prouoked by their sinnes should formerly make. For he is the God that [i] *woundeth* and *healeth*; *killeth*, and *quickneth*; [k] *casteth downe to hell, and rayseth vp againe*; not working contraries by one and the selfe same loue, but when he hath iustly done the one for our offences, he gratiously doth the other for his mercies sake; in [l] *wrath remembring mercy*, least we should be consumed. He then despouseth the Church vnto himselfe in [m] *iudgement and mercy*, not in iudgement forgetting mercy, nor by mercy excluding iudgement, for [n] *iudgement beginneth at the house of God*; but retaining both that the whole Church may [o] *sing mercy and iudgement* vnto him as Dauid did; yet with this difference that he *doth not* [p] *punish with the hart*, as the Prophet testifieth, but his [q] *delight is in mercie*. Which plainly prooueth the Rod is not all one with loue, as the Apostle noteth, when he opposeth the one against the other; saying, [r] *Shall I come to you with a rodde or in loue?* but is guided by loue, lest in *displeasure God should* [s] *shut vp his mercies*. These two therefore in God, iust anger against the sinnes, and tender loue towards the persons of his children, together with their effects, which are iudgement and mercy, may not be confounded the one with the other, but as they haue different causes and proprieties in God, so haue they different effects and consequents in vs; the Scriptures bearing witnesse, that Gods anger riseth for our sinnes, his loue for his owne names sake; his anger he threatneth, his loue he promiseth; he hath no pleasure in punishing, he delighteth in mercie; he *repenteth him often of the euill* which he denounceth, *his gifts and calling are without repentance*; when we call vpon him he *deliuereth vs* out of all our troubles, his *mercy will he neuer take* from his, nor *frustrate his truth*. Yea, the godly haue a different feeling of his anger towards them from his loue; they feare, they faint, they grieue, and grone vnder the burden of affliction, they waxe weary of it, they pray against it; they giue him thankes when they are freed from it; none of which affections may with any sense of godlinesse agree to his loue.

[i] Deut. 32.
[k] 1. Sam. 2.
[l] Habacuk. 3.
[m] Ose. 2.
[n] 1. Peuri. 4.
[o] Psal. 101.
[p] Lament. 3.
[q] Miche. 7.
[r] 1. Cor. 4.
[s] Psal. 77.

[But these *are* [t] *no effects of Gods proper wrath*, (you thinke) [u] *Christ onely hauing wholy suffered that for vs all.*] What you meane by Gods proper wrath, is knowen onely to your selfe, you neuer expresse nor expound the word, but with more obscure and doubtfull termes then the former. At first, you affirme Gods wrath towards his children was *a most improper speech*. I haue now shewed, that if you looke to the words vsed in the sacred Scriptures, Gods wrath towards his enemies is as improper a speech as the other. Your second wrench was, that all chastisements for sinne are inflicted on Gods children properly by his loue. I haue prooued, that they proceede properly from Gods iustice tempered with mercie, and not from his onely loue. Your third shift is now, they are *no effects of Gods proper wrath*, which Christ did wholy suffer for vs all. If you vnderstand by Gods proper wrath that which is only wrath, and hath no admixture of his loue, fauour or mercie, then is your position ridiculous in your first maine point, and blasphemous in the second. For who euer auouched that God punished his children, and his enemies with the same degrees and effects of wrath? or who euer dreamed that God chastising the sinnes of his elect, in wrath remembred not his mercie? you doe indeede affirme of Christ, that he suffered all Gods proper wrath, which if you now interpret to be without all respect of loue or fauour towards him, you light on a greater blasphemie, then you are ware of. Wherefore looke well to your new found phrases of Gods *meere iustice*, and *proper wrath*, with which you thinke to colour your conceits; they will else proue you a weake Scholer, and a worse Christian.

[t] Defen. p. 13.
[u] Et pa. 10.

The word (*proper*) applyed to Gods wrath may signifie either that which is not *figuratiue*; or that which is *not common to others*; or that which *hath no mixture* of loue, or mercie to mitigate wrath, but is wholy and onely wrath. In God nothing is figuratiue; he is naturally, and wholy truth it selfe. The words applyed to him are often improper and figuratiue, because we can hardly speake, or vnderstand many

things that are in him, but by ſuch words as are knowen and familiar to vs. In this ſenſe all that the Scripture intendeth by wrath in God, is moſt proper, and naturall to God; namely his holineſſe abhorring ſinne; his iuſtice proportioning puniſhment to it, and his power performing whatſoeuer his will and councell decreeth for the repreſſing, or reuenging of ſinne. For which reſpect *Zanchius*, a very moderate and conſiderate writer of our time, and one whom amongſt others, the Diſcourſer [x] *iudgeth no way inferior to the beſt of the Auncients*, ſetteth downe this for one of his Reſolutions, which he calleth *a Theſis*: [y] *Ira, eo ſenſu, quo ſcripturæ dant illam deo, veré, & proprié, ei attribuitur: Anger, in that ſenſe in which the Scriptures giue it to God, is truely and properly aſcribed vnto him.* And his reſolutions enſuing vpon the former are not onely, that *God is* [z] *angry*, (he meaneth *truely and properly* as his firſt Theſis affirmeth,) *with all ſinners as well elect, as reprobate*; but that, [a] *maior & grauior eſt ira dei aduerſus homines etiam electos, propter peccata, quam exiſtimari poſſit ab ipſis hominibus. The anger of God againſt his elect for ſinne, is greater and greeuouſer, then they can conceiue.*

[x] Defen. p. 26.
[y] De tribus Elohim lib. 4. ca 6. quæſt. 1.
[z] Ibid. quæſt. 2.
[a] Ibid. quæſt. 4.

A ſecond ſignification of *proper* may be, that this wrath which the Scriptures attribute to God, is proper to him, and common to no creature els. Men, and deuils haue wrath, but that is tumultuous, or vitious; and hath no communion with Gods wrath, which is righteous and holy. The Saints and Angels in heauen no doubt deteſt all iniquitie, but they are no fit diſcerners, eſteemers, nor rewarders of ſinne. The ſecrets of the heart they know not, whoſe vncleanneſſe is open onely to the eies of God. The waight of ſinne they cannot truely balance; he onely that is offended, and cannot be deceiued, rightly knoweth how farre euery ſinne ſhould diſpleaſe, and what euery ſinne deſerueth. As they cannot fully ponder offences, no more can they iuſtly proportion puniſhment to the demerits of euery ſinner, and leaſt of all ordaine, and arme meanes temporally to afflict, or eternally to reuenge the bodies and ſoules of tranſgreſſors: he onely that is all-wiſe, all-holy, all-iuſt and allmightie, can throughly diſcerne, perfectly diſlike, euenly reward, and powerfully repreſſe ſinne by repentance or vengeance, as ſeemeth beſt to him; and therefore he onely is the righteous Iudge of the world, and capable of that wrath, which is proper to God.

A third meaning of Gods *proper wrath* may be this, that as euery thing moſt rightly deſerueth his name, when it hath in it no permixtion of the contrary to alter his nature; ſo Gods proper wrath may be that which is wholy and onely wrath without any temper of mercie or loue, to diminiſh the heate and hight of wrath. That is moſt properly light, that hath no darkeneſſe; trueth, that hath no falſhood; good, that hath no euill in it. And ſince Gods iuſtice againſt the wicked admitteth neither loue to their perſons, nor mercie to their miſeries; that is alſo Gods proper wrath, which is fully and wholy wrath without any fauour or pitie towards them that are the veſſels of wrath appointed to deſtruction. Of their damnation S. Iohn writeth: *The* [b] *ſmoke of their torment ſhall aſcend for euer, and they ſhal haue no reſt day nor night.* Whereby it is euident, their [c] *iudgement ſhall be mercileſſe, their* [d] *worme neuer dying, and the fire neuer quenching.* And how can it be otherwiſe, ſince they are both *haters* and *hated* of God. [e] *Iacob haue I loued* (ſaith God) *and Eſau haue I hated. Thou* [f] *hateſt* (ſaith Dauid to God) *all thoſe that worke wickedneſſe.* Yea [g] *the wrath of God* (ſaith Paul) *is reuealed from heauen againſt all vngodlineſſe and vnrighteouſneſſe of men. For as they regarded not to know God, ſo God deliuered them vp into a reprobate minde to doe vnſeemely things.* Neither is there any greater wrath in this life, then for men to be left to the luſtes of their owne hearts, *that they may be full of all vnrighteouſneſſe, wickedneſſe, malicouſneſſe, haters of God, inuenters of euill, voyde of all loue, fidelitie, and mercie, and here receiue in themſelues a meete reward of their errour*, to prepare them for eternall vengeance, with diuels in the world to come. This wrath of God againſt the wicked, hath in it neither loue, nor mercie, but is wholy wrath proportioned to their deſires which are ſinnefull, and their deſerts which are hatefull before God, and ſo they feele the iuſt, and full recompence of their affected ignorance, and wilfull diſobedience.

[b] Reuel. 14.
[c] Iames. 2.
[d] Mark. 9.
[e] Malach. 1.
[f] Pſal. 5.
[g] Rom. 1.

Of

Of this wrath the elect doe not taſte, they are freed from it in Chriſt their Redeemer and Sauiour, by whoſe ſpirit their mindes are lightned and renued, and their hearts perſwaded to the obedience of faith, and by whoſe death they are wholy deliuered from the wrath to come. Of the two former they often taſte, ſpecially when they neglect continuall and ſerious repentance, to which free remiſsion of ſinnes is offered in the blood of Chriſt Ieſus; or when through the rebellion of the fleſh againſt the ſpirit, they are caried backe to the deſires of their former corruption. In which caſes the Lord with ſundry and ſore afflictions letteth them ſharpely feele what it is to prouoke the holineſſe, or abuſe the goodneſſe of ſo gracious a Father, and neuer leaueth ſcourging them, till they ſee and acknowledge their vnrulineſſe, and lament and leaue their vncleanneſſe, taking hope and hold through faith of his mercies promiſed them in Chriſt Ieſus.

If it can not be truely ſayd of the elect, that in this third ſenſe, which you vrge, they taſte of Gods proper wrath, becauſe of the loue which God beareth, and ſheweth them in Chriſt his ſonne; how much leſſe may it be auouched of Chriſt himſelfe, that he ſuffered *all Gods proper wrath*; on whom nothing was layed for our ſinnes, but with ſo great *loue*, *fauour*, and *honour* (conſidering the cauſe which he vndertooke) that God in each and all Chriſts ſufferings declared him to be the beſt pleaſing ſacrifice, and moſt ſufficient recompenſe for ſinne, that heauen could yeeld, or God would haue. For whether wee looke to the choiſe of the perſon, to the meaſure of his chaſtiſement, or to the reward of his labour, wee ſhall ſee the exceeding and admirable loue, and fauour of God towards him, albeit the iuſtice of God kindled againſt our ſinnes, did not quit him from all paine: yea that very chaſtiſement, by which he yeelded, and learned obedience, did not onely witneſſe, but alſo increaſe Gods loue towards him. And where you (Sir Diſcourſer) caſt your eyes onely vpon Gods *ſeuere* and implacable iuſtice againſt ſinne, when you ſpeake of Chriſtes ſufferings, to ſerue your owne turne, and to tole in hell-paines with ſome pretence of piety; all the godly may perceiue, and muſt confeſſe, that God in ſatisfaction for ſinne had greater regard of his holineſſe deſpiſed by mans diſobedience, and of his glorie defaced by Satans triumph for our fall, than of the rigor of his iuſtice prouoked by contempt of his commandement. For had God chiefly reſpected the execution of his iuſtice againſt ſinne, his owne ſonne was moſt vnfit to be ſubiected to that vengeance which was prepared for deuils: but God in the recompenſe which he required for ſinne, choſe rather to haue his holineſſe contented, and his glory aduanced, than to haue his iuſtice inflicted to the vttermoſt. And therefore he ſelected the perſon of his owne ſonne, that might fully ſatisfie his holineſſe, and maruelloutly exalt his glorie, but on whom of all others his iuſtice could take leaſt holde; not that his iuſtice ſhould be neglected, but that a moderate puniſhment in his perſon, for the worthineſſe thereof would weigh more euen in the balance of Gods exact iuſtice, than the depth of Gods wrath executed on all the tranſgreſſours.

The chaſtiſement of our peace layd vpon him will proue the ſame. For where the wages of ſinne is death, and death due to ſinne is threefold, ſpirituall, corporall, and eternall, as I haue formerly ſhewed; ſuch was the perſon of our Sauiour, that two parts of death due to ſinne, could by no rule of Gods iuſtice faſten on Chriſtes humane nature. The gifts of Gods ſpirit and grace could not be quenched nor diminiſhed in him; he was [h] *full of grace and trueth*; he had not *the ſpirit* [i] *by meaſure*, as we haue; *but* [k] *of his fulneſſe we all haue receiued.* [l] *It is my father* (ſaith he) *that honoureth me, whom ye ſay to be your God; yet haue ye not knowen him, but I know him; and if I ſhould ſay I know him not, I ſhould be a liar like vnto you: but I know him, and keepe his word, and do alwayes the things that pleaſe him.* The cleereneſſe of trueth knowing Gods will, and fulneſſe of grace keeping his word, beeing continually preſent with the humane ſoule of Chriſt; moſt apparently the death of the ſoule, which excludeth all inward ſenſe and motion of Gods ſpirit, could haue no place in him, by reaſon the death of the ſoule is the want of all grace, and height of all ſinne, from which he was free: much

What death Chriſt died.

[h] Iohn 1.
[i] Iohn 3.
[k] Iohn 1.
[l] Iohn 8.

much lesse could any part of Christs manhood by Gods iustice be condemned to euerlasting death, or to hell fire; since there could nothing befall the humanitie of Christ, which was vnfit for his Diuinitie, they both being inseparably ioyned together; or repugnant to that loue which God so often professed, and proclamed from heauen; or iniurious to the innocencie and obedience, which God so highly accepted, and rewarded; or preiudiciall to mans saluation, which God so long before purposed and promised. No weight of sinne, no heat of wrath, no rigour of iustice could preuaile against the least of these, to cast Christ out of heauen, and combine him with diuels in the *second death, which is the* [m] *lake burning with fire and brimstone*. There is onely left the third kinde of death, which is corporall, to which Christ yeelded himselfe willingly for the conseruation of Gods iustice, who inflicted that paine on all men as the generall punishment of sinne; for the demonstration of his power, who by death ouercame death, together with the cause and consequents thereof, and for the consolation of the godly, that they should not faint vnder the crosse, nor feare what sinne and Satan could do against them.

[m] Reuel. 21.

It was loue then in God towards vs, to giue his sonne for vs; [n] *So God loued the world, that he gaue his only begotten sonne, that whosoeuer beleeueth in him should not perish, but haue life euerlasting*: but farre greater loue to his sonne, than to vs, though the burden of our sinnes, which we could not beare, were layd vpon him. For since God hath [o] *adopted vs through Christ Iesus vnto himselfe, and made vs accepted in his beloued*; of force he must be much better beloued, for whose sake we all are beloued. And if to [p] *make the world by his sonne*, were an excellent demonstration of Gods euerlasting and exceeding loue towards his sonne; *to* [q] *send him into the world, that the world through him might be saued*, doth as farre in honour and loue exceed the former, as our Redemption, by which heauen is inherited, doth passe our creation, whereby the earth was first inhabited. Neither was it possible that God should remit the rigor of iustice against sinne, for the loue of any, but onely of his owne sonne; whom because he loued as deerely as himselfe, and *had made* [r] *heire of all things*; worthily and rightly did the wrath of God against man asswage, and yeeld to the loue of God towards his owne sonne; against whom no punishment could proceed, but such as was fatherly, and serued rather to witnesse obedience, than to execute vengeance. For though you (Sir Discourser) in the height of your vnlearned skill resolue, that Christ could suffer no chastisement, but [s] *all his sufferings were the true and proper punishment, or iust vengeance of God for sinne*; yet the Prophet Esay telleth vs, *the chastisment of our peace was vpon him*; and the word *Musar*, which the Prophet there vseth, deriued from *Iasar*, is the proper word that in the Scripture signifieth the correction of a father towards his sonne; and of God likewise towards his Church. [t] *Chastise thy sonne* (saith Salomon) *while there is hope*. [u] *As a father chasteneth his sonne,* ‖ *so* ‖ *the Lord chasteneth thee*, sayth Moses to Israel. [x] *My Sonne refuse not the chastening of the Lord.* [y] *Blessed is the man whom thou Lord doest chasten.* The like may be seene by those that will looke, *Deutr. 21. vers. 18. Ierem. 2. vers. 30. Ierem. 31. vers. 18. Psal. 118. vers. 18.* The Apostle concurreth with the Prophet Esay touching Christes sufferings, and sayth, [z] *Though he were the sonne, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered.* He learned obedience, which is the subiection of a sonne to his fathers chastisement, he tasted not vengeance, which is the indignation of an enemie requiting.

[n] Iohn 3.
[o] Ephes. 1.
[p] Hebr. 1.
[q] Iohn 3.
[r] Hebr. 1.
[s] Defenc. pa. 11. l. 11.
[t] Prouerb. 19.
[u] Deutr. 8.
[x] Prouerb. 3.
[y] Psal. 94.
[z] Hebr. 5.

Yea the very death which Christ suffered in the body of his flesh, was so farre from being an effect of Gods proper wrath, that it was an increase of Gods loue towards him, and as well the price of our Redemption, as the cause of all his honor following. [a] *Therefore the Father loueth me* (sayth our Sauiour) *because I lay downe my soule* (or life) *to take it againe*. And so much the Prophet foretolde, [b] *Therefore will I giue him* (sayth God) *a part in many things, and he shall diuide the spoile of* (or with) *the mightie, because he poured out his soule* (or life) *vnto death*. Which the Apostle sheweth to be thus verified in Christ. [c] *He humbled himselfe, being obedient, vnto the death, euen the death of the Crosse. Wherefore God also highly exalted him, and gaue him a name aboue*

[a] Iohn 10.
[b] Esa. 53.
[c] Philip. 2.

euerie

euery name, that in the name of Iesu euery knee should bow; of things celestiall, terrestrial, and infernall, & euery tongue confesse, that Iesus Christ is the Lord, to the glory of God the father. All power, honour and iudgement, in heauen, earth, and hell, are therefore deliuered ouer to Christ by God, and all things subiected vnder his feet, *because he humbled himselfe, and was obedient to his father vnto death, euen the death of the Crosse.* Was it then wrath in God without loue, that brought Christ to his death; or rather vnspeakable loue in God towards his sonne, which ouerruled his iustice prouoked by our sinnes, and so highly accepted, and plentifully rewarded the death of Christ, that he made him LORD ouer all things and persons in heauen, earth, and hell? to giue grace and peace, mercie and glory to Gods elect by his meanes and merites; and to inflict excecation, destruction, and damnation on the wicked both men and diuels by his iudgement and sentence? If it were admirable loue and fauour in God towards Christs humane nature to ioyne mans flesh and spirit into the vnitie and societie of his Sonnes Diuine maiestie, what inestimable honor and glory was it to put the whole gouernment of Gods kingdome in heauen and earth into Christs hands, which is the reward that God hath allotted to Christs obedience & patience shewed on the Altar of the Crosse? So that the learned may soone perceiue, I worke *no*[d] *deceit nor mistaking to the Reader through the ambiguitie of this word*, THE VVRATH OF GOD, as you pretend; but you wandring in the desart of your owne deuises, haue fashioned to your selfe a fardle of phrases, as *Gods proper*, and *improper wrath*, his *meere iustice*, and such like, and vnder the generalitie and vncertaintie of these words you hide your head; and when you are required to make some proofe, and shew some parts of Gods wrath out of the Scripture, which Christ suffered, besides the death of the Crosse, and paines thereof, you answere; *to* [e] *particularize or to specifie the parts of Gods wrath, which Christ felt, as I will you to doe, what madnesse were it in men to attempt, and what folly is it in any to require.* Indeede it would be madnesse in you to attempt it, for thereby you should plainly disclose that absurditie and impietie which now is cloaked vnder generall and doubtfull termes; but those that be godly will neuer suffer their faith to be framed by your phrases, except you shew warrant of Gods word, both whence you collect them, and what you meane by them; neither of which you doe, nor can doe with any truth in these points now in question.

[d] Defenc. pa. 19.

[e] Defenc. pa. 17. l. 15.

For first by what Scripture proue you that Christ did or must suffer the proper wrath of God or the punishment and vengeance of sinne? I following the sense and words of the Scriptures, and of Diuines both olde & new, which make *shame, sorrow, paine* and *death* in this life the effects of Gods wrath punishing sinne in *Adam*, and his of-spring at his fall, did by consequent (*a specie ad genus affirmatiue*) gather, and in that respect confesse, that Christ suffering those things on the Crosse, suffered the wrath of God, and due punishment of sinne in this life: but you tell vs now, the Scriptures in that point speake *most improperly*, you haue found out that Gods wrath signifieth properly the paines of the damned, and those Christ suffered for our sinnes. True it is, and long since by me [f] *auouched*, that Gods wrath against sinne extendeth to all the paines and punishments of Soule and body, as well in hell as on earth; and in comparison of the terrible torments of hell fier, the paines and punishments of the faithfull in this life may be called, and accounted rather *the* [g] *chastisements of a Father, then the rigour of a Iudge*; but since you refuse that sense of Gods wrath, which I collected from the Scriptures as very improper, take no aduantage of my confession, and let Gods wrath stand in your sense either for Gods displeasure against the person offending, or for the vengeance of sinne executed on the wicked and damned; I aske you now by what authoritie of holy Scripture can you prooue, that Christ suffered Gods proper wrath, or his wrath at all? I recall not my former Resolution, which I take to be sober and sound; but you reiecting it as improper and deceitfull, let vs see how you prooue by the Scriptures that Christ suffered Gods wrath, which you so much presume, and make the chiefe pillour of all your proceedings. In your late defence with shame enough, you yeeld at last, *that this* [h] *word*

The Scriptures neuer mention that Christ suffered Gods wrath.

[f] Serm. pa. 131. conclus. pa. 243.

[g] Serm. p. 133.

[h] Defenc. pa. 16. l. 12.

HELL

HELL *is not literally and expreſly applyed to Chriſts ſufferings in the Scriptures*; you muſt likewiſe yeeld, by your leaue, that this ſpeech, *the wrath of God*, is not literally nor expreſly affirmed of Chriſts ſufferings in all the Scriptures.

[i] Eſay.53. *That* [i] *he was wounded for our transgreſſions, and torne* (or trodden vnder feete) *for our iniquities, and we healed by his ſtripes*; as alſo *that he was afflicted* and *oppreſſed, and bare our iniquities, and poured out his ſoule vnto death*, the Prophet Eſay witneſſeth; that [k] Math.20. Ioh.18. *he* [k] *dranke of the Cup, which his Father gaue him*, the Euangeliſts mention; and the Apoſtle ſaith, *he was* [l] *deliuered, and* [m] *died for our ſinnes according to the Scriptures*; but none of theſe expreſſe or inferre that he ſuffered the proper wrath of God, or full [l] Rom.4. [m] 1.Cor.15. puniſhment and vengeance of ſinne; which are the phraſes placed for the ground-worke of all your diſcourſe, though no way prooued by any ſhew of Scripture. The words vſed generally by the holy Ghoſt to expreſſe Chriſts ſufferings (beſides the former) import that *he gaue himſelfe for vs to be the* [n] *ſacrifice*, *the* [o] *price*, and *the* [p] *ranſome* of our deliuerance. All which wordes note no wrath conceiued againſt [n] Epheſ.5. [o] 1.Cor.6. [p] 1.Timoth.6. him, nor vengeance executed on him; but rather the exceeding loue and fauour of God towards him, as the onely *Sacrifice* that God would *accept*; the onely *price* that God did eſteeme, the onely *ranſome* that God would *receaue* for the ſinne of the world. This *Sacrifice* was his *body*, this *price* was his *bloud*, *this ranſome* was his *death*. [q] Hebr.10. [r] 1.Cor.6. [s] 1.Petri.1. [t] Epheſ.1. [u] Hebr.9. [q] *We are ſanctified by the offering of the body of Ieſus once* [‖] *made* [‖]. [r] *Ye are bought with a price* ſaith Paule, that is, [s] *yee were redeemed with the precious bloud of Chriſt*, ſaith Peter. For [t] *we haue redemption in him by his blood*; And [u] *he is the mediatour of the new teſtament, through death, for the ranſome of the tranſgreſſions in the former teſtament*, So that by the ſacrifice of his bodie, price of his blood, and ranſome of his death, he hath made a moſt full *recompence*, *ſatisfaction*, *and redemption* for the ſinnes of the world: and conſequently the puniſhment which he ſuſtained, [x] *when he bare our ſinnes in his body on the tree*, was the full & perfect [y] *purgation*, and [z] *propitiation* of our ſinnes; full not in the degrees and parts of condemnation and vengeance due to ſinne, which the damned doe ſuffer, as you falſely and abſurdly inſinuate, but full in price and force of Redemption and deliuerance from ſinne; for ſomuch, as Gods holineſſe is highly pleaſed with the obedience, Gods glory greatly aduanced by the humilitie, and Gods iuſtice fully ſatisfied with the ſubmiſſion and patience of his Sonne on the Croſſe. [x] 1.Petri 2. [y] Hebr.1. [z] 1.Ioh.2.

More then this if you will vrge on the perſon of Chriſt, as needefull for our Redemption, firſt proue it, and then profeſſe it at your pleaſure; otherwiſe if you boldly and vainely preſume it, your addle and idle wordes can not preiudice the ſetled and vndoubted principles of the Chriſtian faith warranted by the word of God, and fully receaued by the Church of Chriſt euen from the beginning. To your maimed and ruinous foundation that Chriſt muſt ſuffer all and the very ſame puniſhment, wages, and vengeance of ſinne, which the damned doe ſuffer, and we ſhoud haue ſuffered, had we not beene excuſed by his ſuffering it for vs; I haue plainly and ſadly anſwered I know not how often, it is a falſe and lewd imagination; and ſo impious, that your ſelfe dare not in your late Defence offer it to vew, without many bridles to holde it from horrible blaſphemie. But (Sir diſcourſer) why coyne you concluſions in chriſtian Religion, that muſt haue three or foure exceptions to ſaue them from open impietie? and why ſee you not that your ſpeciall reſeruations ouerthrow the truth of your owne aſſertion? for where the true and proper puniſhment, wages and vengeance of ſinne in all the wicked is *ſpirituall*, *corporall*, and *eternall death*; in your limitations at laſt, which you forgate at firſt, you except Chriſt from ſpirituall death, which is ſinne, and from eternall death which is damnation of body and ſoule to hell fier; & yet you ſtill affirme, that Chriſt ſuffered the full & proper puniſhment, wages, and vengeance of ſinne, as though theſe two, *ſpirituall* and *eternall death*, were no parts of the puniſhment & vengeance due to ſin; or theſe being excepted as vnfit for Chriſt to ſuffer; you could truely ſay Chriſt ſuffered the full and proper puniſhment, and vengeance of ſinne, which conſiſteth of theſe three kinds of death.

And

And who but you would send vs such headlesse and senseleſſe resolutions in Diuinitie as these are; I [a] *affirme that Christ suffered all gods proper wrath, and vengeance for sinne, I say all that the very damned do suffer, namely so described and limited as is aboue said.* And againe, [b] *He suffered from Gods hand euen as the damned doe; namely in these points which are both possible and reasonable.* Were you some new Euangelist, or vpstart Apostle, it were euen enough for you to referre Christs sufferings to your description and your limitation without any farther authority; but when you take vpon you with your bare word to broch so many nouelties in Christian religion, without one line or letter of holy writ to vpholde your dreames and deuices, who can chuse but deride your follie? You pinne mens faiths for the ground of their saluation to your descriptions and your limitations, to possibilitie and reason measured by your rule without any text or title of Scripture to warrant your words; and then you thinke the maine question is profoundly and fully handled; but your sober and wise Reader will presently finde the lameneſſe or leudneſſe of your grand conclusion. For if Christs person not only by your possibilitie and reason, but by the soundneſſe of trueth, and sincereneſſe of faith must be exempted from sinne which is the death of the soule, and from damnation which is euerlasting death; why write you so boldly that *Christ must suffer all Gods proper wrath, euen all that the damned do suffer*; whereas apparently those two being excepted, Christ could suffer no kinde of death but only a corporall? And if by your so describing and so limiting the matter, you draw Christ within the staine or guilt of sinne, or within the compasse or danger of damnation; hope you to finde any Christian eares so patient that will endure that monstrous and sacrilegious indignitie?

[a] Defenc. pa. 13. l. 22.

[b] Defenc. pa. 12. l. 1.

[But you will inuent a new hell for Christ, which shall haue the [c] *substance*, but not the *circumstance* of damnation, and shalbe inflicted [d] *by Gods immediate hand properly, yea only in the verie soule of Christ,* [e] *which Gods owne infinite wrathfull power and iustice can inflict for satisfaction, where and how it pleaseth him.*] The question (good Sir) is not of Gods power what he can do, but of his will reuealed in his Word, and of his promise performed in the person of his sonne for our saluation, and testified by the mouthes and pennes of the Prophets and Apostles, that were guided by his holy spirit to speake and write the trueth. I make no doubt, but God can create another heauen, another earth, and another hell, as quickly and as easily as he did these that now are; yet if any man affirme that God will so do, or hath so done, I must holde him for an Infidell, because he gainsayth Gods trueth, and belieth Gods will by pretending Gods power. Talke not therefore what God can doe; shew rather by the word and witneſſe of trueth what God hath done; to that must we trust, to that are you bound, and from that are you slipt. You haue not so much as any colour of Scripture, for these desperate nouelties and vanities, I will giue them no woorse words, lest you complaine of my bitterneſſe; and if any man be but so wise, as to let you proue these things before he beleeue them, he is safe enough for euer admitting them, I may spare my paines in refuting them; yet because destitute of all other helpe, you appeale to possibilitie and reason, to fourbish your new inuention of another hell, let vs see how handsomely you hale it onward.

[c] Defenc. pa. 13. l. 14.

[d] Ibid. pa. 12. l. 32.

[e] l. 27. *God can doe more than he will.*

[f] [*By the law of our creation as we are men, hauing a soule besides our bodie, so our soule hath in it a threefolde facultie of suffering paines. First that which is proper and immediate iustly so called: proper, because it is proper only to reasonable and immortall spirits. Immediate two wayes; First, because it can and doth receiue an impression of sorrow and paines made from God only by and in it selfe, without any outward bodily meanes thereunto. Secondly, it is also an immediate punishment or els correction of sinne: it commeth not for any other cause at all. So that thus we meane, when we speake of the soules proper and immediate suffering. The soules second facultie of suffering paines, is not proper, but common to vs with beasts: namely, that which is by sympathie and communion with and from the body. A third kinde of painfull suffering the soule hath: namely, her vehement and strong affections are painfull, whether they be good or euill, as zeale, loue, compassion, pitie, care, &c. neither are these immediatly*

[f] Defenc. pa. 8. l. 12.

mediatly for ſinne, whether puniſhments or corrections: neither are they puniſhments, or corrections at all properly in themſelues: accidentally they may be, when they grow ſo ſtrong that they paine and grieue the ſoule.]

If the walles and roofe of your new hell riſe no fairer, nor ſtand no faſter then your foundation doth; a weake puffe of winde will blow all away. If a man ſhould ſhortly anſwer you, That the ſoule of man hath but one facultie of ſuffering, though the meanes be diuers from which and by which ſhe ſuffereth paines, and that the meanes be farre moe than you number (as namely ſhe may ſuffer paine from her owne vnderſtanding and will, yea from diuels and from the fire of hell, beſides the meanes which you recken, to wit, her ſympathie with the bodie, her vehement affections, and the immediate hand of God when and where pleaſeth him) your building is at an end; you can go no farder; you haue neither Diuinitie, nor Philoſophie, poſsibilitie, nor reaſon to ſupport that which you would ſo faine inferre. But let vs view your ſpecialties.

[*The ſoule* (you ſay) *by the law of our creation hath in it a threefold facultie of ſuffering paine.*] The ſoule indeed by her creation hath a triple reference to good and euill; to wit, her apprehenſion and diſtinction of either; her inclination and motion to either; and her impreſsion and paſsion from both; and for the performance of theſe ſhe hath ſundrie and ſeuerall parts and faculties. For as man was made to *know God*, and *loue God*, and after a time of obedience perfectly to *enioy God*, who is onely and wholly good; ſo had he three ſpeciall powers and faculties in his ſoule anſwerable to theſe three purpoſes of the Creator; and yet capable of the contrarie, which was the want of all good, if he fell from God. And therefore by the power of his vnderſtanding man might diſcerne good and euill; by the libertie of his will he might elect and embrace either, and by the paſsibilitie of his ſoule he might feele and ſuffer the impreſsion and ſequele of both by ioy or paine, which God in his iuſtice alotted to be the end and wages of liking and doing good or euill. And becauſe for the ſeruice and ſafetie of his bodie, and for the dueties and actions of this life, man was to vſe earthly things, and alſo to need outward meanes for hearing the word, and viewing the works of God, there were giuen him ſenſes to perceiue, and ſenſitiue motions to deſire things needfull and delightfull for him, as alſo to diſlike the euill of penurie, paine, and ſorrow that ſhould be occurrent to his ſenſes. In which the wiſdome of God ordained, that what ſeemed good to mans imagination ſhould prouoke his deſire with loue and delight, and what ſeemed euill, ſhould offend him with ſome touch of griefe; the ſuperiour and ſpirituall powers of the ſoule being giuen as Iudges to cenſure, reſtraine and ouerrule the ſenſitiue delights and motions, where they ſwarued from the true rule of good and euill, which was only Gods will reuealed, or written in the heart of man. The reſpects and diuerſities of good and euill offered in generall to the ſenſe and vnderſtanding of man, were ſanctitie, ſufficiencie, and felicitie with their contraries, and likewiſe the generall paſsions and impreſsions of good and euill receiued in the ſoule, were hope and ioy for good approching or poſſeſſed; and feare and paine for the imminence or preſence of euill, as alſo for the departure or loſſe of good, in whoſe place euill, which is the priuation of good, neceſſarily ſucceeded. The paſsions then of euill (for true ioy and hope thereof, are rather perfections than paſsions of the ſoule) are feare and griefe; and the meanes by which they are wrought in the ſoule, and brought to the ſoule, are naturally the *ſenſes* and *affections*, *vnderſtanding* and *will*; and ſupernaturally the hand of God, or ſuch externall meanes as God hath prouided to puniſh the ſoule.

So that firſt your making a threefolde facultie in the ſoule of ſuffering paines, is an ignorant conceit in you, as if the facultie of ſuffering paines were multiplied, becauſe the meanes inflicting paines are many. If I ſhould ſay, The ſoule hath in it a threefold facultie of vnderſtanding, for that it perceiueth many things by the ſenſes of her bodie; many things by her owne light and remembrance; and many things by the immediate reuelation of Gods ſpirit; might not wiſe men iuſtly deride me, knowing

the

the power and facultie of vnderstanding to be but one and the selfe-same in man, though the means be diuers by which that facultie is informed? Likewise the will of man is caried sometimes by the eie, sometimes by the eare at the persuasion of others, sometimes by her owne affections, sometimes by feare, sometimes by reason, sometimes by grace; shall we therefore say the soule hath in it a sixfold facultie of liking and electing that which is offered her? or rather it is one and the same power of will, which is moued and often times ruled by these sixe meanes; partly from the bodie, partly from her selfe, partly from others, and partly from God. Euen so the passibility of the soule, or the faculty of suffering paine, is but simple and single in the soule, how many soeuer the meanes be, by which she receiueth the impression of paine: otherwise you might as well say, The soule hath contrary faculties of suffering, because she feeleth contrary impressions of ioy and paine sometimes striuing together, sometimes succeeding ech the other; but the soule as she is furnished with her faculties to discerne, and elect good and euill, so is she framed to receiue the impressions of either which are contrary; and in that respect capable of ioy and paine in this life, howsoeuer in the next life, the soule shall be perpetually fastned to the one or to the other without alteration or change.

As you confound the facultie of suffering paine with the causes offering, and the meanes bringing the impression of paine to the soule; so doe you neither fully number the agents from which, nor the meanes by which paine is inflicted on the soule, on which you grouud your three kinds of the soules suffering of paines. If the soule were not passible, that is, capable of ioy and paine, she could neither be rewarded for well doing, nor punished for euill. But God hath created her receiuable of both, that as she should doe good or euill in his sight, so she might suffer and feele that which should be good or euill, to wit, ioyous or grieuous euen in her owne sense and iudgement. Of both, (I meane ioy and paine as they are rewards of well and euill doing) God alone is in this life, and the next, the supreame ordainer, appointer, effecter, worker, and distributer, all other agents and meanes whatsoeuer seruing only his will, expressing his power, and obeying his commandement; yet that doth not hinder, but in the punishing of his owne heere, or of his enemies in this world and the next, God may and doth vse instruments and meanes, whom and what pleaseth him to performe his will. For example in this life, besides Gods agents to punish, which are Angels, men, diuels, and all other creatures; the meanes which he hath ordained to impresse paine in the soule, are as many as there be intellectiue or sensitiue powers and abilities in the soule to foresee, discerne, or remember whatsoeuer euill past, present, or to come, on vs, or on others whom we loue; or to perceiue, or desire any good which is lost, lacking, or likely to be taken from vs, or from others whom we regard. So that not only *sympathie with and from the bodie, and vehement and strong affections, of zeale, loue, compassion, pitie, and care,* which you recken, do paine the soule; but the eyes, and eares, vpon a thousand occasions, when the bodie is not touched, bring feare and griefe to the heart; yea the *vnderstanding, remembrance, conscience,* and *will* (which you vtterly forget) doe oftener offend and afflict the soule euen of the gody, than either the bodie, or the affections do. And in the world to come (which you purposely skip to make way for your new hell) *besides the losse of glory, sting of conscience, and shame of sinne,* the Scriptures assure vs that *vtter darkenesse, ruthfull wailing, horror of diuels, torment of fire, despaire of ease* shall afflict the bodies and soules of the damned with intolerable and eternall anguish, as when we come to speake thereof, we shall more largely proue.

The agents and meanes by which the soule suffereth paine.

A third errour in you is, that you make your second kinde of the soules suffering paine, which is by *sympathie and communion with and from the bodie,* not to be proper to man, but [s] *common to vs with beasts*; wherein you bewray either your vnderstanding not to be great, or your intent to be vilde. For though beasts haue bodies and senses, as men haue, and the paine of their bodies pierceth and affecteth the sensitiue parts & powers of life in them; yet haue they no soules I trust, which can be affected

[s] Defenc. p. 8. l. 23.

the paine of their bodies, as men haue. I hope you be not ſo deepe in your diſtillation of hell, that you will beſtow ſoules on beaſts to make them liable to your new-found paines of hell; but in men their immortall ſpirits are and ſhall be afflicted by their bodies and ſenſes both heere, and in hell, when the full puniſhment of their ſinnes commeth to be layed vpon them. [h] *How long will you vexe my ſoule*, ſaith Iob. [i] *The iron entred into his ſoule*, ſayth the Pſalmiſt of Ioſephs fetters. [k] *All is vanitie, and affliction of the ſpirit*, ſayth the Preacher. [l] *A ſword ſhall pierce thy ſoule*, ſayth Simeon to Marie. Then for the ſoule or ſpirit of man to be vexed, afflicted, pierced, and pained by and from the bodie, is proper to man, and no way common to vs with beaſts, which haue no ſoules: and that kinde of ſuffering paine which is without the bodie, is not proper to the ſoule, by reaſon it is common to men with diuels, who haue no bodies, and yet ſuffer paine aſwell by their *vnderſtanding* and *will*, as by externall meanes appointed of God to puniſh the damned both ſoules and diuels. Wherefore your termes of the ſoules *proper and immediate ſuffering*, which before I called *vnſalted and vnſetled*, and you ſay *are* [m] *eaſie to be vnderſtood* and *neceſſarily* to be vſed in this *queſtion*, as you now haue declared and deliuered them, are falſe and abſurd. For no kinde of ſuffering paine is proper to the ſoule of man, but onely that which is with the bodie, or by the bodie; the other kinde of ſuffering paine by vnderſtanding and will, and by hell-fire, being common to men with diuels; which haue no bodies, and are no ſoules, no more than ſoules in heauen are Angels. S. Auſten truely ſayth, [n] *Angelos habere animas, nuſquam me legiſſe in diuinis eloquijs canonicíſq; recolo. That Angels haue ſoules I do not remember I haue any where read in the diuine and canonicall Scriptures.* Since then diuels haue neither bodies nor ſoules, though they be ſpirits; and beaſts though they haue bodies, yet haue they no ſoules to be pained by their bodies; it is euident that the piercing and afflicting of the ſpirit and ſoule of man by the bodie, and from the bodie, is the onely kinde of ſuffering which is proper to the ſoule of man; the ſpirituall affliction of the ſoule by her vnderſtanding and will, and by the torment of perpetuall and eternall fire, being common to men with the reprobate Angels.

h Iob. 19.
i Pſal. 105.
k Eccleſ. 1.
l Luc. 2.
m Defenc. p. 9. l. 6.
n *Auguſt. retracta. l. 1. cap. 11.*

Good affections of loue & zeale are not painful.

To the immediate ſuffering of the ſoule in hell, which is another of your new-found fancies, I will immediatly come, if firſt I touch an errour or two in your former words; to let the Reader ſee, that you are vnlike to lay ſure grounds in faith, when you know not the plaine rules of Nature. *A third kinde of painfull ſuffering* (you ſay) *the ſoule hath: namely her vehement and ſtrong affections are painfull, whether they be good or euill, as zeale, loue, &c.* I pray you Sir, how come *zeale*, and ſpecially *loue, when they be good*, to be painfull affections in your Calender? S. Iohn ſayth, [o] *There is no feare in loue*; and giueth this reaſon; *for feare hath painfulneſſe*, preſuppoſing it for a prinple, that *loue hath no paine*: which is moſt true; becauſe we delight in that which we loue; and ſo loue hauing no paine in it, but delight, it hath conſequently no feare, by reaſon feare hath paine, which loue hath not. But if it be ſtrong (you will ſay) it paineth the ſoule. If loue bring delight, the ſtronger the loue that is good, the greater the delight; and ſo the ſtrength of loue doth not increaſe, but exclude all paine. Which is alſo S. Iohns rule, [p] *Perfect loue caſteth out feare*, which is the leaſt impreſſion of paine that may be. And where loue that is good, is ſtrongeſt and moſt feruent, as namely in heauen, there is no place for paine; and in earth when we are commanded *to* [q] *loue the Lord* ‖ *our* ‖ *God, with all* ‖ *our* ‖ *heart, with all* ‖ *our* ‖ *ſoule, with all* ‖ *our* ‖ *ſtrength, and* ‖ *our* ‖ *neighbour as* ‖ *our* ‖ *ſelues*, muſt we be whollie delighted, or partlie grieued with God, and our neighbour. The like is to be ſayd for *zeale*, which is nothing but the heat or feruencie of *loue*. Accidentally they may turne vs to paine, when our godly *zeale* and *loue* are hindred, or croſſed by the wicked. But the thing that grieueth vs in thoſe caſes is not our loue, but the leaudneſſe of the wicked, deſpiſing or wronging that which we zealouſly loue. And ſo may all vertues paine vs. What iuſt man is not diſpleaſed with iniuſtice? What liberall minde is not moued at auarice? What valiant heart is not grieued with cowardice? The like we ſhall finde

o 1. Iohn 4.
p 1. Iohn 4.
q Luc. 10.

finde in all other vertues; euen an inward offence at their contraries, and yet no wise man will say that vertues are paines and punishments of the soule.

[Of [r] *compassion, and pitie*, among the rest you say *accidentally they may be punishments when they grow so strong that they grieue the soule.*] As though there could be any *compassion or pitie* which doth not grieue the soule. What is pity but sorow at the sight of another mans miserie? and what is compasion but a vehement pasion or griefe of the heart for his miserie whom we deerely loue? so that there can be neither compasion nor pitie, without sorow and griefe of heart; neither are they at any time punishments if they be good, but rather Christian duties and vertues. The miseries of those whom we loue, may be punishments vnto vs; and our compasion on them, if they be wicked, may turne to be vicious, and so be a punishment because it is immoderate, where it should be temperate; as we reade of Dauids excesiue compasion on Absalon his leud and rebellious sonne. These be errours enow in so few words, but these are nothing to those that follow in fauour of the soules immediate suffering from the hand of God himselfe without any instruments or inferiour meanes. I might resume your former words of the soules immediate suffering from God alone; but because you heape vp a great deale of rubbish to the same purpose much like the other, or rather much worse than the other; I thinke it best to rid all together.

[r] Defenc. p.8. l.33.

[s] *Thirdly, we must also note, that God himselfe is alwayes and euermore the principall and proper punisher when the soule suffereth paines after the first maner, that is in her proper and immediate facultie of suffering. And that is alwayes immediatly for sinne also, not for anie other cause at all. Fourthly, God himselfe therefore was thus the principall, and only proper punisher of Christ, as he sustained the punishment of our sinnes. The diuels and wicked men his persecuters did their parts also indeed for other ends, but yet they were all as instruments onely, and vsed by God vnto his owne end, namely that Christ might pay heereby a iust price and full satisfaction for our sinnes. It was then the Almightie and most iust God himselfe in his seuere wrath against our sinne, that principally and properly inflicted on Christ the paines and punishments, which he as our suretie suffered for the paying of our ransome. As it is written,* [t] *The Lord* LAYD VPON HIM THE PVNISHMENT OF VS ALL.

[s] Defenc p.9. l.9. *What suffering is immediate from God.*

[t] Esa. 53.

Your phrases be so fresh and new, that your selfe can scant tell what to make of them, or how to expound them. In these words, and those which goe but the next side before, you set vs downe three interpretations of the soules immediate suffering not agreeing the one with the other. [u] *All suffering of paine, is* (you say) *from God, either from him alone, or also from his instruments and inferiour meanes.* This presently you call *immediatly or mediatly*; and this commeth neerest to the sense of the word, if it came as neere to the trueth of the matter. For what is immediate, but without all meanes? The soules first maner of suffering paine then (as you say) is *immediate*, that is [x] *from God only*; you must implie *without all instruments or inferiour meanes* whatsoeuer. For that kinde of suffering which hath any meanes or instruments, is mediate, not immediate from God alone. Why then in your second interpretation of immediat, do you not exclude all instruments and meanes, but only *outward bodily meanes?* For thus you say in the second place, *It is iustly called* [y] *immediate, because it can and doth receiue an impression of sorrow and paine made from God, only by and in it selfe without any outward bodily meanes thereunto.* Heere you exclude not all meanes, but outward bodilie meanes. And when Satan led Saul for feare, and Achitophel for anger, and Iudas for sorrow to despaire, and in fine to dispatch themselues; this desperation wrought in them by Satan, was by your doctrine immediate from God, because the diuell was the doer thereof, *without any outward bodily meanes.* And likewise, when by hatred, rage, feare, and furie Satan afflicteth the children of disobedience, in whom he worketh; this you will call the immediate hand of God, because he vseth a spirit, and not a bodie for his instrument. And yet doubting how this can be maintained, for that God vseth men aswell as diuels to proone and punish both his owne and his enemies, you fall to a third sense of immediate, where you make God alone the principall; the rest to be only instruments; and so that is immediatly from God, which is

[u] Defenc. p.8. l.8.

[x] Defenc. p.8. l.8.

[y] Defenc. p.8. l.18.

principally from God, what meanes or inſtruments ſoeuer he vſe, bodily, or ghoſtly, men or diuels. And in this ſenſe all paines and puniſhments whatſoeuer, whereſoeuer, by whomſoeuer, are immediatly, that is, principally from God, and by conſequent all three kinds of ſuffering paine in the ſoule which you put, and what meanes ſoeuer els can be named of inflicting and impreſsing paine in the ſoule are immediate from God, that is, they come chiefly from him, whoſe power, will, and iudgement the reſt demonſtrate or execute. And thus for want of trueth and lacke of vnderſtanding, whiles you labour to expound the ſoules immediate ſuffering of paine from God, you vtterly ſubuert and ouerthrow all that you would ſay.

[Againe, *God himſelfe* (you ſay) *is alwayes and euermore the principall and proper puniſher, when the ſoule ſuffereth paines after the firſt maner, that is in her proper and immediate facultie of ſuffering.*] Keepe your manifold faculties to procure you more wit; the ſoule hath but one facultie to ſuffer and feele paine, how manie ſoeuer the meanes be from which or by which ſhe may receiue paine; it ſhall ſuffice to call it the firſt maner of the ſoules ſuffering paine. When you ſay God is the principall and proper puniſher, what meane you by puniſher? Amongſt men the Iudge determineth and pronounceth what ſhall be done, the hangman executeth the ſentence vpon the condemned, and both in their kinds are puniſhers. The like appeareth in Gods iudgements. God alone is the decreer, appointer and commander; though he vſe angels, men, diuels, and all other creatures to execute his will for the puniſhing of ſinne; or deliuering of his ſeruants from the hands of the wicked. This is the difference betwixt an earthly & the heauenly Iudge; that men giue to men right, and not ſtrength to execute their iudgements, but God as he gaue to all his creatures all the ſtrength which by nature they haue, when he firſt made them; ſo hee vſeth their naturall ſtrength which he gaue, and giueth them farther power and force, where need is, fully to accompliſh his will and commandement: yea farther, he vſeth the willes and forces of men and diuels for ends and effects to them vnknowen, and in them vnrighteous, but to him moſt iuſt and holy. So that God is the only puniſher as a Iudge to decree, appoint, and command what ſhall befall euerie man for ſinne; he is alſo the onlie giuer and ſupporter of all power and force, when anie puniſhment is executed either by the naturall ſtrength of any creature, or by ſtrength and might aboue nature; but that God is alwaies and euermore the executioner, when the ſoule ſuffereth otherwiſe than by her bodie, or by her affections, or that he was the principall and onelie proper executioner of Chriſt as he ſuffered for our ſinnes; or that in hell (which is your vpſhot) God is the immediate executioner and tormentor of ſoules and diuels, thoſe are rather ſicke mens dreames or madde mens fits, than ſober and Chriſtian verities.

And in plaine reaſon how agreeth this word *principall*, either with *proper* or with *immediate*, both which are ioyned by you with it? Where God is principall, there vſeth he other meanes and inſtruments beſides himſelfe, and his owne hand. Principall hath alwayes acceſſaries and inſtruments, and where they intermeddle, they vſe not Gods immediate hand, but ſuch meanes as they are able and apt to guide. So that when God is principall puniſher, he is neither proper nor immediate puniſher, but vſeth the ſeruice and force of his creatures to perfourme his appointment; and when he is either the *proper*, or *immediate* executour of his owne will, he neither needeth, nor vſeth his creatures. And here the third time you play with the word proper, but very improperly, as you did twice before; firſt with Gods *proper wrath*, then with the ſoules *proper facultie* of ſuffering, now with the *proper puniſher*, which can no way be matched with principall and applyed to God without a palpable abſurditie. For referre principall whether you will, to the determination or to the execution of Gods wil and iudgement; to ſay that God is the principall determiner of his owne will, is a wicked ſpeech. For who is Gods counſeller to aduiſe him, or aſſociate to aſſiſt him; that God ſhould be principall and others concurrent with him to promote his will with their conſents; or reſtraine it with their diſlikes? God is not only a Iudge

of

of the world, but the sole Iudge thereof; to make him principall and not sole therein, is to impart his right, and glorie vnto others, which he will not endure. Wee shall *see*, *honour*, and *admire*, and with heart and voice *magnifie* the righteousnesse of Gods Iudgement that shall be giuen by his Sonne; in which sense it is said, [a] *The Saints shall iudge the worlde*; yea, *we shall iudge the Angels*, but that is by submitting our wils to his, and by glorifying his iudgement, as in heauen his Saints alwaies doe, not by clayming voices with him. There is then no Iudge of the soule but onely God, and to say he is principall Iudge thereof, is apparantly to dishonour him. Will you referre principall to the execution of Gods iudgements? then he must haue some others to conioyne with him in common; and they must vse such meanes as lie in their power; and so God is neither the proper nor immediate punisher of the soule, where he is the principall. And when it pleaseth him to take vpon him the chiefe execution of his owne iudgement, what cause is there he should call assistants vnto him? Doth he lacke wisedome, or power, that his creatures must aide and helpe him? I wish you to weigh your words better, before you wade in things aboue your height. [a] 1. Cor. 6.

Your words are absurd, your matter is more absurd, and the proofes you bring for it are most absurd of all. To bring Christs soule within the compasse of hell paines, you flash out the fire of hell as a fable, and turne out of seruice the rest of the torments there, namely reiection from the kingdome of heauen, the sting of Conscience, confusion of Sinne, horrour of darkenesse and diuels, despaire of ease and such like, as no paines, or at least as no substantiall paines of hell: you suppose a paine which you imagine commeth from the immediate power of God, vpon the soules of the wicked as well in earth, as in hell, and so not onely you make God the tormentor of soules and diuels in hell with his owne immediate hande, but you so aggrauate the paine thereof, with fierie words, that the reprobate may fully feele it in this world, and yet it neither doth end their liues, nor waste their bodies, which a pange of the stone, or a fit of an Ague will doe. The best proofe you bring for all this, is a bold face, and bigge words, wherewith you bid all the world NOTE it is so. But Sir, if charitie did not stay me, I should NOTE you rather for an idle talker, then for a booke-maker, which thinke it lawfull for you to allegorize all that the Scripture mentioneth or threatneth of hell; and in the end broach out of the heate of your owne head a Chymysticall hell, as well in this world as in the next; and so little regard either the truth of Gods speech, or the faith of the whole Church, or the consciences of all good men; that without any further trouble or triall WE MVST NOTE, you say so. Such archers, such arrowes; such cheapmen, such chaffe; a man of your pitch will hardly be brought to any other passe.

The bottome of your building (for it deserueth not the name of a foundation, it is so weake and rotten) is this, which I wish the Reader to NOTE, it is so notable *stuffe*; That where there are but three sorts of the soules suffering paine, as you conceiue; the first by the immediate hand of God, the second by sympathie with the bodie, and the third by her vehement and strong affections; The affections (you say) are *neither* [a] *immediatly for sinne, nor punishments at all properly in themselues*: the soules second facultie of suffering by sympathie with the bodie, you affirme, *is* [b] *not proper, but common to vs with beasts*: the first therefore in your conceit *is the* [c] *proper and principall humane suffering for sinne*; which Christ must needs feele being *a* [d] *man made of God to suffer for all our sinnes*. Of this wandring and halting diuision I haue spoken before. It is euident the soule may suffer paine from and with the bodie; and from and by her owne powers and faculties of vnderstanding, will, sense, and affections, and from the hand of God immediate or mediate, that is vsing other meanes than are beforenamed to punish the soule.

[a] Defen. p. 8. l. 29.
[b] Defen. pa 8. l. 23.
[c] Ibid. l. 37.
[d] Ibid. l. 38.

That the paine of the bodie paineth the soule of man there can be no question, naturall euidence and dailie experience sufficientlie confirme it: and this is that which you call sympathie, when both doe suffer paine together, the one from and with the other. Touching the eies and eares how often impressions they make of feare and 1 2

ſorrow for our ſelues and others, when the bodie is not touched nor pained, euerie woman and childe can giue teſtimonie. Threats, rebukes, euill reports taken in at the eares; dangers, diſtreſſes, and loſſes foreſeene or ſeene in our ſelues and others, which muſt needs trouble and grieue the ſoule, are no newes in any condition or
3 perſon. The affections which are both vngodlie and vnrulie, are ſo manie blaſts and ſtormes toſsing the ſoule to and fro, with anger and feare, with deſire and diſlike, with penſiue care of earthlie things and fooliſh pitie, with hope and deſpaire, with vnlawfull loue and hatred, with vaine ioy and vnprofitable ſorrow, and with a number like headie and haſtie paſsions, inſomuch that they often driue the ſoule to rage and furie, or end this life with griefe and diſdaine. As for the vnderſtanding and will; the ſoule
4 cõceiuing Gods iuſt and heauie diſpleaſure againſt ſinne, and knowing the wages thereof to be finall depriuation of all grace and glorie, and eternall damnation of bodie and ſoule to hell-fire; how can ſhe but quake and tremble at the very cogitation and remembrance of her owne guiltineſſe, and of the greatneſſe of his power and
5 iuſtneſſe of his anger? And therefore the godlie preſently fall vpon the conſideration hereof to condemne and deteſt all their ſinnes, and with broken and contrite harts to lament their vnrighteouſneſſe, and to afflict their ſpirits with earneſt and inward ſorrow, till by faith and repentance they find comfort in the mercies of God through Chriſt Ieſus. For want of which, the wicked often in this life, and ſpeciallie at the houre of death, ſincke vnder the burden of their ſinnes; and plunged into the depth of deſperation are poſſeſſed with an horrible fright, and terror of the torments prepared for them in another world; they feeling here on earth in their ſoules the remorſe of ſinne, and ſting of conſcience, but not able to riſe vnto true repentance and hope of ſaluation by reaſon of their continuall contempt of grace, whiles it was offered
6 them, which then is taken from them. After this life appeare the terrible iudgements of God againſt ſinne, which the wicked ſo much feare, and the faithful ſo much ſhun: the ſpeciall maner and meanes whereof as farre as the Scriptures deliuer them, I will deferre till I come to the particular handling of them; though I haue often propoſed them, and in part proued them; but whether the words of the Scripture expreſsing them be allegories, that is figuratiue ſhadowes, or plaine ſpeeches, that queſtion is not yet debated; which I reſerue till I haue ended the immediate ſuffering of the ſoule, as this Diſcourſer calleth it.

Of theſe ſixe meanes, beſides the immediate hand of God to inflict paine on the ſoule for the puniſhment of ſinne; it pleaſeth you (Sir Diſcourſer) to skip foure; and the other two in effect to denie. Affections (you ſay) are *neither puniſhments nor corrections at all properly in themſelues*; and ſuffering by ſympathie from and with the bodie, is common (as you auouch) *to vs with beaſts*, and is no *proper humane ſuffering*; becauſe in your iudgement your firſt kinde *of ſuffering* from the immediate hand of God alone is *the proper humane ſuffering*, which for that cauſe your ſelfe call the *ſoules*
c Defenc.p.8. l.22. *proper and immediate ſuffering*. But what if in all this you ſpeake not one true word? what if the affections that be euill be properlie puniſhments of ſinne? what if the ſoules ſuffering, from and with the bodie, be the true and proper humane ſuffering? what if God vſe not his immediate hand in tormenting ſoules; but hauing ordained and appointed meanes by his wiſedome and power, committeth ſinfull ſoules to be puniſhed by thoſe inſtruments and meanes which he with his hand hath prepared, and in his word expreſſed? Do you not ſhew your ſelfe a deepe Diuine, that prooue points of faith by open falſities; and heape vp errours by the dozens, binding them with your bare word, and obtruding them to the world as oracles lately ſlipt from heauen? but go to the parts, and firſt to the affections, which you affirme are no puniſhments, whether they be good or euill.

The affections of the ſoule that be good, as the loue of God, the zeale of his glorie, and hope of his mercie and trueth, are the ſpeciall gifts and graces of Gods ſpirit, and ſo farre from paining the ſoule, that they breed exceeding comfort and ioy in the Holie ghoſt. The affections that are euill are not onely the rage and reward of ſinne,

but

but inflict as great anguish as may be felt in this life. Concupiscence which is the root and nurse of all euill affections in vs, be they sensitiue or intellectiue; what is it, but the inordinate and intemperate desire and loue of our owne willes and pleasures, despising and hating whatsoeuer resisteth or hindereth our deuices or delights, yea though it be the will and hand of God himselfe? this corruption of the soule by sinne, which is now naturall in vs all, whence came it, but from and for the punishment of the first mans sinne? what is it but the verie poison of sinne? and whether tendeth it, but to withstand and refuse all grace, that men reiecting God, and reiected of God, may runne headlong to the finall and eternall vengeance of their sinne? It is no small punishment of sinne for men to be *left to the* [f] *desires of their owne hearts, and to be giuen ouer to vile affections*; which the Apostle calleth the *reward of their error, and euen the fulnesse of all vnrighteousnesse*: which make men the seruants of sinne, whiles they [g] wait on *lusts, and diuers pleasures, which* [h] *fight against the soule, by* [i] *leading it captiue vnto the law of sinne, which is in the members*. And if you doubt whether they paine the soule or no, looke but on their names or their effects, and you shall soone be out of doubt. *Anger, disdaine, despaire, dislike, detestation, feare, sorrow, rage, furie* for earthly things, can these be so much as conceiued or named without euident impression or mention of paine? yea the fairest of our affections, and those which at first flatter vs most, as *loue*, *desire*, and *pleasure*, (I speake still of euill and vnlawfull) do they not quicklie faile, sowerlie leaue, and sharplie vexe with their remembrance and repentance the greatest seekers and owners of them? In all these worldlie desires and delights S. Austens rule is generallie true. [k] *Quod sine illiciente amore non habuit, sine vrente dolore non perdet. He that kept them not without alluring loue, loseth them with afflicting griefe.* As for the intellectiue passions of the soule, which are the trembling at Gods wrath, the feare of his power, and despaire of his fauour, besides the shame of sinne, griefe of heart, and horror of hell; what torments they breed in the condemned consciences of the wicked, the godly may partly iudge, by that which they sometimes taste, notwithstanding their present recourse to the mercies and promises of God in Christ. So that euill affections, aswell intellectiue as sensitiue, be punishments of sinne, and painfull to the soule; howsoeuer your cogitations (Sir Discourser) be otherwise humored.

[f] Rom.1.
[g] Tit 3.
[h] 1.Pet.2.
[i] Rom.7.
[k] *August. de ciuitat. Dei. l.21. cap.26.*

The soules suffering from and with the bodie is not common to beasts.

Concerning the soules suffering from and with the bodie, which you say is common to vs with beasts: if the soule do not consider for what cause, at whose hand, and to what end she suffereth; as also how she may be freed, and what thanks is due to her deliuerer, she may be well likened to the *Horse and Mule in whom is no vnderstanding*: but the brutish dulnesse of some earthly minded men, doth not make this kind of suffering not to be properly humane, which God from the beginning did, and doth vse to all his seruants and saints (his owne sonne not excepted); and whereby God worketh in all his children *correction*, *probation*, *perfection*, *preparation to glorie*, which are things most proper to men, and no way communicable vnto beasts. [l] *God scourgeth euerie sonne whom he receiueth*, and yet he vseth him not like a beast. [m] *All that will liue godlie in Christ Iesus, shall suffer persecution*, not common to them with beasts. [n] *Count it an exceeding ioy* (saith Iames) *when you fall into diuers tentations, knowing that the triall of your faith bringeth foorth patience*. Now to impart any of these things to beasts, were very strange Diuinity. [o] *Blessed are they* (saith our Sauiour) *that suffer persecution for righteousnesse sake, for theirs is the kingdome of heauen*. Shall men be blessed, and enioy Gods kingdome for suffering as the beasts doe? [p] *If any suffer as a Christian, let him not be ashamed*. He that putteth no difference betwixt the sufferings of beasts and Christians, is vnworthie to be a Christian. [q] *The same afflictions* (saith Peter) *are accomplished in your brethren, which are in the world*. If you list (Sir Discourser) to take beasts for your brethren, you may make your sufferings like to theirs, or common to them; otherwise they that are men, and speciallie Christian men, must acknowledge that this kinde of paining the soule by the bodie, is proper to men, and common neither to beasts, nor to diuels. [r] *There hath no tentation taken you* (saith Paul)

[l] Heb.12.
[m] 2. Tim.3.
[n] Iam.1.
[o] Math.5.
[p] 1.Pet.4.
[q] 1.Pet.5.
[r] 1. Cor.10.

Paul) *but ſuch as is humane.* What is humane, but common to all men, and onely to men; and ſo common neither to beaſts, nor to any other creature, but proper to men? Take backe therefore your vaine imagination, and more fooliſh collection, that the ſuffering of the ſoule by her bodie is not properly humane, becauſe it is common to men with beaſts, and learne hereafter that beaſts hauing no ſoule, much leſſe anie graces or promiſes of God in this life or the next, can not communicate with men in that kinde of ſuffering, which the ſoule feeleth from her bodie, and whereby ſhe is *chaſtiſed, prooued, perfected* in this life, and *prepared* for the glorie of the life to come.

[At leaſt yet you thinke the ſoules immediate ſuffering from the hand of God a-
[f] Defenc. p 8. l. 37. lone, *is the* [f] *proper and principall humane ſuffering.*] If there be any ſuch ſuffering of paine, as you imagine, from the immediate hand of God alone, it is the proper and principall ſuffering of deuils, and not of men. For humane properly it can not be, vnleſſe it touch the whole man, that is as well bodie as ſoule, whereof man conſiſteth. And therefore the full puniſhment of mans ſinne in earth and in hell, conteineth the torments of both parts; without either of which, there is no proper, nor principall humane ſuffering; though the ſoule after death be afflicted for a ſeaſon till the bodie be rayſed and puniſhed with her; which is the true humane ſuffering for ſinne after this life, becauſe it is euerlaſtingly allotted to the wicked for ſinne, by the moſt righteous iudgement of God. But how proone you (Sir Diſcourſer) that the ſoule of man ſuffereth ſenſible and abſolute paine. I meane not depending on her owne cogitations or actions, from the immediate hand of God? what Scripture, what example haue you for it? It is the maine morter of your new erected hell; but tempered onely with the water of your owne wit; nor Scriptures, nor Fathers doe acknowledge any ſuch kind of ſuffering in hell from the immediat hand of God as you affirme; yea they expreſſely auouch the contrary.

No proofe that God puniſheth immediatly.

From the hand of God without queſtion is all power, and ſo all puniſhment, whether it be here, or in hell; he alone giueth force to each creature to pierce and puniſh; and he alone made the ſoule capable of paine from her bodie, from her ſelfe, and from whatſoeuer creature ſhould pleaſe him to vſe for the puniſhment of the ſoule. Of this I make no doubt; the hand of God, which is the power of God, *ordereth, ſtrengtheneth, ſharpeneth, continueth, and worketh*, all paine and puniſhment both here and elſewhere, for the time and for euer; but whether he doeth this by meanes likewiſe ordeined and appointed by the ſame power, either within or without the ſoule, or by his immediate hand without all meanes, this is the queſtion; and reading the Scriptures for this with as good attention as I could, I find no ſuch thing affirmed in them, or prooued by you in all your Diſcourſe. Touching hell, I finde the contrarie confirmed and auouched by the manifeſt and expreſſe words of the holy Ghoſt; and in the greateſt plagues and puniſhments of this life, the meanes that God vſeth are likewiſe mentioned in the Scriptures: the immediate hand of God inflicting paine on the ſoule no where, that I read, or that you prooue, which in ſo weightie a cauſe euery wiſe man will expect at your hands, before he admit your metaphoricall flames of a new found fire, deuiſed by you for the Soule of Chriſt, to make it ſubiect to the paines of hell.

That God is the onely giuer of all grace, by the working of his holy Spirit in our hearts, without the aſſiſtance of any creature to further that action, may not be doubted of any Chriſtian. [t] *A man can receiue nothing except it be giuen him from heauen*; euen *from the Father of lights*, (whence) [u] *commeth euery good and perfect gift*. For which cauſe the Scriptures call him, *the* [x] *God of all grace, working all in all*; and his Spirit, *the Spirit of grace,* [y] *diſtributing to euery man, as pleaſeth him*; and yet this diuiſion and operation of grace, which proceedeth moſt powerfully from God alone, is not alwaies immediate, but dependeth on the hearing of the word, partaking of the Sacraments, and impoſing of hands, which God vſeth as meanes not to helpe his power, but to direct and guide our weakeneſſe. Otherwiſe neither man nor Angel hath, or can haue

[t] Iohn 3.
[u] Iam. 1.
[x] 1. Pet. 5.
[y] 1. Cor. 12.

any

any power to touch and turne the heart, or to inſpire it with grace, but onely God, who made it and can alter and change it at his pleaſure.

As the giuing, ſo the taking away of all good gifts pertaining either to the vſe of this life, as *prudence*, *courage*, *magnanimitie*, and ſuch like; or to the furtherance of the life to come, as *faith*, *hope*, *loue*, and other fruits of Gods Spirit; depend wholely on Gods will and worke: and yet that is no let, but when God hath moſt iuſtly depriued men of his grace, which ſhould preſerue them from euill, he may and doeth leaue the neglecters and abuſers of his grace to be poſſeſſed and ruled by the ſpirit of [z] *errour*, [a] *vncleanneſſe*, *and* [b] *giddineſſe*, that [c] *worketh in the children of diſobedience*, and carieth them headlong into all kind of miſchiefe. Not that God performeth any of theſe things with his immediate hand, which are wicked and impious; but that by his iuſt iudgement he giueth them ouer, which deſpiſe and forſake him, to be a pray to the roaring Lion, that deuoureth them. Neither is Satan to ſeeke howe to leade men deſtitute of grace, to all villanie both againſt themſelues and others; ſince he can [d] *blind the mindes of vnbeleeuers, diſtract their* [e] *wits*, and inflame their hearts with all ſorts of raging luſtes, and vntamed affections, as he did in Cain, Saul, Achitophel, Iudas; and dayly doth in all the wicked.

[z] 1.Iohn.4.
[a] Zachar. 13.
[b] Eſai.19.
[c] Epheſ.2.
[d] 2.Cor.4.
[e] Marke 5.

In the outward puniſhments of this life, where God turneth the furie and violence of his creatures to reuenge ſinne; and the ſeruice of men, Angels, and deuils, to purſue the wicked to their deſtruction, and to chaſtiſe his owne to their conuerſion; the hand of God doth euery where appeare by the Scriptures, but that is nothing to your immediate ſuffering of the ſoule. For firſt in them God vſeth his creatures, as his agents and inſtruments; and where his immediate hand may happily be conceaued to worke without meanes, there he puniſheth the ſoule by the bodie, which by your owne poſition is not the proper and immediate ſuffering of the ſoule.

In the feare, ſhame, and griefe, which the ſoule here conceaueth vpon the denouncing, conuicting, or beholding of her owne vncleanneſſe, and the terrible iudgements of God againſt ſinne; the power, trueth and iuſtice of God are euident, but not that immediate hand of God, which you imagine. For in this caſe God puniſheth the ſoule by her ſelfe, that is, by her intellectiue or ſenſitiue faculties, letting her plainely perceiue, what ioy is loſt, and what vengeance is prouided for all the workers of wickedneſſe. The loſſe of which bliſſe, and terrour of which vengeance apprehended by outward ſenſe, or inward intelligence, cannot but mightily grieue and afflict the ſoule. And the greater the loſſe, that is irreuocable; as alſo the ſoarer the miſchiefe that is ineuitable, the deeper is the wound, that either of them make in the heart of man. But this feare and griefe, whiles here men liue, proceede from the cogitation and perſwaſion of the minde and conſcience, and not from the immediate hand of God. And in the world to come the horrour of hell and rage of fire, which God hath ordained to puniſh the ſoule, ſhall inflict an intollerable torment not riſing from the minds and wils of the wicked, as in this world it doth, but impreſſed by an externall and violent agent, which is the meanes that God hath prepared to execute vengeance on men and deuils.

Howbeit in none of all theſe appeareth that immediate ſuffering of the ſoule from the hand of God alone, which you ſo much talke of, and to which you would ſo faine ſubiect the ſoule of Chriſt to make him ſuffer the ſubſtance of that, which the damned (according to your dreame) doe feele in hell. For in your conceit of the ſoules immediate ſuffering from the hand of God, the ſoule muſt onely be a patient, and no agent; and God muſt inflict the paine on the ſoule with his owne hand, and not by any meanes without or within the ſoule; onely the ſoule muſt feele and diſcerne the preſent and inherent paine by her paſsiue power and facultie, by which ſhe is capable of all paine, whence ſoeuer or howſoeuer it commeth. This kind of ſuffering you euery where affirme, you no where prooue; and that which is moſt abſurd, you preſume againſt the cleare words of the holy Ghoſt continually naming the fire of hell, and threatning the wicked with it, to allegorize the Scriptures at your pleaſure, and

in

in stead of fire which God hath ordained and armed as a most dreadfull meanes to take vengeance of sinne, you suppose a certaine paine, which God with his immediate hand will inflict on the soules of the damned, and that you make the substance of hell paines, and fasten it to the soule of Christ for the time, before he could worke our redemption, or suffer the punishment of our sinnes. But sir Discourser this is rather dreaming then debating of matters of faith, to allegorize whatsoeuer standeth in your way, and in stead thereof to imagine what you please without either proofe or pretence out of the word of God; as if your mouth were the rule of Religion, or the trueth of God would vanish by your fantasticall figures and shadowes. Wherefore leaue your deuising and auouching what best liketh your vnquiet humour in so weightie matters of mans Redemption, and tye your tongue if not your heart, to the wordes of the holy Ghost, that at least you may beare the shew, if not the sense, of a Christian man. For I vtterly denie that God is either the immediate tormentour of soules in hell, which is your idle and absurd imagination; or that with his immediate hand God did torment the soule of his Sonne at any time here on earth, as the soules of the damned are tormented in hell, which is your witlesse and wicked assertion.

For proofe you produce the words of Esay affirming of Christ, that *the Lord layed vpon him the punishment of vs all*; but in this, as your maner is, you hit neither the words, nor the meaning of the Prophet. The word is HAAVAH *to be crooked* or *to go awrie*, and so by translation signifieth the crookednesse or wickednesse of mans life; which the Prophet testifieth was layd vpon Christ in saying, [f] *the Lord layd vpon him the iniquitie of vs all.* But grant it may sometimes by the ioyning of other words importanie punishment allotted to wickednesse; doth the Prophet say that God layed all the punishment due to sinne vpon Christ, or that God layed it vpon the soule of Christ; both which you inferre out of the Prophets words, though neither be there expressed, or thence to be concluded? S. Peter will tell you on what part of Christ God layd our sinnes, euen on his bodie. [g] *Himselfe bare our sinnes* (saith Peter) *in his bodie on the tree.* Now where Christ did beare them, there God did lay them. Christ bare them in his bodie, as Peter affirmeth; God therefore layd our sinnes on his bodie, that by suffering death on the Crosse, which was the wages of sinne, Christ might make the purgation of our sinnes in his owne person. Againe, the sense which you would sowe to the Prophets words, that God layd vpon him all our punishment, that is as you would haue it, all the punishment which we should haue suffered, is false and wicked. For so Christ must haue suffered, *reiection, desperation, and eternall damnation* which the damned doe suffer, and we should haue suffered, had we not beene redeemed. If you meane no more than the Scripture intendeth, that what Christ suffered for vs in the bodie of his flesh on the Crosse, was the full redemption and satisfaction for all our sinnes; then are you wide from concluding out of these words, that Christ suffered the paines of hell or the full vengeance due to our sinne by the immediate hand of God, which is the chiefe point that you aime at. This is all the proofe you offer out of the Scriptures for the immediate suffering of the soule of Christ from the hand of God; and what sturdie stuffe this is, the rudest reader that lighteth on your pamphlet of Defence will soone conceiue. If you keepe this course in the rest of your positions, the world will soone be wearie of your new-found fansies, if you be not of your manifest follies.

[f] Esa.53.

[g] 1.Pet.2.

[But Christ *suffered* (you say) *the substance of hell-paines*, though *not the circumstances of place and time*, which the damned do suffer; for *they are not of the nature and essence of hell.*] To make God the tormentor of Christs soule heere on earth with his immediate hand, and so of all the damned soules in hell, you brought vs the words of the Prophet Esay, *the Lord layd vpon him the iniquitie of vs all*: for this seraphicall sequestration of the substance from the circumstances of hell, which mysterie of iniquitie you begin now to broach, what Prophet or Apostle can you produce? Dare you, Sir Discourser, out of the hazard of your owne head, pull in pieces Gods setled, reuealed, and eternall iudgement against sinne; and with the worme of your owne wit

wit wreſt in ſunder the ſubſtance of hell from the circumſtance thereof? What will you not aduenture in earth, that attempt this in hell? or what ſhall be free from your forge, that offer to make vs a new eſſence and nature of hell, and heauen? If you can deuiſe or intend to mingle your toyes with Gods truth, and with fillie ſleights of Sophiſtrie, which you thinke Philoſophie, ſubuert maine points of Diuinitie, your leaſure is great, but your labour is leaud. In the ſecrets of the next world, none of the godlie euer preſumed to debate or determine any thing, ſpeciallie touching hell or heauen, without the manifeſt precedence or ſequence of holie Scripture. You had need therefore (Sir Deuiſer) to be well aduiſed; it is no ſmall preſumption and intruſion againſt Gods wiſedome, power, and counſell, to eleuate and fruſtrate the paines which he hath appointed for the wicked in hell, and to coine freſh and new in ſtead thereof, which God hath not ordained. I profeſſe to all the world, I dare not depart from ſo often and earneſt words of Chriſt himſelfe, nor allegorize the ſentence of the Iudge, which ſhall be pronounced on the reprobate both men and angels, and executed in the ſight of all the elect, not by any figures and metaphors, but by the terror of the things themſelues matching the trueth of the words, which Chriſt ſhall vtter. And heere I aſſure thee Chriſtian Reader I ſwarue not either from the continuall tenor of the Scriptures, nor from the full conſent of Chriſts church; howſoeuer this Deuiſer flatters himſelfe in his new inuention. But let vs trace him in his owne path, and controll him with the leuell of Gods trueth.

What can be more ſubſtantiall to any iudgement or puniſhment than the ſentence of the Iudge; and ſpecially of ſuch a Iudge, as with his will, word, and power decreeth, pronounceth, and ſetteth all things in heauen, earth, and hell? If then this Iudge in his ſentence of condemnation appoint the PLACE and TIME to be parts of the puniſhments inflicted on the damned; tell vs I pray you, why ſome parts of the ſentence be more eſſentiall to the puniſhment than others? or why all being parts alike, they ſhould not all be equally of the ſubſtance of the iudgement? [h] *Depart from me ye curſed into euerlaſting fire, prepared* FOR THE DIVELL AND HIS ANGELS, is the ſentence to be pronounced on all the wicked, that ſhall be *damned*. Of the *continuance* there can be no queſtion, but here it is expreſly mentioned, that it ſhalbe EVERLASTING. For the place, it is as plaine by the witneſſe of the Scripture, which maketh no *fire euerlaſting* but onely hell-fire. Our Sauiour [i] twice in one chapter ioyneth the one as an expoſition to the other; and thrice almoſt with one breath affirmeth euerlaſting fire to be the fire of hell. [k] *It is better to enter into life maimed than hauing two hands (or two feet) to be caſt* INTO HELL, INTO THE FIRE THAT NEVER SHALL BE QVENCHED; VVHERE *their worme neuer dieth,* AND THE FIRE NEVER GOETH OVT. No fire is euerlaſting, but onely hell-fire. Chriſt therefore in his ſentence including the one, implieth the other as part of his iudgement againſt the reprobate, and maketh both time and place eſſentiall parts in the puniſhment of the damned. And when he ſayth, DEPART *from me ye curſed*, forſomuch as there ſhalbe then no places left, but heauen for the bleſſed, and hell for the curſed, he doth not exclude them from the one, but by appointing them to the other. Beſides, that fire which is prepared for the diuell and his angels, is no where but in hell; and therefore adiudging them to that fire, he doth euidentlie adiudge them to hell fire. Since then no man is or ſhall be damned but only *to hell*, and that *for euer*; the place and continuance are expreſſe, and ſo eſſentiall parts of the iudgement; and conſequently of the puniſhment that is and ſhall be inflicted on all the damned. For the iudgement which then ſhall be openly pronounced, is immutablie decreed, and alreadie reuealed by the Iudge himſelfe; and therefore vnchangeable to all that are or ſhalbe damned, and executed on that part of the wicked which is extant, I meane their ſoules aſſoone as they depart this life, though their bodies be yet in the duſt, as afterward ſhalbe ſhewed. Moſt vainly then and falſely doe you ſlide betweene the ſubſtance and circumſtance of hell-paines; ſince the name of hell-paines doth neceſſarilie and naturallie import the *place of torment* where thoſe

[h] Matth. 25.

[i] Marke 9. verſ. 43. 45.

[k] verſ. 44. 46. 48.

paines

paines are, which is hell; and out of which place they are not: els might they be called aswell aëriall or terrestriall paines, as hell paines, if they were found aswell in the aire or on the earth, as in hell. But the Scripture hath resolued vs there is a [l] *place of torment* after this life, which is called *hell*, and the torments there so farre exceed all the paines of this life, not only for perpetuitie, but also for intolerable acerbitie and grauitie, that they are iustly called hell-paines, as proper to the place where diuels and damned persons shalbe punished with euerlasting fire.

[l] Luc. 16.

And where you would seeme out of the dregs of Philosophie to borrow the difference of the *substance and circumstance* of hell-paines, you vnderstand not what you say. For euen by the rules of Philosophie there are no circumstances in things perpetuall and immutable. Circumstances must often varie, els are they no circumstances, if they be eternall and necessarie consequents. Since then time and place do not alter in anie of the damned; for all that are damned are cast into hell for euer, though all suffer not like paines; if there be any circumstances in hell, they are rather in the degrees and differences of paine, which you make the substance of hell, than in the place or perpetuitie of the torment, which neuer varie in any of the damned. And since you will needs be medling with Philosophie, I pray you Sir Discourser, if Christ suffered the substance of damnation as you auouch, doth not your doctrine plainlie conclude the Sauiour of the world to be damned? for, which shall truely attribute the name of anie thing to anie person, the substance or the circumstance of the thing? By all the rules of Art and reason, to whom the definition doth agree, the thing defined must likewise agree. Now ech definition importeth the substance, not the circumstance of the thing defined. And so if Christ suffered the substance of damnation, it is euident by your doctrine he was damned; which is a corollarie in Christian religion fit for such a considerate Colonell as you are; I will say no woorse. Yea such is your deepe insight in these matters, that with turning and winding as a worme doth in wood, to make Christ suffer the substance of those paines which the damned do suffer; you exclude him, against your owne intention and assertion, from all both substance and circumstance of that, which the Iudge pronounceth and inflicteth on the damned. For where the sentence of the Iudge, *Depart from me ye cursed into euerlasting fire*, conteineth in it reiection from Gods kingdome, malediction and torment of eternall fire, with their necessarie consequents; *Reiection* and *malediction* Christ [m] *neuer tasted* by your owne confession. Continuance of time and place are as you say [n] *meere circumstances onely*, and not agreeable to Christ; there remaineth then the fire of hell; which you allegorize, by no meanes acknowledging any TRVE *fire in hell*, for that you *vtterly denie*. Now allegories are by no meanes the substance or essence of anie creature; and so you teach, Christ suffered the substance of all that the damned doe suffer, saue that he suffered as your selfe confesse, no part of that which Christ by his iudiciall sentence inflicteth on the damned; which is the substance of all that the damned do or shall suffer. Thus what Christ pronounceth on the damned you make circumstantiall and allegoricall; and what is no way comprised in his sentence of condemnation, you make that only to be substantiall and essentiall in hell-paines; let the Reader now iudge whether this hel be not of your owne framing, and not of Gods ordaining.

[m] Defen. p. 10. l. 19.

[n] Ibid. p. 12. l. 22.

This is follie sufficient by a vaine distinction of substance and circumstance to exclude all that Christ pronounceth on the damned, from the substance of hell-paines; but because it maketh an open gap to Atheisme, to allegorize the greatest torments that God hath ordained for the wicked in hell, and to admit nothing for the substance thereof, saue that which was common to Christ with the damned; which can be neither *reiection, malediction*, nor *eternall torment of fire*, since Christ suffered none of these, and yet (as you affirme) he suffered the substance of all that the damned doe suffer; let vs more largelie consider what paines are essentiall to damnation, and to hell, not that hell which your running head hath latelie hatched, but that which the word and will of God hath for euer established; as also whether there be true fire in

hell

hell or no; that we may the more plainly perceiue what vanitie and impietie you haue aduentured to make hell and so heauen to be euerie where as touching their substance; and the chiefest torments of hell to be imaginarie paines deuised and conceiued by your selfe and a few of your sect, without all warrant of holie Scripture, or witnesse of ancient and Christian beleeuers. Wherein when I speake of *substance and essence*, thou must not thinke (gentle Reader) that I meane precisely *matter* and *forme*, as Philosophers do, which bodies only haue; I speake as a Diuine, of *rewards* and *punishments*; in which that is most essentiall and substantiall, which God hath ordained shalbe generall and perpetuall in either kinde. Then that is essentiall to damnation or to the paines of hell reserued for the damned, which God by his word and will reuealed, hath prouided and established for all that shalbe damned, excepting or sparing none, but including them all in one and the same iudgement. And if thou finde by the word of God, that the place of hell and perpetuall torment there, be necessarily and generally decreed and appointed for all the reprobate that shall be damned, make sure account that is essentiall to the punishment and paines of hell, which the will and word of God hath ordained and expressed shall ineuitably and eternally pursue and punish the wicked. For Gods will and ordinance is most essentiall and substantiall in all these things; and what he hath determined, and setled generallie and eternallie, without ceasing or changing to take holde on the wicked, that is the substance and essence of their punishment, and of hell-paines, which is their portion.

In my Sermons I deliuered manie *parts* of hell-paines, which by no meanes could with any sense of religion be applied to Christ. The Discourser neither doth nor can denie them, but shifteth them off as either allegoricall or not essentiall to the paines of hell. I shall therefore need but to examine whether they be figuratiue or proper speeches, as also whether they be essentiall or accidentall to the condition and punishment of the damned; which I am content in order to do. Out of the sentence of the Iudge to be pronounced against all the reprobate, I obserued foure parts of hell-paines inflicted on all the damned; to wit, [o] *Reiection, malediction, vengeance of fire,* and *continuance therein for euer*. Touching *reiection* and *malediction*, the Discourser plainly confesseth, that [p] *in Christ there could vtterly be none of these*, as also neither [q] *desperation, dereliction, nor sting of conscience*. This confession I take to be verie true, though it be neither agreeable to himselfe in other places, nor conformable to his generall positions otherwise. But of that afterward. In the meane while, if *reiection* from all grace and glorie, and extreame *malediction of bodie* and soule, be essentiall paines in hell, and punishments for sinnes; and Christ *neuer tasted these*; then Christ neuer suffered all that the damned doe suffer, as touching the essence and substance thereof.

[o] Sermons. fo. 50.
[p] Defenc. p. 11 l 27.
[q] Ibid.

Reiection from the kingdome of God: essentiall to hell paines.

And first of reiection from the kingdome of God, what say you, Sir Deuiser, (for I may rightly so call you, that take vpon you to deuise vs a new hell not heard of in the Scriptures) is it either no paine to the damned, or is it no essentiall part of their punishment, to be thrust out of the kingdome of heauen? The losse of good things, when they be perceiued and desired, doth by nature no lesse grieue and afflict the soule of man, than the presence of euill doth offend him. All earthly creatures, as well as man, affect that which is good for them; and from the desire of good which is naturall to all, it is not possible that man should be exempted: but as by sense and vnderstanding he discerneth higher and better things than the rest, so this affection and inclination after he truely perceiueth or fully beholdeth them, is exceedingly inflamed with them; and when he findeth himselfe disappointed and depriued of them, his griefe increaseth according to the goodnesse of the things, and greatnesse of his desire. The ioy and honour then of the saints in the kingdome of God when the wicked shall presently beholde, and see themselues reiected thence, they shall inwardly grieue with vnspeakable sorrow, and outwardly mourne with gnashing their teeth for very anguish of heart, as perceiuing themselues excluded from that inestimable blisse for euer. This collection our Sauiour confirmeth in expresse words:

[r] Luc. 13.

[r] *There shalbe weeping and gnashing of teeth, when ye shall see Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob, and all the Prophets in the kingdome of God, and your selues thrust out at doores.* Yea where there are two sorts of paines in hell; *Losse of heauen, and sense of euill*; the learned and ancient Fathers haue professed the former, to be a greater and grieuouser paine than the latter. [s] *There are some* (saith Chrysostome) *of an absurd iudgement*, who only desire *to escape hell: contra ego, multo durius esse tormentum quoddam assero, quàm gehenna est: hoc est, non assecutum esse tantam gloriam, & illinc elapsum esse. But I on the contrarie affirme there is a farre worse torment than hell it selfe is, to wit, the losse of so great glory, and the falling there-from. Neither doe I thinke that we ought so much to grieue at the euils in hell, as at the losse whereby we fall from heauen, qui nimirum est cruciatus omnium durissimus, which doubtlesse is the bitterest anguish of all the rest.* S. Austen in like sort: [t] *To perish from the kingdome of God, to be banished from the citie of God, to want so plentifull abundance of the sweetnesse of God, as he hath layd vp in store for those that feare him, tam grandis est pœna, vt ei nulla possint tormenta quæ nouimus comparari, is so grieuous a punishment*, or paine, *that no torments which we know may be compared vnto it.* Nazianzene. [u] *Those* (that rise to iudgement) *thus amongst other, or rather* Above *other punishments shall torment them, that they are reiected of God.* And Basil. [x] *The estranging and reiecting from God, is an euill more intolerable, than all that is* (feared or) *expected in hell.* If the griefe shall be so great to be excluded from the kindome of God, and the same be compriſed in the sentence of the Iudge, where he saith, *Depart from me ye cursed*; then is there no doubt but it is an essentiall part of the paines of hell: since it is not only generall and perpetuall to all the damned; but a necessarie precedent to the rest of their torments, which can neither take full hold of them, nor afflict them in the highest degree, till they be wholly depriued of all consolation and expectation of any fauour from God, and vtterly confounded with the griefe and shame of that reiection which they shall suffer at the hands of Christ before men and Angels.

[s] *Ad Theodorũ lapsum epist. 5.*

[t] *Enchirid. ad Laurentium. cap. 112.*

[u] *De plaga grandinu.*

[x] *De regulis fusè disputat. interrogatio 2.*

Malediction essentiall to hell paines.

Malediction, the second part of the Iudiciall sentence against the wicked, noteth as well the cause of their condemnation to be sinne, for which onely, both men and Angels are accursed; as the sequels of sinne in the condemned, whom this curse excludeth from all sense and hope of Gods blessings, eternall and temporall for euer; and wrappeth in the fearefull remembring and feeling the number and horrour of their offences, that before flattered, delighted, and encouraged themselues in their wickednesse. For where *shame*, *sorrow*, and *feare* are by Gods wisedome and trueth appointed as waiting mates on sinne, and offered to the consciences of all men, to stay them from sinne, or leade them to repentance when they haue sinned, if they doe not harden their hearts; the wicked to take their full foorth in their vncleannesse, cast these behind them, and not onely conceale and excuse their sinnes, but quench all reuerence and remembrance of God, least any thing should hold or hinder them from their pleasures. And therefore the Iustice of God arising to take finall vengeance of their rebellion against him, causeth extreame and inward *shame*, *remorse* and *feare*, which they so much shunned, when they might haue repented, and desisted from their euill wayes, most dreadfully to inuade them, and as mightie streames to ouerwhelme them, till they sinke to the bottome of all confusion, compunction and desperation. Which is a most iust reward of their dalliance with God, and yet a most painefull torment to the damned, who in their life time wilfully renounced God, to enioy their delights; but there and for euer after shall without remedie or mercie behold the lothsomenesse of their sinnes, and grieue at the follie and furie of their disobedience; God punishing the soule of euery such transgressour with the remembrance and remorse of his madnesse, with the euidence and conscience of his vncleannesse, and with the sight and assurance of his perpetuall wretchednesse.

[y] *Ambros. de offic. lib. 3. cap. 4.*

[z] *Augustinus in Psal. 45.*

[a] *Chrysost. in Act. Apostol. homil. 15.*

[y] *Quæ pœna grauior quàm interioris vulnus conscientiæ? What paine more grieuous,* (sayth Ambrose) *then the wound of the conscience within?* [z] *Amongst all the afflictions of mans soule, there is none greater,* (saith Austen) *then the conscience of sinne.* [a] *Howe thinkest thou* (saith Chrysostome) *shall our consciences be butten? and is not this worse then*

any

any torment whatsoeuer? [b] *The most grieuous torment of all* (saith Basil) *shall be that reproch and eternall shame.* [c] *Omni tormento atrociùs desperatio condemnatos affliget. Worse then all other torments shall desperation afflict the condemned.* [d] *Giue them griefe of heart, euen thy curse vpon them,* saith Ieremie to God. No doubt then the sting of conscience and shame of sinne, which so extreamely shall grieue the heart, is a part of that eternall curse, which shall light on the wicked; and so painefull and grieuous shall it bee vnto them, that they shall curse the day of their birth, time of their life, and all the workes of their hands, that occasioned or leasured them to come within the compasse of this fearefull and euerlasting curse. [e] *Torments and sorrowes shall take holde on them (in the day of iudgement or of death) and they shall be pained as a woman in labour with child. By which it appeareth* (saith Ierome) *they are tormented with their owne conscience.* [f] *Tunc & ipsa conscientia propriis stimulis agitatur atque compungitur. Then the very conscience* (of the wicked) *is pricked and pierced with her owne goades and stinges.* [g] *Magna pœna est impiorum conscientia. The conscience of the wicked, is a great paine or punishment* vnto them.

[b] *Basil. in Psalmum. 33.*
[c] *Cyprian de Ascens. Domini.*
[d] *Lamentat. 3.*
[e] *Hiero. lib. 6. in Esa. cap. 13.*
[f] *Pamphilus apolog. pro Origene.*
[g] *August. in Psal. 53.*

You did well vtterly to exempt the Sauiour of the world from both these, I meane from reiection and malediction; you must otherwise haue depriued him of all grace and glorie; and plunged him into the shame of sinne, and remorse of conscience; neither of which without open impietie, can be ascribed to the soule of Christ: and yet both these are essentiall paines to the damned, and not circumstances, as you pretend of *time* and *place*. How painefull they are, I leaue the Reader to consider by that which is already said; essentiall they cannot chuse but be to damnation and hell, not onely because they are comprised in the sentence of the Iudge, which is the substance of condemnation, but also for that the rest of hell paines are not inflicted till both these take hold on the soules of men. For so long as men haue any part or hope of heauen, they are not condemned to hell, neither shall the finall iudgement of God proceede against any, till their owne consciences doe first conuict them and condemne them. And therefore as in Christs sentence, reiection, and malediction stand before the rest, so in performance they must take place before eternall torment of fire shall follow. Gods iudgement being certainely iust, shall be without all contradiction euen in the consciences of the condemned, who then shal be their owne accusers: and as hell hath no communion with heauen, no more can a man bee adiudged to hell, but he must first be excluded from the possession and expectation of all heauenly ioy and blisse. I speake of the order and coherence of the punishments, not of any long distance of time betweene them; forsomuch as that iudgement shalbe as quickly executed, as pronounced.

The torment of fire is the third part of this iudgement, which I make no question, but you will acknowledge to be an essentiall paine of hell, whatsoeuer you intend by the name of fire. For if this also be accidentall to damnation, I maruaile much what is substantiall. But you are content to admit this for the substance of hell paines, so you may allegorize it, and make thereof what best fitteth your fansie. Then if Christ suffered not the torment of hell fire so much threatned to the wicked in the Scriptures, and inflicted on the damned by Christs sentence; it is very plaine he suffered no part of the substance of hell paines; vnlesse your learning serue you to say, that when Christ commeth to giue Iudgement against all the damned, he shall vtterly forget and mistake himselfe, and in stead of the substance of hell paines, pronounce onely the circumstances thereof against the reprobate both men and Angels. Here therfore is the place to examine whether the fire of hell be allegoricall, or no; for that it is essentiall to the paines of hell, can be (no doubt) with any but with Atheists, and Infidels, which know not God, since it is named by Christ as a chiefe punishment, *prepared for the diuell and his Angels*. Wherein I wish thee (gentle Reader) aduisedly to marke what is said on either side, it is a matter of no small moment both to Christian religion and true godlinesse, whether it shall be lawfull for euery vnstable wit, at his pleasure to allegorize whatsoeuer liketh not his humour in the sacred Scriptures.

tures. For if the finall and eternall Iudgement of God againſt the wicked be allegoricall; then ſurely the reward of the faithfull from the ſame Iudge at the ſame time muſt likewiſe be allegoricall. And if we once bring all that is threatned and promiſed in the world to come to be figures and allegories, we endanger the power, and iuſtice of God, which muſt openly appeare to all the world in the puniſhment of ſinne, (if he be a God: *and diſpleaſed and offended with ſinne*) as alſo his mercy, bountie and glorie, in crowning his elect, to be nothing but types and figures. The end of all things, which is the time of iudgement muſt openly and fully performe whatſoeuer God in this life threatneth or promiſeth: and if that day doe not plainly diſtinguiſh betweene righteouſneſſe and vnrighteouſneſſe, the elect and the reprobate, and ſhewe a moſt ſenſible difference betwixt the kingdome of heauen and the torments of hell; to the view of men and Angels without figures or allegories, no time after is, or euer ſhalbe appointed for that purpoſe.

The firſt reaſon which leadeth me to beleeue the fire of hell to to be a true, ſubſtantiall, and externall fire, and no allegorie, is that, which is and muſt be the ground of all Religion, to wit, the proper ſignification of the word threatned in the Scriptures to the wicked, and by Chriſt inflicted on the damned. Otherwiſe if we hold not faſt this rule, not to runne to figures in expounding the Scriptures, except the proper ſignification of the words in any place be [h] *againſt the trueth of faith, or honeſtie of manners*, we ſhall leaue nothing ſound or aſſured in the word of God. For [i] *when the mind is poſſeſſed with any errour, whatſoeuer the Scriptures anouch to the contrarie, men thinke it to be figuratiue*; as S. Auſten rightly obſerueth. Your ſelfe approue this rule, when it maketh any thing for you: your words are: [k] *I like well that no figure is to be admitted in Scripture, where there is no ill or hurtfull ſenſe following litterally.* Now that externall and ſubſtantiall fire is denounced to the wicked in the Scriptures, and ſhall accordingly torment the damned in hell, what iniurie is it to the Chriſtian faith, or what repugnance hath it with the reſt of the Scriptures? We doe and muſt beleeue that Chriſt ſhall come to iudge the quicke and dead; and with his owne mouth ſhall openly adiudge the reprobate *to* [l] *euerlaſting fire, prepared for the deuill and his angels.* What neceſsitie then is there to allegorize this fire? It is impoſsible, you thinke, for ſoules and deuils, which are ſpirits, to be puniſhed with externall and corporall fire; and therefore the fire in your conceit muſt be figuratiue. Shall it be impoſsible to God, when he ſpeaketh the word, to performe the deede; or is it too hard for you to conceaue the manner how it ſhall be done? I truſt you take not vpon you to reſtraine the marualles of Gods workes to the reach of your wits, or to meaſure the greatneſſe of his arme by the weakeneſſe of your hand. How many thouſand things are there in the creation, conſeruation, and alteration of the world; in the aire, in the earth, and euery part thereof, which are daily before our eyes, and yet farre paſſe our vnderſtanding? To tie Gods trueth and glorie to your capacitie, were madde deuinitie; to make any thing vnpoſsible for him, which his mouth hath ſpoken, were meere infidelitie. He that created ſpirits of nothing can as eaſily make them capable of paine and puniſhment from fire, or whatſoeuer meane pleaſeth him to vſe. But fire hee hath threatned vnto men and deuils. By fire therefore ſhall they be tormented, which his hand that is Almightie, and his mouth that is all true, ſhall perfourme in the ſight of all the world.

A ſecond reaſon is, that Chriſt ſhall pronounce theſe words in Iudgement, where the guiltie muſt perceiue, what is their doome; the miniſters muſt know, what they ſhall execute; and the elect muſt diſcerne what they are to approoue. Now allegories are exactly knowen onely to the ſpeaker; the hearers, except they can ſearch the heart, can not certainely knowe the meaning of figures and parables till they be expounded. Chriſts iudgement therefore ſhall be plaine and proper, and containe nothing in it that any way may hinder the preſent and euident conception, execution, or approbation of it. The end and vſe of parables, which are allegoricall ſimilitudes, our Sauiour confeſſed when his diſciples asked him, [m] *Why ſpeakeſt thou to them in parables?*

[h] *Auguſt. de doct. Chriſtia. lib. 3. cap. 10.*
[i] *Auguſt. ibid.*
[k] Defenc. pa. 109. l. 8.
[l] Matth. 25.
[m] Matth. 13.

parables. Who anſwered: *becauſe it is giuen to you to know the ſecrets of the kingdome of heauen, but to them it is not giuen.* [a] *To them that are without, all things are done in parables, that ſeeing they may ſee and not diſcerne, and hearing they may heare and not vnderſtand.* Then ſerue parables and allegories, which are both one, to hide the meaning of the ſpeaker; and to darken the vnderſtanding of the hearer. But the Iudgement of Chriſt hath cleane contrarie purpoſes; and muſt haue plaine and proper ſpeech, that the whole world may heare it with their eares, vnderſtand it with their hearts, and ſee it executed with their eyes. For how ſhould allegories or metaphores be executed by Gods Angels, who ſhall be the miniſters in that iudgement? or how ſhall all the elect concurre with Chriſt in iudgement, if he vſe metaphores and allegories knowen onely to himſelfe? It is euident therefore the generall and finall ſentence by which the wicked ſhall be adiudged to *euerlaſting fire*, muſt haue in it no figures nor allegories, but onely plaine and proper ſpeech, which muſt be heard and vnderſtood of all good and bad, and be preſently put in execution by the miniſters that attend that Iudgement. [a] Mark.4.

A third is, that where parables by reaſon of their darkneſſe muſt be expounded before they can be conceiued; when Chriſt doth declare the meaning of them, his expoſition of neceſsitie muſt be in plaine and proper words, leſt a darke and doubtfull expoſition breed a further confuſion in the mindes of the hearers, than the parable it ſelfe. The parable of the *good ſeed* ſowed by the owner of the ground; and of *tares* ſowed by the enemie; as alſo of the *harueſt* and *reapers*; when the Diſciples of Chriſt prayed him to *declare* vnto them; he expounded it in theſe words: [o] *The ſower of the good ſeed is the ſonne of man, the field is the world; the good ſeed are the children of the kingdome; the tares are the children of the wicked; the enemie that ſoweth them, is the diuell; the harueſt is the end of the world; and the Reapers be the Angels. As then the tares are gathered and burned in the fire, ſo ſhall it be in the end of the world. The Sonne of man ſhall ſend forth his Angels, and they ſhall gather out of his kingdome all offences and the workers of iniquitie, and ſhall caſt them into a furnace of fire, there ſhalbe wailing and gnaſhing of teeth.* And vpon occaſion of the parable of the draw-net caſt into the ſea, and gathering all kinds of men, and after ſeuering the good from the bad; our Sauiour repeating the ſame expoſition in the ſame words (*So ſhall it be in the end of the world; the angels ſhall go forth, and ſeuer the bad from among the iuſt, and ſhall caſt them into a fornace of fire*) ſayd to his Diſciples, [p] *Vnderſtand ye all theſe things?* and *they ſayd to him, Yea Lord.* The parable they vnderſtood not, but this they vnderſtood. The fire therefore into which the wicked ſhall be caſt, is no parabolicall, but a plaine and proper ſpeech. Againe, Chriſt expoundeth the parable by it: it is therefore no allegorie, but a true and proper ſpeech by which Chriſt opened the obſcuritie of the parable; and his Diſciples preſently conceiued his meaning by the proprietie and perſpicuitie of his words. Then, *that* [*] *the Angels of God in the end of the world ſhall ſeuer the wicked; and caſt them into a furnace of fire*, is an euident, plaine, and proper ſpeech, eaſie to be vnderſtood of euerie Chriſtian by the verie hearing of the words vttered, without recourſe to you Sir Deuiſer to helpe allegorize them; or to bring in ſtead of them the immediat ſoules ſuffering, which you ſtill auouch, but neuer take the paines to proue, or vſe the meanes to vnfold. [o] Matth.13. verſ.37. [p] Ibid. ver.51. [*] Matth.13.

Fourthly, your new conceit hath no coherence with the ſenſe or words of the Holy ghoſt; but either he muſt correct his ſpeech, whereſoeuer he mentioneth the fire of hell, or you muſt recall your fanſie, who ſuppoſe an inward paine in the ſoule from the immediat hand of God to be hell fire. For if that which you call hell fire be only within the ſoules of the wicked, how can they DEPART, GO, OR BE CAST INTO HELL FIRE, which by your imagination is caſt into them, & not they into it? And therefore when our Sauiour ſo often affirmeth, that the wicked ſhall be *caſt into hell fire*, and iudicially willeth them to *depart from him into euerlaſting fire*; you muſt ſet him to ſchoole, and teach him to ſpeake righter, and according to your opinion, to ſay, that hell fire ſhalbe caſt into them. But if theſe be fooleries moſt vnfit for any

Christian man, to controll the sonne of God in his speech, and to condemne him of open and childish ignorance, as not knowing the difference betwixt an externall and internall fire; then learne to reuerence the veritie and grauitie of the word of God, and to confesse that he which seeth and setleth all things in heauen, earth, and hell, cannot so forget himselfe as to mistake the one for the other. For if the fire be a violent, externall, and locall agent into which the wicked shalbe cast; then are the words of our Sauiour and of the Prophets and Apostles most proper and pertinent to the matter: but if that fire which shall torment the damned, be nothing but an internall paine rising within the soule by the immediat hand of God; then are all the speeches of the Holy ghost, expressing their punishment, wide from the sense, and dissonant from the truth of that which you suppose they would deliuer. Dauid describing the
q Psal. 11. vengeance that God at the last will execute on the wicked, sayth, q *Vpon the wicked God will raine snares, fire, and brimstone.* This raining vpon them, sheweth that the meanes and matter of their torment shall be without them; and not an anguish onely
r Reuel. 20. rising within them, as you imagine of hell fire. r *The diuell that deceiued them, was cast* (sayth S. Iohn) *into a lake of fire and brimstone; and whosoeuer was not found written in the booke of life, was cast into the lake of fire.* The Holy ghost by your direction must haue sayd, the lake of fire was cast into the diuell, and into euery one that was not
f Mark 9. found written in the booke of life. f *It is better* (sayth our Sauiour) *to enter into life maimed, than hauing two hands to goe into hell,* into the fire *that neuer shall be quenched.* Our Sauiour by your doctrine is not well aduised so to speake, when he should haue sayd, *It is better to enter into life maymed, than hell fire to goe into you.* And when Christ foretelleth that *the Angels shall seuer the badde, and cast them into a furnace of fire*; he committeth two great ouersights by your new Diuinity: the first in saying, *the Angels shall cast the badde into a furnace of fire*; where indeed by your deuice *the furnace of fire shalbe cast into the badde*: the next in that he sayth, *the Angels shall cast them into the fire*; which hath no trueth in it, if the soules of the wicked inwardly suffer from the immediate hand of God alone, as you teach. For how do the Angels cast the wicked into the fire, when the immediate hand of God inflicteth that, which you call hell fire, on the soule without any instruments or inferiour meanes? These mockeries you must make of the Scriptures, before they will serue your new conceit, that hell fire is an allegorie, and importeth nothing but a paine raised within the soule by the immediate hand of God alone; which what agreement it hath with the doctrine and descriptions of the Holy ghost, I leaue the Christian Reader to consider.

Fiftly, the word *Gehenna*, which Christ authorized in the new testament to signifie hell, hath no iust representation of hell, if there be no substantiall and externall fire in
t Ierem. 7. hel. For where anciently the children of Iudah t *built the place of Topheth in the valley*
u 2. Reg. 23. *of the sonne of Hinnom to burne their sonnes & daughters in the fire* u vnto Molech; which
x Iosue. 18. vers. 16. valley the eighteenth of Iosue placeth x neere to Iebusi (that was afterward Ierusalem) and calleth *Gehinnom*: and the chiefe councel of Ierusalem, whiles their power lasted, vsed to punish certaine offences with fire in the same valley lying neere to their citie: Our Lord and Master either taking the word that was vsuall among the people in his time to import hell, and establishing it with his authoritie; or resembling hell to the place of tormenting & burning malefactors with fire so wel knowen to the Iewes, nameth it *Gihanna* in Syriack; which the Hebrues call *Gehinnam*, the Euangelists γέεννα, and the Latines *Gehenna*. In this application of the word, that the one might fitly resemble the other, three things were chiefly respected, as Peter Martyr rightly obserueth vpon the second chapter of the second booke of Kings. *First that being a* y *val-*
y Pet. Martyr. in 2. cap. 2. lib. Regum. *ley, to wit, a lowe bottome, it resembled hell, which is beleeued to be beneath the earth. Secondly, for the fire, wherewith the wicked are tormented (in hell) euen as the children were in that valley burnt with fire. Lastly, the place was vncleane and detestable, whither all vile and lothsome things were cast out of the citie of Ierusalem, euen as defiled and wicked soules are cast out of the kingdome of heauen into hell.* And howsoeuer you may quarrell with the first and last respects, because you thinke them not Canonicall, though I finde them

them grounded on the Scriptures, if that were to this preſent purpoſe: the ſecond is without contradiction the maine reaſon why our Sauiour tooke the word *Gehenna* to repreſent hell, and is expreſſed by himſelfe when ſo often in the Goſpell he addeth fire to the word *Gehenna*, and expoundeth the one by the other, that is, *Gehenna* by vnquenchable fire. [a] *Whoſoeuer ſhall ſay foole* (to his brother) *ſhalbe worthy of the Gehenne* of fire, *that is, of the vale of fire*, or of hell. And againe, [a] *It is better for thee to enter into life with one eye, than hauing two eyes to be caſt into the Gehenne of fire*, which is the *vale or lake of fire*, and hell fire. In the Goſpel written by S. Marke Chriſt ioyneth the one as an explication to the other. *It* [b] *is better to goe halting into life than hauing two feet to be caſt into* GEHENNA, *into the fire that neuer ſhalbe quenched.* So that the reſemblance of true fire in either place, painfull to the ſufferer and dreadfull to the beholder, was the chiefe reſpect, why our Sauiour allowed GEHENNA in the new Teſtament to ſignifie hell, and conſequently doth aſſure vs there is true fire in hell. For if hell haue no fire in it beſides an inward and inherent paine of bodie or ſoule, as we ſee in all violent and burning diſeaſes, Chriſt might more fitly haue reſembled hell to any ſharpe and ſore ſickneſſe, than to an externall and ſenſible fire, which can haue no reference to hell, if the torments there be only ſpirituall and internall.

[a] Matth. 5.
[a] Matth. 18.
[b] Mark 9.

Theſe reaſons lead me to reſolue and beleeue, that the fire of hell ſo much threatned to the wicked in the Scriptures, and inflicted on the damned, ſhall be a true, viſible, and externall fire; wherein leſt thou ſhouldeſt thinke, Chriſtian Reader, I reſt too much on mine owne opinion, as this Diſcourſer doth in all things on his; I am content to let thee ſee, that the Ancient and Catholike Fathers of Chriſtes Church haue conſtantly profeſſed as much before me, and condemned the Diſcourſers conceit as an open errour repugnant to the Scriptures, and hurtfull to the Chriſtian faith. I haue alreadie produced the teſtimonies of ſo many Fathers in the [c] concluſion of my Sermons touching this point (the writers being of the greateſt learning and account in the Church of Chriſt) as may ſatisfie the ſober, and ſtumble the froward; their iudgement concurring with the manifeſt words of holy Scripture: yet becauſe this Diſcourſer lightly regardeth their concents, & vainely ſhifteth off their proofes, let vs heare and examine his anſwere to their aſſertions.

[c] Pag. 342.

The Fathers by me cited, were *Auſten, Ambroſe, Chryſoſtome, Euſebius, Tertullian, Lactantius, Cyprian, Minutius, Pacianus*, and *Gregorie*, beſides the wordes of *Sibylla*, which many of thoſe Fathers accept and alleage as proceeding from God to witneſſe the trueth and terrour of his generall iudgement to all the world, and agreeing with the tenour of holy Scripture. His anſwere beginneth and endeth in this wiſe; [a] *You ſet your ſelfe to prooue that in hell there is materiall fire. But it ſeemeth you are now almoſt afraid ſo to call it: yet you call it true fire, which alſo wee vtterly denie. All your proofes, (ſuch as they are) runne to prooue corporall and materiall fire yet eternall, except your Scriptures, which vtterly proue nothing at all.* [b] *And me thinkes you ſhould not care for corporall fire now in hell, ſeeing you ſeeme to beleeue no torments for damned ſoules, ſaue only at the reſurrection. For thus you reaſon, as the bodie hath beene the inſtrument of the ſoules pleaſure in ſinne, ſo it ſhall be of her paine. But all prouocations and pleaſures of ſinne, the ſoule taketh from her bodie, all actes of ſinne ſhe committeth by her bodie. Therefore the iuſtice of God both temporally and eternally puniſheth the ſoule (*ONELY*) by the bodie: Or therefore all the ſoules paine for ſinne, both temporally and eternally is by the body. This is your owne reaſon: which being true, why ſhould you care for corporall fire in hell, before the laſt iudgement?*

[a] Defenc. pag. 146. l. 25.
[b] Defenc. pag. 147. l. 8.

You begin and end with two notorious vntrueths and falſifications of my words; that at leaſt you may make others beleeue, there is ſome likelihood in yours, when I dare not ſtand by mine, but am either afraid of them, or conclude directly againſt them. *Doe I ſet my ſelfe to prooue, that in hell there is materiall fire; and yet am I now almoſt afraid ſo to call it?* It is your wont (Sir Diſcourſer) not mine, to take vp termes that may be turned euery way, and to plant your chiefe ſtrength vpon the doubtfulneſſe of their Signification. Doe I any where apply the word materiall to hell fire?

or

or doe any of the places which I cite, ſo call it? If they doe, name them; if not, how *ſet I my ſelfe to proone materiall fire in hell*, without any words or proofes ſounding that way? Know you my meaning without my words? or doe you boldly preſume of my meaning againſt my words? If by materiall fire, you meane that which is maintained by wood or by ſuch like matter as nouriſheth fire, and without the which fire will quench; (for that is one of your chiefeſt obiections which you ſay is vnanſwered:) then doe the places which I bring plainely prooue that hell fire is not materiall. For

• Concluſ. pa. 346. Lactantius ſayth of it; • *It burneth of it ſelfe without any nouriſhment.* And Gregorie;

f Ibid. pag. 345. f *It is neither kindled with mans induſtrie, nor nouriſhed with wood*; but contrary to the nature of our fire, *it conſumeth not what it burneth, but rather repaireth what it eateth*, as Tertullian ſayth of it. So that neither my poſitions nor probations gaue you any cauſe to coniecture I meant your materiall fire. The places produced by me expreſſe the contrary: and mine owne words are;

g Ibid. pag. 343. g *S. Auſten long ſince hath plainly reſolued, the fire of hell is not only a true fire, which were my words, but a corporall fire, that ſhall puniſh both men and diuels.*

h Ibid. pag. 348. And cloſing I make it h *a point of Chriſtian doctrine deliuered by the Prophets and Apoſtles, and receiued by the Fathers of all ages in Chriſts church, that the fire of hell ſhall be viſible and ſenſible to the bodies of the wicked, and ſhall eternally and corporally puniſh the damned according to their deſerts.* It was therefore your fooliſh obiection, that hell fire muſt be materiall, if it be not allegoricall according as you dreame; it was no reſolution of mine, nor ſo much as mentioned by me. I ſaw the ambiguity of the word well enough, and for that cauſe did refraine it from the beginning. For though materiall may be that which conſiſteth of matter and forme, and ſo all things that are corporall, as the *wind*, the *aire*, the *heauens* are likewiſe materiall; yet in our vulgar ſpeech and vnderſtanding, to which I framed my ſelfe, that is materiall fire which is nouriſhed with ſome MATTER apt to burne and conſume; and in that ſenſe hell fire is no materiall fire.

The Defender groſly peruerteth my words.

The end of your anſwer in this place is farre woorſe than your entrance: for there you wittingly and wilfully peruert my words by adding ONLY and ALL vnto them, directly againſt my meaning; yea when I openly admoniſh the Reader to the contrary. I inferred by occaſion of former proofs; *therefore the iuſtice of God both temporally and eternally puniſheth the ſoule by the bodie*: which words are moſt euidentlie true, ſince in this life without all queſtion the ſoule is puniſhed by the bodie; and after iudgement the bodie being caſt into hell fire, ſhall eternally afflict the ſoule. My words then bearing in them a manifeſt trueth, you take the paines, by interlacing them, to wreſt them to an open falſehood: for you make me ſay: *Therefore the iuſtice of God both temporalty and eternally puniſheth the ſoule* ONLY *by the bodie*. Now this is as falſe, as the former was true: for God in this life doth often puniſh the ſoule by her ſelfe; and vntill the laſt day it is as certeine the ſoules of the wicked departed hence are puniſhed without their bodies; which ſo long lie dead in the duſt of the earth. What conſcience this is (for nothing in you muſt be impudence, though it be neuer ſo ſhameleſſe) of an euident trueth to make a palpable errour, by adding (ONLY) to my wordes, which I carefully and purpoſely did auoide, let the Reader iudge.

But the propoſition inducing this concluſion you will ſay is generall; to wit, *all prouocations and pleaſures of ſinne the ſoule taketh from her bodie, all acts of ſinne ſhe committeth by her bodie*; the concluſion thereof you thinke ſhould be likewiſe generall: *therefore* ALL *the ſoules paines for ſinne both temporally and eternally is by the bodie.* Your thoughts (Sir Diſcourſer) bewray your owne follie, they muſt not marſhall my reaſons; I can expreſſe mine intent without your helpe. Out of a generall aſſumption what Art hindreth me to auouch an indefinite and particular concluſion; eſpecially when I meddle with Gods matters, whoſe power and will in iudgement no rules of reaſon can binde or limit? And if I would needs expreſſe the forme of a ſyllogiſme (as you vainly imagine I meant to doe in theſe words) I neuer learned out of a negatiue for the maior, to draw an affirmatiue for the concluſion: but had not your eyes

ſtood

ſtood in your light, it was eaſie for you to haue ſeene both what the concluſion muſt be by force of the premiſſes; and how in reſpect of him that is all-iuſt and yet all-mighty, I thought not good to reſtraine him to my concluſions, but to inferre in ſted thereof, that which ſufficiently depended on the concluſion, and could haue no queſtion either in holy writ, or dayly vſe. Both the premiſſes are orderly and plainly ſet downe in my writing, and not looſely and ignorantly miſplaced, as yours are, by putting the cart before the horſe, and taking that for the maior which with me is a part or appendix of the concluſion. My words ſtand thus: [l] *Nothing is more proportionable to Gods inſtice, than to ioyne them in paine that were ioyned in ſinne; and to retaine the ſame order in puniſhing, which they kept in offending. But all prouocations and pleaſures of ſinne the ſoule taketh from the bodie, all acts of ſinne ſhee committeth by the bodie.* What boy now knowing the firſt principles of Logicke doth not preſently perceiue the concluſion muſt be; *therefore nothing is more proportionable to Gods inſtice than both temporally and eternally to ioyne bodie and ſoule in paine which were ioyned in ſinne; and to make the bodie the inſtrument of her paine, as it hath beene of her pleaſure.* This concluſion is an vniuerſall negatiue; and yet doth not exclude all paine of the ſoule without the bodie to be vnagreeable to Gods iuſtice, as you pretend I meane; but auoucheth no paine to be more agreeable, than where bodie and ſoule are both ioyned in ſuffering, as they were in offending. And becauſe no puniſhment is more agreeable to Gods iuſtice, than where both ſoule and bodie are coupled in paine, as they were in ſinne; though it be no way againſt Gods iuſtice to puniſh the ſoule for a ſeaſon without the bodie: [k] *Therefore* (which is the inference that I vſe) *the inſtice of God both temporally and eternally puniſheth the ſoule by the bodie, that as it hath beene the inſtrument of her pleaſure, ſo it ſhalbe of her paine.* You affirme, not only my meaning, but my reaſon to be this; *that God temporally and eternally puniſheth the ſoule* (ONLY) *by the bodie.* I vtterly denie that I haue any ſuch reaſon, words, or ſenſe; but that you purpoſely haue inſerted the word (ONLY) of your owne, to make my reaſon ſeeme falſe and fooliſh; which otherwiſe is ſound and ſure.

[l] Concluſ. pa. 254. l. 29.

[k] Ibidem.

You miſtooke (you will ſay) my meaning; you did it not of malice. Your miſtakings (Sir Diſcourſer) are indeed very groſſe, as ſhall well appeare, when we come to your faireſt forts; but in this (by your leaue) you could not miſtake me, except you were bereaued of your wits and ſenſes. I not onely prouided that my words ſhould import no ſuch thing, as you dreame of; but to cleere all cauils, when I had made ſome proofe out of *Cyprian*, *Ierom*, and *Tertullian*, for the ſecond propoſition of my reaſon, I moued the queſtion my ſelfe, and anſwered it, with as plaine and preciſe a deniall as I could deuiſe to vtter. Theſe are my words: [l] *Do I then denie that the ſoule hath any ſufferings in this life & the next, which come not by the body?* BY NO MEANES. *For though thoſe conioyned ſufferings be moſt anſwerable to ſinnes committed; yet the ſoule hath ſome proper puniſhments in this life, as ſorrow, and feare, when the bodie hath no hurt: from which Chriſt was not free, as appeareth by his agonie: and ſo in the next, the ſoules of the wicked haue griefe and remorſe, beſides the paine of fire.* Theſe puniſhments in this world and the next, the ſoule ſuffereth, not by her body, nor from her body: how then ſhould I meane that *God temporally and eternally puniſheth the ſoule* (ONLY) *by the bodie, or that* (ALL) *the ſoules paine for ſinne is from the bodie,* as you make me to ſpeake, both without and againſt mine owne words? Whether this dealing ſauour of vnſhamefaſtneſſe, or no, iudge thou Chriſtian Reader, as thou ſeeſt cauſe. The maner of the Diſcourſers carriage in the entring and ending of his anſwer, I might not omit. Now to his matter.

[l] Concluſ. pa. 257. l. 12.

The midſt of his anſwer is a medley meet for a man of his learning and iudgement; the ſumme of it is this: [m] *All my proofs* (out of the Fathers) *runne to proone corporall and materiall fire, except the Scriptures* (by me alleaged) *which vtterly proone nothing at all. For his part he ſeeth no reaſon to beleeue, that now there is corporall fire in hell* (which is only our queſtion or els nothing) *whatſoeuer ſhalbe hereafter, when the bodies ſhalbe tormented with their ſoules. Laſtly, Auſten here doth not proue there ſhalbe ſuch fire* (after the

[m] Defenc. pag. 146. l. 25.

the reſurrection) *be only ſheweth the maner how it may be ſo heereafter, if God will. Now if the power of God only be all our reaſon, we may as well proue the skie is fallen. All the reſt of the Fathers ſay nothing further, nor indeed, ſo farre as Auſten.* Whether ten ancient writers, all Chriſtian and Catholike fathers, relying themſelues on the manifeſt words of holy Scripture, and ioyning in one confeſsion of the trueth, be not more to be truſted and better beleeued than *H. I.* of Paules Chaine, let the pooreſt prentiſe in London iudge. As for the Scriptures; if you Sir Deuiſer and ſuch other buſie heads may allegorize them, when they contradict your humors, from Geneſis to the Apocalypſis, they ſhall vtterly proue nothing at all againſt you: for what is there in them which you may not peruert with your fanſies and figures, if nothing ſhall be plaine and proper that any way ſeemeth vnſauourie to your reaſon? The Fathers haue for that which they affirme, the exact and euident words of holy Scripture, and not ſo few as *Twenty Places* of the New Teſtament witneſsing, without any parables or allegories, fire to be threatened and performed to the wicked in the world to come. Whereupon with one conſent they haue all reſolued and profeſſed it as a ſetled ground of Chriſtian religion; that hell fire, to which Chriſt ſhall adiudge the wicked at the laſt day, ſhalbe a true, externall, and ſenſible fire; I meane ſeene and felt of all the reprobate in their ſoules and bodies. To this our new Patriarck of Pater-noſter

[a] Defenc. pa. 146. l. 37.

Rew anſwereth: [a] *Auſten doth not proue there ſhalbe ſuch a fire; he only ſheweth the maner how it may be ſo heereafter, if God will. Now if Gods power onely be all our reaſon, we may prooue aſwell the skie is fallen.* Gentle Sir, if ſo many vouchers from Chriſtes owne mouth and from his Apoſtles following their maſters ſteps, be no proofe with you, nor ſufficient witneſſe of Gods will, you haue ſome aduantage againſt S. Auſten and all the reſt of the Fathers for preſuming vpon Gods power without the knowledge of his will: but if thoſe proofs be more then pregnant, then looke to your allegories, leſt they prooue you to be a proud preſumer againſt the Scriptures, and an arrogant deſpiſer of the Fathers, where they accord with the word and will of God. It is not enough for you (Sir Deuiſer) to rowze your ſelfe, and ſay YOV SEE NO REASON; you muſt take the paines to yeeld good reaſon why you depart from the literall and proper ſignification of the words vttered by the ſonne of God. And ſince you can pretend none but want of power in God to performe the words which he hath ſpoken in their proper ſenſe; all the godly will ſee great reaſon to refuſe your fanſies and figures, as idle ſhifts to decline the cleereneſſe of the ſacred Scriptures.

[o] Defenc pa. 146. *What is meant by the worme that neuer dieth.*

The Scriptures you ſay [o] *ſhew no more any corporall, or materiall, or true fire to be now in hell, than a corporall worme, materiall brimſtone, much wood, and true chaines: which I called a ſleeueleſſe obiection; but neither I, nor Auſten whom I cite againſt it, doth any where anſwere it.*] Of the worme mentioned in Chriſtes words *(their worme neuer dieth)* I ſhewed you S. Auſtens iudgement, which might content a farre greater Clerke than you. Neither is he alone in that opinion. Gregorie Nyſſene ſayth, [p] *I heare the Scripture affirme, that the damned ſhalbe puniſhed with a fire, darkneſſe, and worme; quæ omnia compoſitorum ac materialium corporum, pœnæ cruciatúſq; ſunt; all which are the puniſhments and torments of materiall and compounded bodies.* Baſil deliuering what terrours ſhall be preſented to the eyes of the damned in the day of iudgement; amongſt other things nameth *a* [q] *darkiſh fire, that hath loſt his brightneſſe, but kept his burning;* εἶτα σκωλήκων τι γλῶθ ἰοβόλον καὶ σαρκοφάγον, *and a venimous kinde of worme feeding on fleſh, and raiſing intolerable torments with his biting.* Ioſephus a Iew liuing in the Apoſtles times, and no ſtranger to the Chriſtian faith, in his oration to the Greeks, (which Damaſcene doth mention, and Zonaras doth cite) ſpeaking of the finall iudgement of God to be executed by the perſon of the Meſsias, ſayth, [r] *There remaineth for the louers of wickedneſſe an vnquenchable and neuer ending fire,* σκώληξ δ τις ἄμπυος, μὴ τελευτῶν, μηδὲ σῶμα διαφθείρων, ἀπαύστω δ' ὀδυνῶν ἐν σώμαθ ἐκβράσων, *and a firy worme not dying, nor deſtroying the bodie, but breaking forth of the bodie with vnceaſing anguiſh.* Howbeit, becauſe [t] S. Auſten leaueth it indifferent for euery man to refer the WORME properly to the bodie, or figuratiuely to the minde, as he liketh beſt; *ſo that by no meanes*

[p] *Nyſſenus de reſurrectione Chriſti.*

[q] *Baſil in Pſal. 33.*

[r] *Zonaras Annalium tom. 1. fol. 191.*

[t] *Auguſt. de ciuit. Dei. l. 21. ca. 9.*

meanes he thinke the bodies in hell shall not be touched with the paine of fire; I left it likewise free for euery man to make his choise, and saw no need of farther answer. * Touching brimstone, you may iest at S. Iohn if you list, who saith of the wicked, they shall be [t] *tormented in fire and brimstone before the holy Angels, and before the Lambe*; and likewise of the diuell, that he [u] *was cast into a lake of fire and brimstone*: or if you please, you may oppose God himselfe, and aske whether materiall brimstone were mixed with the fire which hee rained from heauen on Sodom and Gomorre, and why hee powred them both on the heads of those wicked ones, as if fire alone were not sufficient to destroy them, *who* [*] *are set forth for an ensample, (by) suffering the vengeance of eternall fire*. But howsoeuer you presume to alter or new frame the iudgements of God after your fansies, when I reade that God hath [x] *rained brimstone and fire out of heauen* on Sodom and the cities adioyning, and *will* [y] *raine fire and brimstone vpon the wicked*, as Dauid testifieth; I dare not allegorize either of them, because I reuerence the word of God, which is his will; and by no meanes distrust his power. For if God will haue brimstone mixed with hell fire to make it burne not onely the darker and sharper, but also the lothsommer, and so to grieue the sight, smell and taste of the wicked, which haue heere surfeited with so many vaine pleasures; what haue you or any man liuing to say against it? yea rather, why teach you not men to tremble at the terror of Gods iudgements, who can and will so fully punish all the powers and parts of bodie and soule, with one and the same fire in hell?

[t] Reuel. 14.
[u] Reuel. 20.
[*] Iude epist.
[x] Genes. 19.
[y] Psal. 11.

Your obiection of *true chaines and much wood*, I called sleeueless; in deed I should haue called it witless; for but you, no man that would seeme wise, euer did account it worth the obiecting or answering. Who knoweth not that the names of artificiall things applied to Gods iudgement or gouernement, must not import with him as they doe with vs, things made or prouided with mens handes; but the woonderfull works and powerfull acts of God, tending to the same end, for which these artificiall things do serue with vs? As when we read in the Scriptures, of Gods *sword, cup, bow, booke, footestoole, furnace*, and such like: Is any man so foolish as to aske after the *Cutler, Goldsmith, Fletcher, Stationer, Carpenter, Mason* that made those things for God; and not rather to looke to the vse of these things amongst men, and thence to collect the marueilous and manifest effects of Gods power, iustice, counsell, and prouidence determining and perfourming in this world and the next, what pleaseth him against men and Angels? The chaines wherewith the deuils are bound, Peter calleth *the* [z] *chaines of darkenesse*, not of mettall which man can frame; and they note the ineuitable subiection, and immutable condition of deuils plunged in outwarde and inward darkenesse, malediction, and horror, whereby they are now [a] *kept vnto damnation*, without any power to resist or decline the iudgement, which shall be pronounced on them. That God hath a Smith to make Iron chaines to bind the deuill, or a fueller to cut and fetch wood for hell fire, lest it should faile; these were such meriments to be concluded out of Scripture, that if you find no vanitie nor absurditie in them against the trueth and glorie of God, you may take the *Legend* or the *Alcoran* into your Creede, without any scruple of conscience: but if these things be more then sottish, then deserue your obiections a worse name then I gaue them.

Chaines there are in hell though not of iron.

[z] 2. Pet. 2.
[a] Pet. Ibid.

The Scriptures, you say, *shew no more any true fire in hell, then true chaines and much wood*. To suppose those things to be needefull for hell, which are prepared by the hands of men; is a very wicked and wilfull impietie. For so should hell fire quickly cease, which Christ hath said shall be *euerlasting*. And that the Scriptures proue no more the trueth of fire there then they doe of wood, is an open, and arrogant vntruth. For first all the Fathers of Christs Church, and the sobereſt Diuines of our time, are condemned by this insolent assertion, as ignorant and absurd teachers, who confesse the trueth of hell fire to be established by the Scriptures, which of wood they do not. Secondly, the words of Christ and his Apostles, are chalenged to be false. For they in plaine speech affirme fire to be in hell, which of wood they doe not. Thirdly, the reason, whereupon the Defenders obiection is grounded, ouerthroweth all religion in

in this life, and all reward in the life to come. For this is and muſt be the pillar where-to his obiection leaneth. The Scripture nameth fire, and ſo it nameth wood; and therefore it ſheweth the trueth of the one no more then it doth of the other; but if the wood be figuratiue, ſo muſt the fire be. Applie this reaſon to the Church of Chriſt on earth, or to the kingdome of heauen, or to Chriſt himſelfe, and ſee whether it will not vtterly ſubuert them all, and make all Gods promiſes and graces here and in heauen to be allegoricall, and not literally true. Of Chriſt God ſaith; [b] *Behold I will lay in Sion a ſtone, a tried ſtone, a precious corner ſtone.* And of himſelfe Chriſt ſaith, [c] *I am the true Vine.* Were it not braue blaſphemie to ſay, the Scriptures ſhewe Chriſt to be no more a *true God*, then a *true Stone*, or a *true Vine*, becauſe they affirme of him all three? To his Church God ſaith, [d] *I will lay thy foundation with Saphires, and will make thy windowes of Emeraudes, and thy gates ſhining ſtones. All thy children ſhall bee taught of God, and much peace ſhall be to thy children: in righteouſneſſe ſhalt thou be eſtabliſhed.* Shall we ſay that wiſedome, peace, and righteouſneſſe here promiſed to the Church are figuratiue, becauſe Emeraudes and Saphires mentioned in the very ſame place muſt be figuratiuely taken? Chriſt ſaith to his diſciples; [e] *I appoint you a kingdome as my Father hath appointed to mee, that you may eate and drinke at my table in my kingdome.* Are all the rewards of the faithfull in the kingdome of heauen allegoricall, becauſe this moſt apparantly is ſo? Proude and falſe therefore is that ſurly reſolution of yours, Sir Diſcourſer, who auouch *the Scriptures ſhewe no more true fire in hell, then much wood*, becauſe the Prophet in one place nameth them both; and if your obiections be no better, let the Chriſtian reader iudge whether there be any cauſe you ſhould ſo earneſtly call for an anſwere.

[b] Eſa. 28.
[c] Iohn 15.
[d] Eſai. 54.
[e] Luc. 22.

But let vs view the place whence you fetch your wood to nouriſh hell fire; and ſee whether it make no more for the one then for the other. Againſt Senacherib that proud and blaſphemous king of Aſſyria, the capitall and cruell enemie of Gods people and Church, the Prophet denounceth vengeance in this wiſe. [f] *The Lord ſhall cauſe the glorie of his voice to be heard, and ſhall ſhew the ſtroke of his arme with the anger of his countenance, and flame of deuouring fire, with ſcattering and tempeſt. For Tophet is prouided of olde, it is euen readie for the King:* (God) *hath made it deepe and wide, the burning thereof is fire and much wood: the breath of the Lord doth kindle it as a current* (or riuer) *of brimſtone.* Tophet was a place built by hand in the valley of *Hinnom* nere to Ieruſalem, made deepe and wide to containe whole Pyles of woode which the Prieſts of Molech with their deuices and prouiſions could readily kindle, and raize to huge and mightie flames, to incloſe and conſume the children that were preſented to their Idole. To this place and vſe the Prophet alludeth, when he threatneth the King of Aſſhur; and to comfort the Iewes that God had care ouer them, he aſſureth them, that Gods *Tophet was prouided of olde, and readie for the King* (of Aſſhur,) that it was *deepe and wide* (to receiue him and all his retinue;) and *the burning thereof* (as) *the fire* (of) *much wood, the breath of the Lord kindling it as a flood of brimſtone.* That Tophet was a place in the valley of Hinnom, & a part of Gehinnom [g] BVILT HIE of purpoſe *to burne children in the fire*, appeareth by Ieremie. The ſtore of wood heaped there, and the rage of fire kindled there is euident by Eſays compariſon, when he ſayth. *The burning thereof is fire and much wood, the breath of the Lord as a Riuer of brimſtone kindling it:* fire and much wood is *the fire of much wood*, to which he compareth the burning of hell, for wood without kindling maketh no fire. And ſo the Chaldaie paraphraſt expreſſeth it. [h] *A flame of fire is there* (in hell) *kindled* LIKE AS *in much wood.* And to euery man meanely ſeene in the Hebrew tongue, it is a knowen Rule, that *Caph the note of ſimilitude* is often vnderſtood in the Scriptures; and then ſpecially when it is added to one part of the Periode, for example; [i] *Flie to your mountaine a bird*, that is LIKE *a bird.* [k] *Zion ſhall be plowed a field*, that is LIKE *a field.* [l] *A Lyons whelpe Iudah from the pray ſhalt thou aſcend*; that is LIKE *a Lyons whelpe.* [m] *All fleſh is graſſe, and the glory thereof is as the flower of the field*, that is, *all fleſh is* LIKE *graſſe.* And in this place of Eſaie it is ſo the rather

[f] Eſa. 30.
[g] Ierem. 7. verſ. 31.
[h] Chaldaica paraphraſ. in Eſa. 30.
[i] Pſal. 11. v. 1.
[k] Miche. 3. v. 9.
[l] Gen. 49. v. 9.
[m] Eſa. 40. v. 6.

ther, becauſe the aduerbe of ſimilitude is expreſſed in the next member, where it is ſaid, *the breath of the Lord*, LIKE *a ſtreame of brimſtone, doth kindle it*: which argueth that the former part muſt likewiſe be vnderſtood the *burning thereof is* AS *a fire of much wood* which in effect is a mightie flame. This then being a *compariſon*, what reaſon haue you, Sir Diſcourſer, to pronounce, that *the Scriptures ſhew no more true fire in hell then much wood*; ſince fire was the maine reſpect why hell was likened to Tophet; wood was not, and without fire, hell is no more like to Tophet then it is to a bodkin; which if it be thruſt into a mans body will raize paine enough. And therefore theſe amplifications muſt either vtterly be voyde, and import nothing knowen to the Iewes, or elſe there muſt be fire in hell as there was in Tophet, and that *like the fire of much wood*, which is violent and raging; and *as a torrent of brimſtone*, which flameth all with fire, if it be once kindled. And ſince Chriſt called hell *Gehinnam* for the reſemblance it had to the flames of *Gehinnom* as is before prooued; what maruaile if the Prophet ſpeaking by the ſame ſpirite, compared hell to *Tophet*, which was the place in *Gehinnom* where the mightieſt fires to burne men were made in his time?

Or if we follow not the Chaldaie paraphraſe to make wood a *compariſon*, but leane to the later writers who make it a *metaphore*, and referre it either to the continuance of hell fire, or to the *ſinnes*, *ſoules*, and *bodies* of the wicked feeding and nouriſhing the fire of hell, as wood doth our common fire; what gaine you by that? If one word in the ſentence be figuratiue, will you conclude all the reſt to be figuratiue? ſo may you as well auouch all the Articles of our faith to be allegoricall, becauſe *ſitting at the right hand of God* is a plaine allegorie. And are there no moe places in the Scriptures mentioning hell fire beſides this of Eſaie? Or if there be, as there be exceeding many, which haue no ſimilitudes nor metaphores in them, will you allegorize them all, becauſe this place of Eſaie hath one ſimilitude or metaphore in it? whether this haue any learning, reaſon, or ſenſe in it, let the Reader iudge.

Later Diuines profeſſ. true fire to be in hell.

And becauſe I haue mentioned the opinion of the latter writers, making wood a metaphore in this place of Eſaie, and yet confeſſing the fire of hell to be a true, ſubſtantiall, and externall fire; I thinke it not amiſſe to let the Reader ſee, what diuerſe of them, in true religion and learning not inferior to any of our time, haue profeſſed touching either of theſe points. *Peter Martyrs* iudgement of GEHENNA we heard before, who maketh [n] *Tophet* all one with GEHENNA and ſaith of Tophet: *Eſaie in his* 30. *Chapter calleth that place* (of Gehenna) *Tophet, and fire vnquenchable, as hauing much wood and brimſtone to nouriſh it. The Prophet alſo ſetteth downe the breath wherewith the fire is blowne, that it may flame the more fiercely.* Munſter in his Annotations vpon the 30. of Eſaie ſaith [o] *Gehenna is here called Tophet. Dicit habitaculum illud eſſe igneum*; *That* (place or) *habitacle the Prophet ſaith is all fierie, to let thee vnderſtand, that the torment there is euerlaſting. For the vncleare luſtes of the mind, which here are not purged by faith, ſhall be the nouriſhment of that eternall flame* IN STEEDE *of wood and coales. And alſo the conſcience* (within) *ſhall afflict the wicked as a kind of fire. Hell is perpetuall becauſe the Spirite and will of the Lord giue euerlaſting force of fire to it.* Bullinger in his 90. homilie vpon the ſame Chapter. [p] *Our Prophet calleth hell Tophet, as our Sauiour called it Gehenna. And indeede Tophet or Gehenna did burne and flame with perpetuall fires deuouring their children, which ſeduced with a diueliſh error, thought they offered them vnto God, when they offered them vnto the diuell. As then in Tophet wretched men were ſkorched with fire, ſo in hell all the wicked are tormented with euerlaſting fire. Therefore hell is rightly called Tophet and Gehenna whoſe inſide or burning is fire; that is, if thou aske what is in hell, there is fire and burning, or, whatſoeuer is within hell is nothing but fire. God perfourmeth that hell ſhall flame with perpetuall fire, euen as in many places and hilles of the earth an vnwaſted ſtore of brimſtone is found that euen thence we may gather there may be Riuers and lakes of brimſtone in hell. All theſe things the Almightie knoweth how to prepare, that theſe torments may*

[n] *Pet. Martyr in 2. cap. 2. lib. Reg.*

[o] *Munſter. Annotat. in 30. Eſa.*

[p] *Bullinger hemil. 90. in Eſa. 30.*

ſitte both Soules and bodies, ſo that we haue no neede to diſpute whether this fire and brimſtone be corporall, and if it be corporall, how it worketh vpon ſpirituall ſubſtances. The Lord as I now ſaid, can fit all theſe to either part (of man,) *that in truth they may be inflicted as well on the bodies, as on the ſpirits of the damned, which here the Prophet foretelleth. If thou hadſt rather diſpute againſt them, and wilt not now beleeue theſe things, doubtles thou ſhalt one day trie them by experience.* Gualter vpon the ſame place. *Eſaie* [q] *teacheth what hell is. The inſide thereof is fire; that is how deepe and wide ſoeuer hell is, it is all fire and burneth euerlaſtingly. For ſo he deſcribeth the ſharpnes of the puniſhment, which the wicked ſhall there ſuffer. And leſt any ſhould aske, what matter can ſuffice to maintaine ſuch a fire, the Prophet ſaith, there is great ſtore of wood. He that made hell hath plentifully prouided, that the fire there ſhall neuer goe out. For filthie luſtes and lewd actes not purged by faith, and guiltie mindes yeeld perpetuall matter and maintenance to thoſe flames. Yea and the bodies alſo of the wicked ſhall be incorruptible that they may ſuffer continuall fire and flame, and dure therein. He mentioneth alſo a ſtreame of brimſtone, whereof the Apocalypſe ſpeaketh, that we ſhould remember and conſider thoſe things which are in nature; For ſo many ages hath the fire of Ætna continued and ſtill doth, caſting vp flames of brimſtone. He then that kindleth theſe things* (in nature) *without the helpe or aſſiſtance of men, he alſo can kindle and maintaine the fire of hell, that it ſhall neuer faile.* Muſculus commenting vpon the 25. of Mathew ſayth. [r] *Thoſe who meaſure all things by the rule of reaſon, and thinke nothing firme that cannot be comprehended by mans witte, diſpute how it is poſſible, that the body ſhould alwaies burne* (in hell) *and not conſume, which is repugnant to the nature of the body. They likewiſe diſpute how fire can burne not onely bodies, but alſo wicked ſpirits which haue no bodies. Theſe curious men thinke that to be againſt nature, which is done by Gods will, neither doe they conſider, the nature of all creatures to haue and be that, which they haue and are by Gods commandement. Others quarrell with the qualitie of the fire, and thinke it no corporall but a metaphoricall fire, which they take for an exceeding paine and ſorrow of minde. This they gather out of the 9. of Marke, where Chriſt ſaith, their worme dieth not, and the fire quencheth not. Here as by the name of worme no corporall worme is to be vnderſtood, but a great and continuall remorſe of mind; ſo they thinke by the word fire no corporall fire, but a metaphoricall muſt be conceaued. I take it to be raſhnes and not the part of a chriſtian man* (thus) *to diſpute of the qualitie of this fire, but rather leauing the certaine knowledge thereof to the Iudge, to prouide that we trie it not one day, what manner of fire it is.* Zanchius very ſoberly and learnedly examining this queſtion reſolueth in this ſort. [s] *It is certaine the diuels together with all the wicked ſhall be in euerlaſting fire, and therein tormented. Chriſt plainely profeſſeth he will ſay to the wicked depart into euerlaſting fire prepared for the diuell and his Angels. What manner of fire it ſhall be I diſpute not becauſe the Scripture doth not expreſſe it; but this is without queſtion, that not onely the ſoules of the wicked, but alſo their bodies ſhall ſuffer torment* FROM THIS FIRE, *and therefore the fire ſuch as may worke vpon their bodies, and inflict on them a farre greater paine, then our materiall fire doth impreſſe on vs. What qualitie ſoeuer it ſhall be of, it ſeemeth it ſhall be altogether a corporall creature, which may worke vpon bodies and torment them. Which being ſo;* IT IS MANIFEST *the diuell ſhall ſuffer paine and torment from a corporall thing, I meane from this fire, and that euerlaſtingly; therefore it is called eternall and vnquenchable fire.* And asking your queſtion [t] *How is it poſſible, that ſpirituall ſubſtances ſhould ſuffer from corporall,* he anſwereth. *We haue an example in our ſelues in whom the ſoule ſuffereth many things from the body by her coniunction with it. Againe, what can reſiſt the power and will of God? Let this doubt therefore depart from the minds of the faithfull.* I produce theſe later writers of great learning and good religion, as I might many moe, to let thee vnderſtand gentle Reader, that I neither preſſe the Scriptures, nor cite the Fathers to any other purpoſe, but to that, which by all their iudgements is Chriſtian and catholike; and howſoeuer ſome men otherwiſe learned, but carried with this new conceite of Chriſts ſuffering the eſſentiall paines of the damned, to colour their deuiſe, call theſe things in queſtion,

[q] *Gualther. homil. 163. in Eſa. 30.*

[r] *Muſcul. in Mat. cap. 25.*

[s] *Zanchius de operibus dei part. 1. lib. 4. cap. 19.*

[t] *Idem in 1 cap. 2 epiſt. ad Theſſ. part. 3. Theſ. 4.*

on,

on, yet the moſt aduiſed and ſufficient Diuines of our age haue clearely confeſſed that which I teach, to accord with the holy Scriptures, and to be held of the godly without contradiction.

The ancient Fathers of Chriſts Church vphold the ſame doctrine, and teach the fire of hell to be an externall, viſible, and true fire, and not a ſpirituall and internall paine onely, as this Diſcourſer intendeth. [u] *With no ſpeech* (ſayth Chryſoſtome) *can any man expreſſe it here, but els where we ſhal ſee it moſt plainely. Set now before thine eyes that horrible way, which ſhal carrie* (thee) *headlong to the fire, and the* (deuils) *readie with torments, and the perſons deliuered to ſuch cruel tormentors. Theſe things ſhalbe in that day.* [x] *Let vs alwayes thinke on theſe things* (ſayth Auſten) *leſt it repent vs too late, when we come to the ſight of eternal fire. For the burning pit of hell ſhalbe laid open, there ſhalbe a deſcent, but no aſcent.* [y] *Call to minde* (ſaith Baſil) *that terrible tribunal of Chriſt, which no creature may indure; there muſt euery one of vs be preſented to render an account of his life. About thoſe that haue liued wickedly ſhal ſtand fearefull and griſly angels beholding the fire and kindling it. Then ſhall they ſee a deepe gulfe, and darkenes that no eyes can pierce through, and an obſcure fire that with blackeneſſe hath loſt his ſhining, but kept his burning.* [z] *Alas* (ſaith Cyril) *what a place is that where is weeping and gnaſhing of teeth, which is called hell, which the deuil himſelfe abhorreth? Alas what a Gehenne of vnquenched fire is that, which burneth and ſhineth not? how venemous is that worme, which neuer reſteth? how terrible is that deepe and euerduring darkeneſſe? how cruel in their torments are thoſe mercileſſe Angels? woe to the guiltie; when the innocent ſhalbe rewarded with honour, and they with ſhame. The innocent ſhal goe to Paradiſe, the nocent into fire vnquenchable. The ſight of God ſhal cheriſh the innocent, the ſight of fire ſhal torment the wicked.* If the fire of hell be viſible, it muſt needs be an externall and true fire: for internall and ſpirituall paines are inuiſible. And therefore the Church of Chriſt hath alwayes confeſſed the fire of hell to be an externall and violent force of true fire tormenting the wicked; and condemned as an error in *Origen*, the conceit of an inward and ſpirituall fire in ſtead of hell fire, which this Defender is ſo much in loue withall.

[u] *Chryſoſt. ad Theodor. lapſ. epiſt. 5.*

[x] *Auguſt. li. 50. homiliarum. hom. 16.*

[y] *Baſil. in pſal. 33.*

[z] *Cyril. de exitu an. & de ſecund. aduentu.*

Ierom directing *Auitus* what he ſhould beware in the reading of *Origens* bookes, ſayth, [a] *Scias deteſtanda tibi in eis eſſe quàm plurima, & iuxta ſermonem Domini, inter ſcorpiones & colubros incedendum. This know, that there are very many things in them to be deteſted by thee; and as God ſpeaketh, Thou muſt walke amongſt Scorpions and Serpents.* Where repeating diuers errours of Origen, hee layeth this downe for one of thoſe that muſt be deteſted. [b] *Ignes quoque Gehennæ & tormenta quæ ſcriptura ſancta peccatoribus comminatur, non ponit in ſupplicijs, ſed in conſcientia peccatorum, quando Dei virtute & potentia omnis memoria delictorum ante oculos noſtros ponitur, ac præteritas voluptates mens intuens conſcientiæ punitur ardore, & pœnitudinis ſtimulis confoditur. The fire of hell alſo and the torments, which the ſacred Scripture threatneth vnto ſinners,* (Origen) PLACETH NOT AMONGST (externall) PVNISHMENTS, BVT VVITHIN THE CONSCIENCE *of ſinners; when as by the vertue and power of God the remembrance of all our ſinnes is ſet before our eyes, and the minde beholding her pleaſures paſt, is puniſhed with the fire of conſcience, and pierced with the ſtings of* (griefe and) *repentance.* This error *Ierom* more plainly expreſſeth, and ſharply taxeth in his larger Commentaries vpon the Epiſtle to the Epheſians; whoſe words to preuent all cauils I thinke beſt to ſet downe in Latine as they lie, though they be large; for that they giue light to the former teſtimonie. [c] *Quia ſunt plerique, qui dicunt non futura pro peccatis eſſe ſupplicia nec extrinſecus adhibenda tormenta, ſed ipſum peccatum & conſcientiam delicti eſſe pro pœna, dum vermis in corde non moritur, & in animo ignis accenditur in ſimilitudinem febris, quæ non torquet extrinſecus ægrotantem, ſed corpus ipſa corripiens punit ſine cruciatuum forinſecus adhibitione: has itaque perſuaſiones & decipulas fraudulentas verba inania appellauit & vacua, quæ videntur blandiri peccantibus, ſed magis eos ferunt ad æterna ſupplicia. Becauſe there are many which ſay that there ſhall be no* (externall) *puniſhments for ſinne, nor* TORMENTS OVTVVARDLY INFLICTED, *but that ſinne it ſelfe, and the conſcience thereof is puniſhment, whiles the worme doth not die in the heart, and a fire is*

[a] *Hiero. ad Auitum quid ſit cauendum in libris ἀρχῶν.*

[b] *Hiero. ibid.*

[c] *Hier. in 5. cap. epiſt. ad Epheſ.*

kindled in the ſoule after the faſhion of a feuer, which doth not outwardly torment the ſicke, but poſſeſſing the bodie vexeth it without any forreigne inflicting of paine: theſe perſwaſions and deceitfull deuices, the Apoſtle calleth void and emptie words, which ſeeme to flatter ſinners, but indeed haſten them to eternall puniſhment. Hell fire by this reſolution is a puniſhment OVTWARDLY inflicted on the damned, and not an inward fire or paine kindled in the minde, and poſſeſsing the ſoule or bodie as an ague doth, which is an inward grieuance, but no externall violence; and the contrarie conceit of your ſpirituall fire in the minde to be hell fire, is heere condemned in *Origen* as a *deceitfull and deteſtable error, haſtning men to eternall torments.*

[a] *Gregor. moralium. lib. 9. cap. 38.*

The ſame confeſsion ſtil continued, in the Church of Chriſt, *Gregory*: [a] *Quos flamma Gehennæ deuorat, à viſione veri luminis cæcat, vt foris eos dolor combuſtionis cruciet, & intus pœna cæcitatis obſcuret, quatenus qui authori ſuo corde & corpore deliquerunt, ſimul corde & corpore puniantur. Whom the flame of hell deuoureth, it blindeth from ſeeing the true light; that paine of burning may outwardly torment them, and puniſhment of blindneſſe inwardly obſcure them, that as they ſinned againſt their maker with heart and body, ſo they may be puniſhed both in ſoule and body.* Iſidore: [c] *Duplex damnatorum pœna eſt in Gehenna, quorum & mentem vrit triſtitia, & corpus flamma. There is a double puniſhment of the damned in hell, whoſe minds burne with ſorow, and their bodies with flame; by a iuſt reward, that as they debated with their mindes what they might performe with their bodies, ſo they ſhould be puniſhed both in ſoule and bodie.* Bede: *By the* [f] *worme* (Chriſt) *noteth the rottennesſe, as by fire the burning of hell; or els the worme ſignifieth the ouer-late repentance of ſinne, which ſhall neuer ceaſe to bite the conſcience of the damned in their torments; vt ignis ſit pœna extrinſecus ſæuiens, vermis dolor interius accuſans; that the fire* (of hell) *ſhould be a torment* OVTWARDLY *raging, and the worme a griefe inwardly accuſing.* Bernard: [g] *Timor conturbabit te, cùm terra aperietur coram te, & turues & cades in ſtagnum ſulfuris ardentis & fœtentis. Ignis exteriùs carnem tuam combureret, vermis interius conſcientiam corrodet. Feare ſhall amaze thee, when the earth ſhall open before thee, and thou fall and light in the lake of brimſtone burning and ſtinking. Fire ſhall* OVTWARDLY BVRNE *thy fleſh, and a worme ſhall inwardly gnaw thy conſcience.* So Tertullian before them: [h] *Gehenna eſt ignis arcani ſubterraneus ad pœnam theſaurus. Hell is a treaſure of ſecret fire kept vnder the earth to puniſh withall.* And Iuſtine the Martyr: *The diuels* [i] *ſhall ſuffer puniſhment and vengeance, ἐν αἰωνίῳ πυρὶ ἐγκλειόμενοι, incloſed in euerlaſting fire.* Arnobius likewiſe: (The Gentiles) *are* [k] *admoniſhed by the bookes of* (their) *beſt learned men, and verſes of* (their) *Poets, of that fiery flood and infernall lake of flames often compaſſing* (the place) *which being prepared for eternall torments, they deliuered as knowen, both by the demonſtration of diuels, and by the oracles of the Prophets. As the flaſhes of lightning touch mens bodies, but conſume them not, and as the fires of Ætna and Veſuuius and of other places of the earth doe burne, and not ſpend; ſo that flame appointed to puniſh* (the wicked) *is not fed with the decayes of thoſe that burne, but nouriſhed with parching their bodies that waſte not.* And Proſper: *To* [l] *heare and reade theſe things, and to beleeue they ſhall come to paſſe; to thinke how great an euill it is to be excluded from the ioy of beholding God; to be baniſhed from heauen, and caſt into euerlaſting fire with the diuell and his angels; to ſee no light in that fire, but to feele that it burneth; to ſuffer the terrible cracks of that flaming fire; to haue their eyes blinded with the bitter ſmoke of that fuming gulfe; to be drowned in the deepe lake of Gehenna, and to be torne eternally with moſt greedie wormes; to thinke on theſe things and many ſuch like, is a ſure way to renounce all vice, and refraine all allurements of the fleſh.* Apparently then the fire of hell by the confeſsion of all theſe ancient and Chriſtian writers is *locall*, as kept *vnder the earth*; *externall*, as *incloſing* the damned both men and diuels; and *ſenſible* to the eyes with obſcure flames *tormenting* all the parts of the body with an horrible paine of burning, but not conſuming them.

[c] *Iſidor. de ſummo bono. lib. 1. cap. 31.*

[f] *Beda lib. 3. cap. in cap. 9. Marci.*

[g] *Bernard de interiori domo cap. 38.*

[h] *Tertul. in Apologetico.*

[i] *Iuſtinus Apologia prima pro Chriſtiana*

[k] *Arnobius aduerſus gentes. lib. 8.*

[l] *Proſper de vita contemplatiua. lib. 3. cap. 12.*

And that the fire of hell ſhalbe an *externall* and *true* fire, what proofe can be faire or fuller than that Scriptures and Fathers with one voice profeſſe that Chriſt ſhall come to iudge the world in flaming fire, which ſhall [m] *melt the elements with heat, and diſſolue the heauens*; and therefore without queſtion muſt needs be a *true, ſubſtantiall, & externall*

[m] *2. Pet 3.*

externall fire; and that the ſame fire, with which he ſhall come to iudge, *ſhall deuoure his aduerſaries.* [n] *Behold* (ſayth Eſay) *the Lord will come with fire, that he may render his indignation with the flame of fire: for the Lord will iudge with fire.* [o] *There ſhall goe a fire before him,* (when he commeth to iudge, ſayth Dauid) *and burne vp his enemies round about. The Lord Ieſus* (ſayth Paul) [p] *ſhall ſhew himſelfe from heauen in flaming fire, rendring vengeance to them that know not God, and obey not the Goſpel. For* (to ſuch) [q] *remaineth no ſacrifice for ſin, but a fearefull expectation of iudgement, and a violence of fire which ſhall deuoure the aduerſaries. Fire* (ſayth Arnobius) ſhall go before Chriſt comming to iudgement, [r] *euen fire which ſhall performe two offices: with one and the ſame aſpect it ſhall lighten the friends, and inflame the enemies of God: for the fire which ſhall burne the ſinfull, ſhalbe made brightneſſe to the iuſt. The end of this preſent world* (ſaith Iuſtine Martyr) *is the* [s] *iudgement of the wicked by fire, as the ſcriptures of the Prophets & Apoſtles declare, and likewiſe the writings of Sibylle: ſo bleſſed Clemens* (that liued with the Apoſtles) *in his Epiſtle to the Corinths affirmeth.* Chriſt ſhall come (ſayth Ambroſe) [t] *with his heauenly army, and with fire as his miniſter to giue vengeance. For* [u] *the fire of iudgement ſhall ſerue him to reuenge the reprobate,* ſayth Gregorie. *Paul* [x] *ſheweth* (ſayth Theodoret) *that iudgement ſhalbe full of terror, noting firſt the Iudge comming from heauen; then their power which miniſter vnto him, who are the angels; laſtly, the kinde of puniſhment: for* (the wicked) *ſhall be deliuered to the flame of fire. There are* [y] *two properties in fire; to burne, and to ſhine: the ſhining propertie the aſſembly of Saints ſhall enioy; by the other ſhall wicked men be puniſhed.* So Baſil: [z] *There are two forces in fire; one to burne, the other to ſhine: the ſharpneſſe of fire which puniſheth, is layed vp for thoſe that deſerue burning; the light and ſhining thereof is allotted to the ioy of the bleſſed.* And Athanaſius: [a] *Fire hath two forces; the one of ſhining, which ſhall be giuen to the iuſt; the other of burning, which ſhall be diuided to ſinners.* Ierom likewiſe: *Fire ſhalbe* [b] *light to the faithfull, and puniſh the vnbeleeuers.* And Theophylact: (Chriſts) *comming ſhall be in flaming fire, as Dauid profeſſeth* (of him): *A fire ſhall goe before him, and ſhall burne his enemies round about.* For this fire ſhall *offer burning to ſinners, and no ſhining; but to the iuſt it ſhall giue light and ſhining and no heat or burning.* The fire, I truſt, which hath theſe two properties, to lighten the iuſt, and torment the wicked, is an externall and ſenſible fire; and with that fire Chriſt ſhall come to diſſolue the heauens, melt the elements, and puniſh the wicked; neither ſhall the ſpirituall and internall paine of the ſoule, which the Diſcourſer maketh his hell fire, come neere the Saints, or be ioyous and comfortable to any, as the fire of iudgement ſhalbe to the ſaints of God.

[n] Eſa. 66.
[o] Pſal. 96.
[p] 2. Theſſ. 1.
[q] Hebr. 10.
[r] *Arnobius in* Pſal. 96.
[s] *Iuſt. in reſp. ad quæſt.* 74.
[t] *Ambroſ. in* 2. Theſſ. cap. 1.
[u] *Gregor. in Ezech. hom.* 2.
[x] *Theodoret. in* 2. Theſſ. cap. 1.
[y] *Idem in* Pſal. 96.
[z] *Baſil. in* Pſal. 28.
[a] *Athan. interp. parabol. quæſt.* 79.
[b] *Hieron. in Ezech. li.* 1. cap. 1.
[c] *Theophylact. in* 2. Theſſ. cap. 1.

Then all ſorts of writers, Prophets, Euangeliſts, Apoſtles, and Diuines of all ages: Yea Philoſophers, Poets, and Sibyls haue taught, the wicked ſhall be puniſhed with true fire, and not with metaphores; and the Sonne of God in perſon hath confirmed the ſame; and all ſectes, *Iewes, Pagans, and Chriſtians* haue beleeued it; God taking ſpeciall care as well by deeds as words that the truth and terror of his vengeance vpon ſinne ſhould not be vnknowen to all the world. For which cauſe he hath not only made the earth in many places as *Ætna, Veſuuius*, and elſe where to burne with perpetuall fire; but hath often deſtroyed ſinfull perſons and places with fire from heauen; to let all men ſee and know that the vengeance decreed, threatned, and executed on the wicked is ſenſible and true fire from God; which he hath made of all ſenſeles creatures the moſt violent, potent and fearefull meanes to puniſh. Therefore did he [d] *raine fire and brimſtone* vpon Sodome and Gomorre when their ſinnes were at full; & puniſhed the people, that murmured at him, *with fire*; calling the name of the place [e] THABHERAH, *becauſe the fire of the Lord burnt amongſt them*; as likewiſe he ſent [f] *Firie ſerpents* to bite them, when they ſpake againſt him. So [g] *Fire came out from the Lord, and conſumed the two hundred and fiftie men of Corahs* company, that preſumed to offer incence vnto the Lord; as before it had deſtroyed [h] *Nadab* and *Abihu* for offering *ſtrange fire* before the Lord. And at Eliahs word [i] *Fire came downe from heauen twice and deuoured* two Captaines with their two bands of an hundred men. Inſomuch that when Satan would haue Iob beleeue, he was puniſhed by

[d] Geneſ. 19.
[e] Number. 11.
[f] Number. 21.
[g] Number. 16.
[h] Leuit. 10.
[i] 2. Kings. 1.

Gods owne hand, he gate fire to fall from heauen vpon Iobs sheepe and seruants; the messenger making this report; [k] *The fire of God is fallen from heauen, and hath burnt vp* (thy) *sheepe and seruants and deuoured them.* Which kind of vengeance [l] Iames and Iohn the Disciples of Christ desired, when their master was repelled by the Samaritans and denyed lodging, as willing to haue that inhumanitie punished to the example of all others, but that they were represſed by him who came to saue, and not to destroy. Thus hath God often by true and sensible fire from heauen, declared and verified the certaintie of his generall and finall iudgement, when his Sonne shall appeare in flaming fire to render vengeance to all that know not God and obey not the Gospell; and that fire of Iudgement, which shall burne heauen and earth, shall shine to the Saints with ioy and comfort, and punish the wicked by tormenting them for euer.

[k] Iob. 1.
[l] Luke 9.

This you thinke is not against you: for you deny that [m] *Now there is corporall fire in hell, whatsoeuer there shall be hereafter, when bodies also shal be there vnited and tormented with the soules, and this only is your question, or nothing.*] Many shifts you haue sent vs in your late defence, which sauour neither of learning nor religion; but a slenderer then this you haue sent vs none. For first this is not the chiefe doubt, whether there be now in hell any true fire or no; which you say is *your* ONLY QVESTION *or nothing:* but what is the substance of damnation due to sinne, and what vengeance for sinne all the wicked must suffer in hell, not for a time but for euer; and we should haue suffered, had we not been redeemed; this is the right & maine point in question. For this is the *full waight and burden of our sinnes,* which you [n] say must be laid vpon Christ before we could be freed from it; and this is the *proper payment and wages* of sinne, which we should haue payed, had we not beene ransommed by the death of Christ; and therefore by your owne conclusions Christ must and did pay the same, *which else we should haue payed.* That which the damned doe presently suffer in hell, is not the *full burden, nor iust vages of their sinnes*; else the *terror of Iudgement*, as well as the *taking of their bodies* were wholy superfluous; if the true payment and full vengeance of their sinnes were executed on them before Iudgement. But the reprobat as well men as Angels are [o] *Reserued vnder darknes vnto the iudgement of the great day*; and [p] *Vnto* DAMNATION (which) *sleepeth not*; though it be not already to the full performed on either. Againe, a great number of the wicked shall neuer trie the torments of the soule seuered from the body, because the day of Christ shall find them liuing, as the Apostle [q] testifieth, and not part their soules from their bodies, but cast both ioyntly into hell fire, so that the vengeance of sinne before Iudgement which you would so faine fasten on, and make YOVR ONLY QVESTION, commeth too short of all your owne conclusions, and is excluded by the expresse words of your limitations in your late defence. For you subiect Christ to *all Gods proper wrath and vengeance, so farre as was due generally for all mankinde to suffer.* But the fire of hell before Iudgement, except it be the selfe-same that also remaineth after iudgement, belongeth not by Gods iustice to all men in generall, by reason manie shall not suffer it but after iudgement. It is euident therefore that the fire of hell before iudgement is not your maine question, because it neither is the full wages nor vengeance of sinne, nor generally due to all mankinde; but the right and true question is touching hell fire after iudgement, wherein body and soule shall burne, feeling the torment and violence of euerlasting fire, according to the measure of ech mans sinnes.

[m] Defenc. p. 146. l. 35. *Whether there be true fire in hell before iudgment is not the question.*

[n] *See the conclusion of my sermons fol. 339*

[o] Epist Iud. vers. 6.
[p] 2. Pet. 2.
[q] 1. Cor. 15.

Howbeit, if we marke well the words of holy Scripture, this which you would so gladly make your question, is no question at all. For by the sentence of the Iudge it manifestly appeareth, that there is but one aud the same fire prouided for all the damned both men and diuels; and that fire not onely is euerlasting without end or change, but prepared and made ready before the day of iudgement, as the words of our Sauiour doe plainly import; who will say to all the wicked without exception: [r] *Depart from me ye cursed,* εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον τὸ ἡτοιμασμένον τῷ διαβόλῳ, καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ, *into* (that) *euerlasting fire, which is* (alreadie) *prepared for the diuell and his angels.*

[r] Matth. 25.

angels. The article ſo often repeated ſuffereth the fire whereinto the wicked ſhall be caſt, to be none other fire but the ſelfe-ſame that is *euerlaſting*, and *prepared for the diuels*. The Participle of the Preterperfect tence argueth the time when that fire was prepared for the diuell and his angels, to be perfectly paſt before iudgement. Of the firſt there can be no queſtion; [r] *Idem quippe ignis erit ſupplicio ſcilicet hominum attributus & Dæmonum, dicente Chriſto, Diſcedite à me maledicti in ignem æternum, qui paratus eſt Diabolo & Angelis eius. Vnus quippe ignis vtriſque erit, ſicut veritas dixit. The ſame fire* (ſayth Auſten) *ſhall ſerue for the puniſhing of men and Diuels, Chriſt ſaying, Depart from me ye curſed into the fire euerlaſting, which is prepared for the Diuell and his Angels. One fire ſhalbe to both, as the trueth hath ſpoken.* The ſecond, that hell fire is prepared before the day of iudgement, and abideth euerlaſting from the time of the preparation without any new creating or altering at the day of iudgement, is as euident by the ſacred Scriptures. Eſay who liued and propheſied more than eight hundred yeeres before our Sauiour reuealed this doctrine, ſayth of it, as we heard before: [s] *Tophet is prepared of old* (or long ſince) *the burning thereof is* (as the) *fire* (of) *much wood; the breath of the Lord, like a riuer of brimſtone, doth kindle it.* Our Lord and Maſter almoſt one thouſand ſix hundred yeeres ſince, made the ſoule of the rich man in the ſixteenth of Luke to ſay of hell fire, [t] *I am tormented in this flame.* And S. Iude propoſing the deſtruction of Sodome and Gomorrhe, ſayth; *They* [u] *are ſet foorth for an example*, πυρὸς αἰωνίου δίκην ὑπέχουσαι, (in or by) *ſuffering the puniſhment of euerlaſting fire.* Where we ſee the fire which God rained from heauen on Sodome and Gomorrhe, is called euerlaſting; and the inhabitants of thoſe cities are affirmed by the Apoſtle (euen then when he wrate) *to ſuffer euerlaſting fire*, for an example of the iuſt iudgement of God. It is therefore one and the ſame fire of hell that puniſheth the wicked before and after iudgement, which was *prepared long ſince*, as Eſay ſayth, and is euerlaſting, that is, not ending or changing into another fire, but increaſing and kindling with greater fierceneſſe at the day of iudgement, that all the wicked both men and angels may receiue a damnation anſwerable to their deſerts, which in part they now feele, but then expect a ſharper and ſorer torment than yet is executed on them; which is the terrour of iudgement and fulneſſe of damnation reſerued for them.

[r] *Auguſt. de ciuitate Dei lib. 21. cap. 10.*

[s] Eſa. 30.

[t] Luke 16.

[u] Epiſt. Iude. vers. 7.

Then notwithſtanding your ſleights and ſhifts, Sir Diſcourſer, that Chriſt ſuffered the ſubſtance and eſſence of hell paines, and that happily there ſhall be corporall fire after Iudgement, yet now there is no true fire in hell: we find it reſolued by the Scriptures, and auouched by all the ancient Fathers, and the beſt learned Diuines of our time; that the fire of hell ſo much threatned in the Scriptures to the reprobate, is a true, ſubſtantiall, and externall fire, and the ſame that was prepared for the deuils euen from their fall, and doth and ſhal dure as well before, as after Iudgement for euer; into which the ſoules are, and at the generall reſurrection the bodies of all the wicked ſhall be caſt, there to burne with vnſpeakeable and vnceaſeable torments. And though I thinke it not fit for any man to take vpon him to deliuer the quality or force of that fire further then the Scriptures haue reuealed it; yet that is no iuſt cauſe to doubt the trueth thereof, or to preiudice the power of God, who hath ſpoken the word, as if he could not, or would not performe it; but rather for certaine to know, and confeſſe that God can puniſh the mightieſt of his Angels by the weakeſt of his creatures; and as in ſinning they haue exalted themſelues by pride farre aboue their degree; ſo in puniſhing them for their ſinne, God can and will depreſſe them as farre beneath their originall condition; to teach them that all their ſtrength depended on his will and pleaſure. So that we haue no neede to runne to the immediate hande of God alone, to make him the ſole tormentor of ſpirits, (as this Diſcourſer doeth) for extracting a new Quinteſſence of hell fire: the will and word of God, as it gaue to men and Angels all their power and force, ſo may it take the ſame from them ſwelling againſt him when he will; and ſubiect them to the force of any his creatures, which he can endue with might to performe his commandement againſt all the tranſgreſſours and deſpiſers of his righteouſneſſe and holineſſe.

In

In ſumme we ſee that Chriſt ſuffered no part of that, which the Scriptures make ſubſtantiall and eſſentiall to the paines of hell and damnation of the wicked, I meane of that, which is included in the ſentence of the Iudge pronounced againſt them: but this Diſcourſer, as he hath deuiſed a new kind of redemption neuer mentioned in the Scriptures, nor deriued from the blood of Chriſt; ſo hath he framed vs another hell, then the word of God reuealeth; and changed the whole courſe of the ſacred Scriptures with his dreames and deuiſes, that though the text of holy writ doe no way fauour his fanſies, yet by flying to allegories, and heaping vp a number of metaphores, he might entertaine ſome talke, when his proofes did faile. To vphold that Chriſt ſuffered the true paines of hell, before we could be redeemed by his death & bloodſhed; he minced hell paines into *ſubſtance and accidence*, and leaſt this geare ſhould ſeeme groſſe, he ſhadowed the ſubſtance of hell fire with figures and allegories; and ſent vs at laſt to the immediate hand of God, for all puniſhment of ſinne in the life to come; not vpon any iuſt ground or proofe out of Scripture, but becauſe his Maſterſhip knew not otherwiſe how to carrie his conceites cleanly, he vnloaded them all by tropes and metaphores vpon Gods immediate hand; from which onely (as he ſaith, though very vntruely) the Soule hath her proper and principall ſuffering. But examining the parts, we find no ſuch metaphyſicall ſubſtance of hell, as he pretendeth; no ſuch metaphoricall fire, as he affirmeth; no ſuch immediate hand of God, vexing Soules and deuils in hell, as he imagineth; we rather find the cleane contrarie; to wit, his circumſtances to be of the ſubſtance of the Iudgement pronounced vpon the wicked; the fire in hell to be a true and ſubſtantiall fire; and by that, as by a peculiar meanes decreed by the will, ſtrengthened by the power, and reuealed by the word of God, the damned both ſoules and diuels to be perpetually puniſhed and tormented, each of them according to their demerits; though the inward powers and faculties of the minde, ſhall not ceaſe moſt grieuouſly alſo to afflict the damned and deſpayring ſpirits. And touching Chriſts ſufferings, to which all this muſt be referred, and for which all this is diſcuſſed, we finde him moſt free from *darknes, deſtruction, confuſion, remorſe of ſinne, from malediction, dereliction, and deſperation* with *their conſequents*; *and from the torment of hell fire, either* in ſoule or bodie, which is the ſecond death; that is in deede from all the parts of damnation *noted* in the Scriptures to be prouided for the reprobate, which are the true paines of hell; and ſo this deuiſers dreames to bee as farre from trueth, as they are from all teſtimonies of holy Scripture, which mention no ſuch things ſuffered by Christ, nor make any of them needefull for Christ to ſuffer before he might pay the price of our redemption.

[x] Defenc. pag. 20. l. 26. *The Defender contradicteth himſelfe.*

[x] *We doe not contend to expreſſe what iuſt meaſure of Gods wrath, nor preciſely in what manner it was reuealed, and executed on Chriſt. Onely we knowe that whatſoeuer it were, Gods very wrath and proper vengeance for ſinnes, though outwardly executed on the bodie, yet it could not but ſinke in deeper, euen into the depth of the ſoule, and be diſcerned by Chriſt, and conceaued to be ſuch, and ſo ſuſtained as proceeding from God, and ſo wound the Soule properly, yea chiefly, though the anguiſh thereof bruiſed his bodie iointly alſo.* You haue labored (Sir Diſcourſer) in twentie pages of your Defence by many lame diſtinctions and falſe poſitions to ſhew vs the MANNER & MEASVRE of Chriſts ſuffering the paines of hell for the ſin of man. The *manner* you made to be, Chriſts ſuffering them *properly, yea onely in his very ſoule, from the immediat hand of God, euen as the damned do.* The *meaſure* you tooke to be *all Gods proper wrath and vengeance for ſinne, yea the ſelfe ſame paines for their nature which are in hell, and which are extreameſt and ſharpeſt in hell.*

[y] Defenc. pa. 12. l. 28.

Your twelfth page told vs in plaine words, [y] *Theſe paines then in this very manner inflicted Chriſt felt; indeede not being in the locall hell; yet thoſe being the ſelfe ſame paines for their nature which are in hell, yea which are* SHARPEST *in hell. And he diſcerned and receaued them properly, yea* ONLY *in his very ſoule.* You beginne now to tell vs another tale, that you doe *not contend to expreſſe what iuſt meaſure of Gods wrath, nor preciſely in what manner it was reuealed and executed on Chriſt. Onely you know that whatſoeuer it was, Gods very wrath and proper vengeance for ſinnes, though outwardly executed on the*

the bodie, could not but sinke in deeper, and so wound the soule properly yea chiefly. By a long processe you made vs beleeue the soules proper and immediat suffering must be from the hand of God alone, without inferiour meanes and instruments, and not from the bodie, because that kind of suffering is common to vs with beastes, *and* [a] *maketh not properly to our redemption.* And so by your refined diuinitie, the stripes, wounds, blood and death of Christ, could not properly pertaine to the price of our redemption, by reason those sufferings which come by the body were common to Christ with beasts. Thus reuerently and religiously, to proue your selfe a pure Christian, you resolued touching the bloodshed and death of Christ, sustained on the Crosse. Now as almost tyred with that blasphemous toy, and perceiuing how hard it would be to please the learned with this leauen, or to seduce the simple with these vnsauerie shifts, which haue neither foundation nor mention in the sacred Scriptures; you beginne to turne an other leafe, and to tell vs you doe not contend for *the iust measure, nor precise maner* of Christs suffering *the wrath of God.* Only *you know* that *whatsoeuer it were* (though you can neither proue nor expresse what it was) *Gods very wrath and proper vengeance for sinne, though outwardly executed on the body, could not but sinke deeper into the Soule, and wound the soule properly yea chiefly, though the anguish thereof bruised the bodie toyntly also.*

[a] Treatis. pa. 18. li. vltima.

It is well yet at last that you find your selfe ignorant of some things, and that you will not take vpon you to expresse in what precise manner, or iust measure the wrath of God was reuealed and executed on Christ. For whiles you broched those secrets more boldly then wisely or truely, you ranne your selfe out of breath, and brought neither substance nor shadow of holy Scripture to warrant your vanities, but daunced vp and downe with certaine licentious and ambiguous phrases of GODS PROPER VVRATH, MEERE IVSTICE, VERY VENGEANCE and such like flowers, neither confirmed by the Scriptures, nor so much as expounded by your selfe, but because you checke your owne presumption, I will spare it, and come to that which you professe your selfe so resolutely to know; that *Gods very wrath and proper vengeance for sinne, though outwardly executed on the body* (of Christ) *could not but sinke deeper into the soule, and wound the soule properly, yea chiefly, though the anguish thereof bruized his bodie also.* Wherein notwithstanding you keepe your accustomed phrases of Gods *very wrath and proper vengeance*, which you neither doe, nor dare describe by the parts thereof, that we may discerne the trueth of your speech; yet for their sakes that are simple, I am content shortly to examine what wrath from God, Christ suffered, as farre as the Scriptures direct vs, at whose hands he suffered it, and what he did, and must conceaue of those his sufferings.

What wrath of God Christ suffered.

There is no question but power to feele, conceaue, and discerne by sense, reason, or faith in man belongeth properly yea onely to the soule of man. Life, sense, and motion appeare in the body, and haue their actions performed by the instruments of the body: but euen in them the power and force that quickneth and mooueth the body, and discerneth by the senses of the bodie, commeth from the soule, and so dependeth on the soule, that the soule departing from the body leaueth it voyd of all motion, sense and life. Then in all Christs sufferings, when any violence lighted on his body, the paine pearced into his soule, and his soule not onely fully felt the anguish thereof, but rightly discerned the fountaine whence, the cause why, and the meanes by which it came. Christ likewise knew himselfe to be endewed with such might and strength, that of him selfe he could not onely resist the whole world, if he would; but euen commaund and represse men and diuels. His ouerruling of *seas, windes*, and *wicked spirits*, and giuing his Disciples *power ouer them* is so euident and often in the Scriptures, that no Christian may be ignorant of it. After his agony in the Garden, with the word of his mouth he threw to *the* [b] *ground* the whole band of men, that came with Iudas to take him; and when by this meanes he had shewed him selfe not destitute of his wonted force and vertue, he voluntarily submitted him selfe, not onely to be bound and brought whether they would, but euen to be whipped,

[b] Iohn. 18.

ped, mocked, wounded, hanged, and euery way vsed at their pleasure. Which he did not to satisfie their wicked rage, but to obey the will of his heauenly Father; who when he would punish the sinnes of men in the person of his owne Sonne, [b] *Deliuered him into the hands of sinners*, from them to suffer [c] *whatsoeuer the hand and counsell* (of God) *had determined before to be done. For* [d] *those things which God before had shewed by the mouthes of all his Prophets that Christ should suffer, he thus fulfilled*, by the malice of some, and ignorance of others, whom Satan incited, with the greatest contumely and crueltie they could deuise, to take Christs life from him. In all which Christ suffered nothing but what the [e] *determinate counsell and foreknowledge of God* purposed and appointed should be done. For this was [f] *the Cup which* (his) *father gaue* (him) *to drinke*; and this was the [g] *houre, and power of darknes*, when *the Prince of the world came* against him, howbeit neither man nor deuill [h] *could haue any power at all against him, but what was giuen* (them) *from aboue*. So that in all those wronges, reproches and paines which were offered and inflicted on him by the rage of Satan and the wicked, he saw the secret counsell and hand of God punishing our sinnes in his bodie, and by that meanes satisfiyng the diuine iustice that was prouoked by our transgressions.

[b] Matth.26.
[c] Acts.4.
[d] Acts.3.
[e] Acts.2.
[f] Iohn.18.
[g] Luke.22.
[h] Iohn 19.

The paines of hell were not the cause of agonie.

But no where doe the Scriptures deliuer that God with his immediate hand tormented the soule or body of his Sonne, much lesse that he impressed the very paines of hell and of the damned on the soule of Christ; which is your new found Redemption and satisfaction for the sinnes of men. By his agonie in the garden you boldly and rashly presume it; but by what logick you conclude it, neither doe I conceaue, nor can you declare. Christ was SORROVVFVLL and AFRAID in the garden, and began to be AMAZED; ergo, you thinke, he felt, or foresaw he should suffer the paines of the damned from the immediate hand of God. Well these may be your hastie thoughts, but this hath no ground in Arte, reason, nature, or Scripture. For many other things Christ might feare; and this of all other things he could not feare. How many things are there in God, when we approach his presence; how many things proceede there from God, when we aduisedly marke his counsels and iudgements, which may iustly ouerwhelme the weakenes of mans flesh with admiration and feare euen to astonishment? The brightnes of Gods *glory*, the greatnes of his *power*, the deepenes of his *counsels*, the sound of his *voice*, the presence of his *Angels*, the sight of his *vengeance* prepared, or executed on others how many good and perfect men haue these things strooken into feares and mazes? When Saint Iohn in the spirite saw the shape of the sonne of man and heard his voice, he [i] *fell downe as dead* for feare. When Daniel had seene the vision of the goat and the Ram, he was [k] *afraid and fell vpon his face*, yea he *was stricken and sicke certaine daies being astonished at the vision*. When the parents of Sampson saw the Angell ascend toward heauen in the flame of the Altar, *they* [l] *fell on their faces to the ground*; and one of them said, *we shall surely die, because we haue seene the Lord*. When *a light from heauen suddainly shined round about* Paul, as he was trauayling to Damascus, *he* [m] *fell to the earth trembling and amazed*. When Isaac perceaued that he had ignorantly blessed Iacob in steede of Esau, *he was* [n] *stricken with an exceeding great* (feare and) *trembling*. When the people saw the Creeple walking, that was dayly layd at the gate of the Temple to aske almes, and knew him to be the same man that before was lame from his mothers wombe, *they were* [o] *amazed and sore astonished* at it. Ieremie lamenting the miserie of the Iewes, sayth; *I am sore* [p] *vexed for the hurt of the daughter of my people, I am heauie, and astonishment hath taken me*. Euen as the Apostle also witnesseth of himselfe; [q] *I speake the trueth in Christ, and lie not; I haue great heauinesse and continuall sorow in mine heart, for my brethren that are my kinsmen according to the flesh*. If visions and Angels from God, if the works and iudgements of God executed on others haue driuen the best men to frights and agonies, what maruell then if the humane nature of Christ presenting himselfe in the garden vnto the Maiestie of his Father to be the Ransommer of mankinde, and with his owne smart to satisfie the iustice of God for the sinne of the world,

[i] Reuel.1.
[k] Daniel.8.
[l] Iudic.13.
[m] Acts 9.
[n] Genes.27.
[o] Acts 3.
[p] Ierem.8.
[q] Rom.9.

and

and no way ignorant how *weighty* that *burden*, and how *mighty* the *hand* of God was, to whoſe will he muſt and did wholly ſubmit himſelfe; what maruell I ſay if the weakneſſe of our fleſh in Chriſt beganne to be *afrayed* and *aſtoniſhed* at the iudiciall *preſence* and *power* of God, at the *perill* of man if he were deſerted, and *price* to be payd for him before he could be redeemed? not that damnation or deſtruction were prepared or purpoſed for him that ſhould ſaue vs; but for that the hand of God was infinitely able without hell and the paines thereof to preſſe and ouerpreſſe the manhood of Chriſt by whatſoeuer meanes he would.

This, you will ſay, is the paines of hell, and the very ſame, yea all that which the damned do ſuffer.] In deed Sir Diſcourſer? doth your skill ſerue you to make a religious ſubmiſsion to the Maieſty of God, and an holy confeſsion of his moſt mighty power euen with feare and trembling, to be all that the damned now ſuffer, or the ſelfe ſame paine which is ſharpeſt in hell? Doe not the godly at all times when they enter into the iuſt conſideration of themſelues, preſently ſee their owne infirmity and indignitie, and thereby fall with feare and trembling to confeſſe all ſanctitie, glorie, might, and maieſty to be Gods, and themſelues to be not only earth and aſhes, but euen ſinfull and hatefull vnto God, if he be not gracious and merciſull vnto them? And will you call theſe faithfull meditations of Gods children giuing vnto God his due, the paines of hell and ſtate of the damned, becauſe the ſenſe of their weakneſſe and vnworthineſſe breedeth in them feare and trembling? Then make heauen as touching the eſſence thereof all one with hell, and ſaluation in ſubſtance to be the ſame that damnation is, becauſe the beſt learned Fathers confeſſe, that the Angels in heauen doe and ſhall tremble at the *voice and iudgements* of God. [r] *Ad cuius vocem Archangeli & Angeli tremunt: At whoſe voice the Angels and Archangels doe tremble*; ſayth Hilarie ſpeaking of the Godhead in Chriſt. Which words *Leo* the Great doth allow and alleage in his [r] Epiſtle to *Leo* the Emperour; and they grew to be of that credit, that the effect of them was inſerted in the Church ſeruice by *Gelaſius*, as *Alcuinus* doth witneſſe. [t] *Maieſtatem tuam tremunt poteſtates: The powers of heauen do tremble at thy Maieſty. Chriſt* [u] *comming from the heauens* (to iudgement) *euery creature ſhall tremble*, ſaith Baſil: *the Angels themſelues ſhall not be without feare: for they alſo ſhall be preſent, though they ſhall giue no account to God. At that day* (ſayth Chryſoſtome) [x] *all things ſhall be full of aſtoniſhment, horror and feare. A great feare ſhall then poſſeſſe euen the Angels, and not the Angels only, but the Archangels, and Thrones, and powers of heauen, becauſe their fellow ſeruants muſt vndergoe iudgement for their liues led in this world.* Will you hence conclude that the Angels and Archangels are or ſhalbe then in the paines of hell, becauſe they do and ſhall tremble at the ſound of Gods voice, and ſight of Gods wrath to be executed on the world? No more may you inferre that Chriſt did or ſhould ſuffer the paines of hell and of the damned, for that his manhood began to feare and tremble either at the *maieſtie* of God ſitting in iudgement; or at the *power* of his iuſtice able to puniſh by what meanes, and in what meaſure pleaſed him; or at the *weight* of our ſinnes, for which he did vndertake; or at the *ſharpneſſe* of vengeance layd vp in ſtore aſwell for the Iewes as all other vnbeleeuers, that ſhould neglect the ſaluation then to be purchaſed by his death and paſsion; ſince the perſon of Chriſt being God and man was farre more aſſured and ſecured from hell and damnation, than either the Saints or Angels of God are, or can be.

[r] *Hilarius de trinitat. li. 2.*

[r] *Leo epiſt. 97. ad Leonem Auguſt.*

[t] *Albinus Flaccus de diuinis officijs.*

[u] *Baſil. in hexamer. homil. 11.*

[x] *Chryſoſt. ep. 5. ad Theodorum lapſum.*

At leaſt then, you thinke, Chriſt feared and felt the wrath of God due to our ſinnes, though outwardly executed on his bodie.] From Chriſtes Agonie, which might haue diuers cauſes, and whereof the true cauſe is not reuealed vnto vs by the Scriptures, as I haue alwayes ſayd, ſo I now repeat it againe; you can conclude nothing for your paines of hell to be ſuffered in the ſoule of Chriſt through the immediate hand of God. They are your blind and bold deuiſes, (I muſt not ſay lewd and wicked, becauſe you are ſo tender, you may not be touched) to bring the true paines of hell, yea the ſharpeſt and extreameſt of them into this life; and to make the ſubſtance of hell nothing but a certaine paine inflicted onely on the ſoule by the immediate

diate hand of God: which you thinke Chriſt ſuffered in the garden, where you ſay,
[y] Defenc.pa. 17.l.1. he [y] *felt as extreame ſharpnes of paine, as may by any poſſibilitie be endured yea though in hell it ſelfe*; and yet this [z] *incomprehenſible, vnſpeakeable, infinite and intolerable* fierie
[z] Ibidem.pa. 21.l.7. wrath and paines of hell did neither part his ſoule from his mortall body, nor ſo much as breake his patience. So terrible you make the torments of hell in words, and ſo eaſie in deeds, that the wicked here ſuffer and endure them without ending their liues, breaking their ſleepes, or refuſing their foode. But the true paines of hell are of an other manner of force, then you dreame of. They leaue no place for meate, nor ſleepe; the body muſt be immortall and not able to die, that ſhall endure them; they paſſe all patience of men and Angels. So that howſoeuer you aggrauate your fanſie with fierie words, you eleuate in truth the dreadfull iudgements of God againſt ſin, when you make the ſharpeſt and extreameſt of them to be tolerated of our Sauiour in this life with patience and ſilence, as appeared in his ſufferings; and the *reprobate* in the midſt of your hell paines to *liue, eate*, and *ſleepe*; which in the true paines of
[a] *Auguſt. de ciuita. dei. li. 21. cap. 3.* hell were not poſsible. Auſten ſaith rightly: [a] *So is the ſoule conioyned with this body, that to the paines which are exceeding great, it yeeldeth and departeth: becauſe the very frame of the members and vitall parts is ſo weake, that they are not able to ſuſtaine the force*
[b] *Chryſoſt. ad populum Antiochen. hom. 49.* *which bringeth great or moſt ſharpe paine.* Which Chryſoſtome alſo confirmeth: [b] *Name fire if thou wilt, the ſword, or wilde beaſts, and if any thing be more grieuous than theſe: yet are theſe ſcant a ſhadow to the torments of hell. And theſe when they grow vehement, are eaſieſt, and ſooneſt diſpatch men, the body not ſufficing to ſuffer a ſharpe paine any long while.* Your hell paines then are not very ſharpe, which the wicked may ſuffer ſo many yeres in this life, and not forſake either food or ſleepe.

Yet Chriſt did feele, you ſay, *Gods very wrath and proper vengeance for ſinne, and that only you know, though you can not expreſſe the maner or meaſure of his feeling it. And it was diſcerned and conceiued by Chriſt to be ſuch, and ſo did wound the ſoule properly, yea chiefly; though it were outwardly executed on his bodie.*] The wrath and vengeance of God due
What is Gods wrath due to ſinne. to ſinne, and generally to all mankinde for ſinne, is *ſpirituall, corporall*, and *eternall death* with all the *ſeeds* and *fruits* of death; that is, the loſſe of all earthly and heauenly bleſsings in this life and the next, and the depth of perpetuall miſery in body and ſoule here and in hell. This is the true wages and full payment of ſinne; and though God of his bountie and patience do often remit to the wicked in this life, a great part of this ſeuerity in things temporall, yet when he inflicteth on them the miſeries and calamities of this life, he giueth them their due. And as for ſpirituall and eternall death now and hereafter, it is ſo proper and certaine to the reprobate, that not one of
[c] Epheſ 4. them ſhall eſcape either. Spirituall death is [c] *blindneſſe* and *hardneſſe of heart working*
[d] Epheſ.2. *all vncleanneſſe euen with greedineſſe*; which ſheweth men *to be* [d] *ſtrangers from the life of God, and dead in ſinnes*, as paſt all ſenſe and feeling of God. Eternall death the Scripture calleth WRATH TO COME, becauſe no man ſuffereth the full force and waight thereof in this life, but as it is the [e] *ſecond death*, ſo it followeth in men after the
[e] Reue'. 20. & 21. firſt death, which *ſeuereth the ſoule from the bodie. Yee vipers brood* (ſayd Iohn Baptiſt to
[f] Math.3. the Phariſes and Sadducees) [f] *who hath taught you* (thus) *to flie from the wrath to come?*
[g] 1.Theſſ.1. *Ieſus* (ſayth Paul) [g] *deliuereth vs from the wrath to come.* In this life the wicked may
[h] Heb. 0. haue *a* [h] *fearefull expectation*, but no preſent *execution*, of this *iudgement*; there is *a*
[i] Rom.2. [i] *day of wrath*, euen the *reuelation of the iuſt iudgement of God*, when euery man ſhall be rewarded according to his works, *and a violent fire ſhall deuoure the aduerſaries.* This wrath by the Scriptures is reſerued for the veſſels of wrath for euer, and ſhall be executed on them with indignation, furie and fire; not onely becauſe the wrath of God againſt the wicked burneth like fire, but for that it ſhall be powred on them with flaming and euerlaſting fire. The effects whereof are reiection, malediction, confuſion, deſperation and ſuch like, which neuer accompanie ſaluation.

To ſay that Chriſt ſuffered this kinde of wrath, which is the true and proper wages of ſinne, is horrible and helliſh blaſphemie, which I hope no Chriſtian man will ad-
[k] Rom. 1. uenture. From the ſpirituall death of the ſoule, which is the [k] *wrath of God reuealed*

from

from heauen against all vngodlinesse and vnrighteousnesse of men, and bringeth with it the losse of all grace and goodnesse in this life, and consequently leaueth the pollution and dominion of sinne in the soule of man, our Lord and master must be as free as from damnation; the one being alwayes a necessary consequent to the other. Displeasure and wrath against Christes person God neuer had, nor could haue any; Christ being his owne and only sonne, and so deerely beloued, that for his sake Gods most iust and most heauie wrath against the sinnes of all his elect did calme and asswage: for Gods inward loue doth not admit contrarieties or changes as mans doth; all Gods counsels, wayes, and wo kes being absolutely perfect and constant, chiefly towards his owne sonne, whom he naturally, infinitly, and euerlastingly loueth in the same degree that he doth himselfe; and therefore no more possible there should be in god any displeasure or dislike conceiued of his sonne for bearing the sinnes of the world, or for what cause soeuer, than of himselfe. And since the humane nature of Christ was by Gods owne *wisdome, will*, and *worke*, ioyned into the vnitie of the person of his sonne, and made one and the same Christ with his Godhead; no cause, nor course whatsoeuer could alter or diminish the exceeding loue and fauour of God towards the very manhood of Christ; but as God did inseparably knit it to the person of his sonne, so did he make it fully partaker of that infinite loue wherewith he embraced his sonne. To confirme this to all the world: God did often from heauen pronounce with his owne voice, [l] [m] *This is my beloued sonne in whom I am well pleased*; as he forespake by his Prophet, [n] *Beholde mine elect* (in whom) *my soule delighteth.* This vnspeakable loue of God towards the person of his Sonne now being God and man, is the chiefe ground of our election and redemption. *For wee were* [o] *adopted through Iesus Christ, and made accepted in* (his) *beloued; by whom wee haue redemption through his blood*, euen *the forgiuenesse of sinnes, according to the riches of his grace.* So that we were neither elected nor redeemed, but by the infinite loue of God towards his sonne; for whose sake we were adopted to be the sonnes of God, and to whose loue the fierce wrath of God prouoked by our sinnes did yeeld and giue place; neither may he beare the name of a Christian man, that otherwise teacheth or beleeueth of our election and redemption. Now iudge thou Christian Reader, whether it were wrath or loue in God towards his sonne, that pardoned all our sinnes for his sake, and accepted the voluntarie sacrifice of his bodie and blood for the redemption of the world, through whose death we are reconciled to God, and cleansed by his blood from all our sinnes.

[l] Matth. 3.
[m] Matth. 17.
[n] Esa. 42.
[o] Ephes. 1.

Christ did not conceaue that God was inwardly displeased with him.

Then as in God there neither was, nor could be any displeasure against the person of his Sonne, nor against any part thereof for what cause soeuer; nor any chaunge or decrease of the loue which God with his own mouth professed from heauen towards Christ incarnate; so could not Christ without plaine infidelitie conceaue or beleeue that God was inwardly displeased or angrie with him, no not when he presented him selfe to God his Father vnder the burden of all our sinnes; knowing that neither sin, from which he was free, being the innocent and immaculate lamb of God; nor Gods most holy dislike, or iust pursuite of sinne could diminish Gods fatherly affection and most constant loue to him. For though he were not ignorant, that God in his holinesse did hate and abhorre the vncleanesse of our sinne; and in his iustice would pursue it, to witnesse his vtter dislike and detestation thereof; yet for so much as Christ himselfe was holy and vndefiled euen in his humane nature; and did not thrust himselfe into this action, but was called and annointed by God to this honor, which God would yeelde to none but to his onely Sonne; and this readines of the Sonne to like and obey his fathers counsell and decree, and to pitie our miserie by laying our burden on his owne shoulders, was in it selfe so glorious to God, and gratious towards man, that it could not be but most meritorious and acceptable to God, the Author, and accomplisher of mans Redemption by this meanes; what cause could Christ haue to doubt of his fathers loue towards him, or of his fathers approuing and

accepting his office and seruice tending wholy to the perfourming of Gods will, and aduauncing of Gods glorie?

But God was angrie with our sinnes, though not with his sonne; and that Anger Christ must beare, before we could be freed from it.] The more Angrie God was with our sinnes, the more contented he was with the person of his Sonne and euery part thereof, that submitted himselfe to the purpose and pleasure of God to appease his wrath kindled against our offences. And that Anger Christ did vndertake to quench, by satisfiyng the iustice of God in such sort as seemed best to God himselfe, and not by frustrating or declining it, nor by suffering the substance of the same destruction and damnation which was due to vs. Yea this very point of Christs obedience and patience, enduring and so vpholding Gods iustice according to Gods owne will, (respecting who he was that in this wise submitted and emptied him selfe) was farre more contenting and pleasing to God, then if the whole world had beene condemned for sinne to hell fire. For God delighteth not in the destruction of the wicked, but in the obedience of his Sonne he tooke infinite delight; not reuenging him with rage as an enemie, but imposing a fatherly correction on him for our sinnes; which in his person could extend no farder, that is, to none other kinde of death; and in ours would haue beene the eternall destruction of body and soule. Wherefore the wisedome and goodnesse of God chose out the person of his owne Sonne purposely; that neither our sinnes might be remitted as trifles skant prouoking his Anger, nor his Iustice meete with such as no way deserued to be respected or spared; but that the burden of our sinnes might be translated from vs, who were vnworthy of all fauour, and lye vpon the shoulders of his owne Sonne, whom in all iustice he must and did most highly loue and tender; and therefore could award no farder or other punishment against him for our sinnes, then might stand with the moderation and affection of a father, and try the obedience and submission of a sonne. Sharpe was the chasticement of our peace on that part of our Sauiour which was capable of paine and smart, least God should seeme to dally with our sinnes; but not such as either exceeded his strength, or any way chaunged or called in question Gods fauour towards him. And so our Sauiour conceaued and resolued of all his sufferings, that by Gods iustice they must haue in them griefe and anguish very painfull and offensiue to his humane nature, because our sinnes were very lothsome and displeasing to Gods diuine nature: yet so that nothing should be laid on him, which might ouerwhelme or endanger his obedience or patience; and that Gods purpose in so doing was to abolish sinne, and abate his wrath, his iustice being thus satisfied in the person of Christ Iesus: and not to execute on his owne Sonne the fulnes of that vengeance which was prepared for sinne in men and Angels.

And where the Discourser prateth so much of Gods VERY *wrath, and* PROPER *vengeance for sinne*, to be executed on the bodie and soule of Christ; if he meane the very same wrath and vengeance which is prepared for deuils, and shall be executed on all the damned; he openly blasphemeth. For then must the Sonne of God be euerlastingly adiudged to hell fire as they are. If hee flie to the substance and essence thereof; he foolishly cauelleth, or vainely seeketh to shift his hands of open impietie. For if by substance and essence of hell fire prouided for sinne, he meane only a sharpe and extreame paine; then by this childish sophistrie, an headach, or toothach, a fit of an ague, or pang of the stone, if the paine be sharpe, are in substance and essence all one and the very same, which the damned now suffer in hell; since he is no way able to prooue that God is the immediate tormentor of soules in hell. But thus to mocke and delude the dreadfull Iudgements of God against sinne, and to play with the person of Christ in so waighty matters of our saluation, is fitter for Pagans then Christians; and well this Discourser may multiply the miste of his words, but he shall neuer be able thence to derriue any light of trueth. If he meane the very same paine in soule or bodie which the damned suffer; he runneth headlong into that impietie, which he

he would seeme to shun. For the bodies of the damned suffer hell fire, which Christs did not; and their Soules apprehend that God is their enemie, and not onely hateth them, but hath reiected, accursed, and condemned them for euer; which to imagine of Christs soule, is to charge him with plaine Infidelitie and Apostasie. Christ therefore rightly conceaued of his sufferings; and knew God to be a gracious and louing father, euen to his manhood; though such was the constant course of Gods iustice, to which Christ submitted himselfe, that the price of our sinnes might not be easie in the person of our Sauiour; to make vs the more warie, how to prouoke Gods iustice hereafter, and to acknowledge our selues the more bound to him, who with his no small smart redeemed vs; and withall to ratifie the fearefull vengeance of God powred on the wicked to be most iust, when as the exchange of our sinnes was so grieuous to the vndefiled and welbeloued manhood of the Sonne of God. Since then God could no way be displeased with the *nature, office, or action* of Christ in offering himselfe a ransome for man, which God himselfe first decreed before all worlds, promised by his Prophets, published by his Angels, testified by signes and wonders, and confirmed with his owne voyce from heauen; and the sufferings of Christ were tempered with Gods loue, proportioned to Christs strength, supported with ioy, accepted with fauour, and rewarded with all honor in him and in vs for his sake; what wound could this chastisement make in the depth of Christs soule, when it was executed on his body? or what could the soule of Christ conceaue more, then that God was in deede angrie with our sinnes, and therefore would not accept our persons being in our selues vnrighteous and odious vnto him: And yet in mercy towards vs, and honor towards his Sonne, God would make him the Redeemer and Sauiour of the world, not neglecting his Iustice, nor forgetting his loue, but so mixing them both together, that his dislike of our sinnes might appeare in the punishment of them, and his relenting from the rigor of his Iustice in fauour of his onely Sonne might magnifie his mercy, satisfie his wrath, and enlarge his glory; and declare in most ample manner the submission, compassion, and perfection of his Sonne, as only worthy to performe that worke, which procured, and receaue that honor, which followed mans Redemption?

Christ suffered not from Gods immediat hand.

Christ then suffered from the hand of God, but mediate, that is, GOD DELIVERED *him into the hands of sinners*, who were Satans instruments, with all reproach and wronge to put him to a contumelious and grieuous death: God by his secret wisdome and iustice decreeing, appointing, and ordering what he should suffer at their hands. *Our sinnes he bare in his body on the tree*, not that his soule was free from *feare, sorrow, shame, derision, and temptation*, but that the wicked and malitious Iewes practised all kind of shamefull violence and cruell tortures on him by Whipping, Racking, pricking, and wounding the tenderest parts of his body, whereby his soule felt extreame and intolerable paines. In all which he saw the determinate counsell of God, and receaued in the garden from his father this Iudgement for our sinnes, that he should be [p] *deliuered into the hands of sinners*. For had he not humbly submitted himselfe to obey his fathers will, no power in earth could haue preuailed against him; but as he had often *fortold* his Disciples what the [r] *Priestes, Scribes, and Gentils should doe vnto him*. so when the [t] *hower* was come, which was foreappointed of God, to obey his fathers will, he yeelded himselfe into their hands; they persuing him to death, of ennie and malice, but God thus [u] *performing* euen by their wicked hands what he had *foreshewed by his* [x] *Prophets, that Christ should suffer*. For they not *knowing him, nor the words of the Prophets, fulfilled them in condemning him*; yea they *fulfilled all things which were written of him*. So that no man shall need to runne to the immediate hand of God, nor to the paines of hell for the punishment of our sinnes in the person of Christ: the Iewes FVLFILLED ALL THINGS that were written of him touching his sufferings, and therewith Gods anger against our sinnes was appeased, and God himselfe reconciled vnto vs. Esay speaking of the violence done by the Iewes to Christ, sayeth, *he was* [y] *wounded for our transgressions and broken for our iniquities, and*

p Matth.26.
r Mark.14.
t Matth.20.
t Luk.18.
u Matth.26.
x Acts.3.
x Acts.13.
y Esa.53.

with his ſtripes we are healed. (Thus) the Lord *layed vpon him the iniquitie of all vs, and*
[1] 1.Pet. 2. *he* [1] *bare our ſinnes in his body on the tree*; by thoſe ſufferings before and on the Croſſe which the Scriptures expreſly declare and deſcribe. And as for the immediate hand of God tormenting the ſoule of Chriſt with the ſelfe ſame paines which the damned now ſuffer in hell, which is this deuiſers maine drift; when he maketh or offereth any proofe thereof out of the word of God, I ſhall be ready to receiue it, if I can not refute it: till then I ſee no cauſe why euery wandring witte ſhould imagine what monſters plea'e him in mans redemption, and obtrude them to the faithfull without any ſentence or ſyllable of holy Scripture. I haue no doubt but all the godly will be ſo wiſe, as to ſuffer no man to raigne ſo much ouer their faith with fancies and figures, vnwarranted by the Scriptures, vnknowen to all the learned and ancient councels and Fathers, vnheard of in the Church of Chriſt till our age, wherein ſome men applaude more their owne inuentions then all humane or diuine inſtructions.

[a] Defenc.pag. 12. l.35. The feare of bodily ſufferings you thinke could not be the cauſe that there [a] *ſtrained out from Chriſt much ſweat of clotted blood.*] You ſtraine the text of the Euangeliſt to draw it to your bent. Saint Luke hath no ſuch words, that there *ſtrained out from*
[b] Luc.22. *Chriſt much ſweat of clotted blood:* he ſayth, Chriſtes [b] *ſweat was like drops of blood trickling downe to the ground.* Theophylact a Greeke borne, and no way ignorant of his mother tongue, expreſſeth Chriſtes ſweat in the garden by theſe words, σταγόνων αἱματικῶν ἱδρώτων θλιβόμενος, Chriſtes body or face DISTILLED *with plentifull drops of ſweat.* And albeit θρόμβος ſometimes ſignifie the congealed parts of that which is otherwiſe liquid, and compacted pieces of that which els is poudered; yet often it noteth that which is thicke in compariſon with thinner, or eminent in reſpect of plainer. Now Chriſtes ſweat might be thicke by reaſon it iſſued from the inmoſt parts of his bodie, and was permixed with blood, or els it might breake out with great and eminent drops, as comming from him violently and abundantly, and being coloured with blood and congealed with colde, might trickle downe like DROPS or *ſtrings* of blood vpon the ground. Howſoeuer, the Scripture ſaith not his ſweate was *clotted blood*, but like to *congealed or cooled blood*, neither that ſuch clots were *ſtrained out from him*, but that his ſweate being thicked and cooled on his face, fell from him like ſtrings of blood. But grant there could be no reaſon giuen of Chriſts bloodie ſweat in the garden, no more then there can be of the iſſuing firſt of *blood, and then of water* out of his ſide when he was dead; which S. Iohn doth exactly note as ſtrange but yet true; will you conclude what pleaſe you, becauſe many things in Chriſt both liuing and dying were miraculous? I bind no mans conſcience to any probabilities for the cauſe of this ſweate, but onely to the expreſſe wordes and neceſſarie conſequents of holy Scripture, and yet I wiſh all men either to be ſober and leaue that to God which he hath concealed from vs, or if they will needes be geſsing at the reaſon thereof (for certaine knowledge they can haue none) by no meanes to relinquiſh the plaine words or knowen groundes of holy Scripture, to embrace a fanſie of their owne begetting.

The learned and ancient Fathers haue deliuered diuers opinions of this ſweate, which thou mayeſt ſee (Chriſtian Reader) in my Sermons, and which we ſhall haue occaſion anon to reexamine: euery one of them being (as I thinke) more probable and more agreeable to Chriſtian pietie, then this Diſcourſers dreame of hell paines, or Gods immediate hand at that preſent tormenting of the ſoule of Chriſt. And if we looke to the order and ſequence of the Goſpell, we ſhall finde that feruent zeale extreamely heating the whole bodie, melting the ſpirits, thinning the blood, opening the pores, and ſo colouring and thicking the ſweate of Chriſt, might in moſt likelihood be the cauſe of that bloodie ſweate. Which S. Luke ſeemeth to inſinuate
[c] Luc.22. when he ſaith, that after *Chriſt was* [c] *comforted by an Angell from heauen*, (and ſo recouered from his former feare, and freed from ſuffering hell paines, wherein there is no comfort) *he prayed more earneſtly*, (or ardently) and *his ſweate* was (in colour and conſiſtence) *like drops* (or ſtrings) *of blood trickling downe to the ground.* So that feruencie

cie in prayer is ſet downe next before that ſweate in the Goſpell, as a precedent or cauſe thereof. Howbeit I onely barre the boldneſſe of this deuiſer, who preſumeth what pleaſeth him of Chriſts bloodie ſweate in the garden, becauſe the Scriptures doe not exactly mention the cauſe; and thinke it no reaſon to let him build on a blinde coniecture, a falſe conceit of his owne without any warrant of holy Scripture.

But I am repugnant to my ſelfe, and ſome where [d] *I hold that Chriſt ſuffered no more but meere bodily paines, that is in his ſoule from and by his bodie.* [e] *Neuertheleſſe contrariwiſe I ſeeme ſomewhere to yeelde wholely ſo much as you affirme.*] I leaue that grace to you Sir Diſcourſer, to roule to and fro, and when you haue ſaid a thing after a *ſenſe* and in *a ſort*, then in another kind to vnſay it againe; and laying the whole foundation of your cauſe vpon Chriſtes ſuffering the wrath of God, neither to bring any proofes, or to ſhew any parts thereof by the word of God; but to play with the termes of *very*, *proper*, and *meere*; and to call that the opening of the whole queſtion. Indeed I euery where defend that Chriſt ſuffered no death expreſſed or mentioned in the Scriptures, ſaue onely the death of the bodie; from other paſsions or ſufferings of the ſoule, as *feare*, *ſorrow*, *ſhame*, and ſuch like, I doe not exempt the ſoule of Chriſt, when he ſuffered for our ſinnes; though I leaue no place in him for the feare of damnation, ſting of conſcience, deſpaire or doubt of Gods fauour, and ſuch other ſhipwrackes of all faith, hope, patience, and pietie. The *Croſſe*, *death* and *blood* of Chriſt when I name, I vſe thoſe words as the Scripture doth, to declare the whole *maner* and *order* of his paſsion from the garden to the graue, as it is deſcribed in the Euangeliſts; not excluding either the feare or agonie, which befell him before he was apprehended, but compriſing within his death his obedience and patience in all thoſe afflictions, which he ſuffered till he died. And this is no wauering in mee, to retaine the words of the holy Ghoſt in their right ſenſe and vſe; but it is rather a childiſh dalliance in you, Sir Diſcourſer, to ſuppoſe that the death of Chriſt doth import no more but the very act of giuing vp the ghoſt; or els if I by that worde deſigne the reſt of Chriſts ſufferings endured at the time of his death by the witneſſe of holy Scripture, you will alſo hemme in your hell paines within the liſt of the ſame wordes, though the Euangeliſts name or note no ſuch thing in all the hiſtorie of Chriſts paſsion.

[d] Defenc. pag. 13. l. 27.
[e] Pag. 14. l. 18.

So likewiſe in ſpeaking of Gods wrath againſt the wicked I wrap in no Ridles, nor enuiron the Reader with a windlace of words; but plainely and fairely diſtinguiſh it either by the naturall vertues and properties that are in God miſliking and repreſsing ſinne, or by the effects and puniſhments proceeding from God to reuenge the works and reward the workers of iniquitie. In the wicked, Gods holineſſe hateth the euill *deede*, and the *doer*; that is, both the *ſinne*, and the *ſinner*; and by his *iuſtice* without all loue or fauour towardes them awardeth a *puniſhment* againſt them according to their deſerts; which the *power* of God doth execute on them, not reſpecting their *ſtrength*, but rather *inabling* them to *continue* in perpetuall torments of bodie and ſoule in hell fire for euer: Gods *purpoſe* being onely to *reuenge* ſinne in them, and to *deſtroy* them for their ſinnes; which is moſt holy and righteous in him, though it be neuer ſo grieuous and intollerable to them. Gods iuſt and full iudgement againſt ſinne, where and when it pleaſeth him to inflict it, is the depriuing bodie and ſoule of all outward and inward *peace* and *grace* in this life for the time, and the reiecting of both from all bliſſe and reſt in the world to come for euer; which is the loſſe of God and of all his bleſsings prouided in this life, and the next for his elect. Theſe cauſes and parts Gods anger hath againſt the wicked for their ſinnes, and to euery of theſe the Scripture beareth witneſſe.

In Chriſt Gods holineſſe infinitely imbraced the *humilitie*, *obedience*, *and charitie* of his Sonne offering himſelfe to be the ranſommer of man, and perfectly loued the *integritie*, *innocencie*, and *puritie* of his manhood created, called, and anointed of God to this intent and end, that his death and bloodſhedding ſhould be the redemption of the world, though God vtterly hated the ſinnes of men, which his ſonne then aſſumed into the bodie of his fleſh to beare the burden of them, when wee could not.

Wherefore Gods iuſtice finding the loue of the Father towards his Sonne, farre to exceede the hatred of the Creator againſt the vncleanneſſe of his ſinfull, but ſeduſed creature, did relent from the rigour of that iudgement, which was prouided for ſinne in Angels, and with a fatherly regard and reſpect to the meaneſt part of the pe. ſon of his ſonne, decreed a puniſhment for our ſinnes in the manhood of Chriſt, which was a corporall death, accompanied with the ſharpeſt paines, that Chriſt might endure with obedience and pacience: whoſe voluntarie ſubmiſsion and ſacrifice for ſinne the iuſtice of God did accept as a moſt ſufficient price and payment for all our ſinnes, which in themſelues deſerued euerlaſting deſtruction of bodie and ſoule in hell fire with deuils. This correction though very ſharpe, yet not ouerpreſsing the patience of Chriſts manhood, Gods iuſtice would not releaſe to his owne Sonne, leaſt he ſhould ſeeme to make light account of our ſinne, (if it were remitted onely for prayer and intreatie) and without iuſt cauſe ſo terribly to puniſh the ſinnes of the reprobate with all kinds of death, I meane corporall, ſpirituall, and eternall. And greater or other death, then the death of the bodie, God by no iuſtice could impoſe on the perſon of his Sonne, ſince Chriſt could not be ſubiected to ſinne, which he muſt cleanſe and aboliſh in vs; much leſſe be reiected from euerlaſting bliſſe and ioy, to which hee muſt bring vs; leaſt of all linked and chained with deuils in perpetuall flames of hell fire, for ſo much as hee was the true and onely Sonne of God, for whoſe ſake we all were adopted and made heires of eternall ſaluation. And for this cauſe the *power* of God, which is otherwiſe moſt dreadfull to men and Angels, and ſo was then to the manhood of Chriſt, reſtrained it ſelfe, and tempered the ſmart of Chriſtes paines to the ſtrength of Chriſtes humane nature, not meaning to ouerwhelme his patience, but to trie his obedience to the vttermoſt. In all which ſufferings Gods counſell and purpoſe was moſt fauourable and honourable euen to the manhood of Chriſt, the perfection of whoſe confidence and patience hee would demonſtrate to Angels and men, and propoſe him a paterne to all the Sonnes of God, how to humble themſelues vnder the mightie hand of God; and accept his obedience vnto death as a moſt precious and pleaſing ſatisfaction and ſacrifice for the ſinnes of his elect; and reward his humilitie with vnſpeakeable honour in making him Lord and Iudge of all, both men and Angels, not onely to confound the pride, and ſuppreſſe the power of Satan, but to adiudge him to euerlaſting torments with all the wicked and accurſed.

Againſt the tenor and effect of this Chriſtian confeſsion, which I referre to the iudgements of all that be learned & rightly inſtructed in the ſacred Scriptures, I neuer ſpeake any one word to my knowledge; I cannot in euery ſentence repeate euery circumſtance, nor of euery page make a paire of Indentures, much leſſe may I forſake the forme of holſome words deliuered in the Scriptures. But the maine ſumme and ſcope of this doctrine being ſo fully declared and ſo often repeated by me, I had no reaſon to feare the capacity, or doubt the memorie of any heedfull Reader. And howſoeuer ſome ſhallow trifler may picke out a word heere and there to carpe at, yet are there ſo many cleere places to direct all doubts, that no man needeth to ſtumble, but he that will not or can not ſtand vpright. For let the Chriſtian Reader looke but to the marke at which I aime in euery place, and remember theſe two rules; that of three ſorts of death, which onely are mentioned in the Scriptures, as the wages of ſinne, to wit, *corporall*, *ſpirituall*, and *eternall* death; I alwayes remoue the two laſt from the perſon of Chriſt by deſcribing or naming the firſt, which was his corporall death: and in that I conteine the whole courſe and maner of his death, that is, the feares, ſorrowes, ſhames, temptations, deriſions, ſmarts, and paines, which the Scriptures record in the hiſtory of his death: and all my words will prooue plaine and eaſie, which this man thinketh ſo falſe in themſelues & ſo contrary to themſelues. Examine my words which he hath brought for examples of contradiction and falſity, and ſee whether his labour be any more than meere nugation and vanitie.

Anouching and prouing that Chriſt could not ſuffer eternall damnation, which is the

the full wages of sinne, nor the death of the soule, which by the Scriptures must exclude Christ from the *fauour* and *grace*, *trueth* and *spirit* of God: and giuing the reasons why sinne could not preuaile vpon his person as it did vpon others, I conclude; *What marueil then if sinne, which should haue wrought in vs an eternal destruction both of bodie and soule, could not farther preuaile in him* (that is, to none other kinde of death) *but to the wounding of his flesh and shedding of his blood, for the iust and full satisfaction of all our sinnes, euen in the righteous and sincere iudgement of God?* In this I free Christ from *eternall destruction or death of bodie and soule*, which was the wages of sinne in our persons, but could not take holde on his, as the difference there betwixt him and vs declareth. I exempted him by proofs in the page precedent from the death of the soule, which was the maine scope of that section, and so lett him subiect onely to the third kinde of death, which was corporall, and might be suffered not onely without all taint of sinne, losse of grace, and change of Gods fauour, but euen with great manifestation of Gods *power* and *wisdome* in his death; and commendation of Christs *obedience* and *patience* vnto death. That third kinde of death I doe not name, but describe by the wounding of Christes flesh and shedding of his blood; [k] *the rest* (of his paines and griefes) *that went before, not being excluded as superfluous, but continued and increased by that sharpe and extreame martyrdome, which he endured on the crosse*, as my caueat touching Christs Crosse did plainly admonish. And since the whole maner of Christes death and shedding his blood expressed in the Scriptures, is the thing that I alwayes intend, and the word doth import; when I name or touch the death of Christ, all that he voluntarily or violently suffered when he yeelded himselfe to be put to death, is compriſed in the mention of his death. Besides that Christ by his bloody sweat in the garden beganne of his owne accord in some sort to effuse his blood for our sakes and safeties, and therefore it could haue no iust reason to imagine that my words exclude his agonie and other passions of the soule mentioned in the Scriptures, specially my very next words affirming, that [l] *the same part might and did suffer in Christ which sinned in man* (to wit) *the soule, (though) by no meanes it could receiue the same wages which we should haue receiued.*

[k] Sermons pa. 15. l. 4. ad marg.

[l] Sermons pa. 4. l. 34.

[l] Sermons pa. 17. l. . .

But I professe by the generall title of my Sermons the [i] *full redemption of mankinde by the death and blood of Christ*; and commend the *force and fruit of his bodily death as most sufficient*] That indeed is very dangerous to your fansie, who hold the ioynt sufferings of Christes soule from and by his body not properly to pertaine to mans redemption, for that they are common to men with beasts, and therefore labour to frustrate all the words of the Holy Ghost deliuered in the Scriptures as improper, and impertinent to our saluation; but to me there can be no danger in the trueth, nor doubt of the *fruit* or *force* of those things which the spirit of God so often and euidently commendeth vnto vs in the sacred Scriptures as the *price* of our *redemption* and *meanes* of our *reconciliation* to God. In Christ (sayth Paul) *we haue* [k] *redemption by his blood euen the remission of our sinnes.* Redemption by Christs blood you will and must grant; the Holy ghost doth directly auouch it: but whether that redemption be *full and most sufficient*, which is purchased by the blood of Christ, you doe make some doubt, or els you need not sticke at my words, which import so much. Of that if you doubt, you must beare the name of some other sect, and not of a Christian, for no Christian may doubt whether the redemption which we haue by the blood of Christ be *full* and sufficient or no. To make Christ in part a Sauiour, is to make him in part no Sauiour, contrary to S. Peter, who sayth, [l] *There is no saluation in any other.* If you will deriue our whole redemption from him, but not from his blood shed for vs, then giue you S. Iohn the lie, who sayth, *The* [m] *blood of Iesus Christ cleanseth vs from all sinne. Cleansing from all sinne* is full and perfect redemption from sinne; and sinne being fully remitted and purged, there is no cause of breach betweene God and vs, that should hinder our saluation. Christ by *his owne* [n] *blood* (sayth Paul) *entred once into the holy place hauing purchased eternall redemption.* Fuller or more sufficient than *eternall redemption* we neither expect, nor euer shall haue any; since that which is eternall, admitteth

[i] Defenc. pag. 14 *Redemption by Christes blood most sufficient.*

[k] Ephes. 1.

[l] Acts 4.

[m] 1. Iohn 1.

[n] Hebr. 9.

admitteth no change nor increaſe. Then that redemption which Chriſt hath purchaſed by his blood, is moſt full and ſufficient by the Apoſtles teſtimony; and ſooner ſhal you proue your ſelfe to be no ſound Teacher, than that to be no ſound doctrine, which hath ſo manifeſt witneſſe in holy Scripture.

*Defenc. pa. 14 *The ioint ſufferings of Chriſt moſt auailable for our ſaluation.*

I teach that *the * ioynt ſufferings of Chriſt (the ſoule feeling what the body ſuffered) are moſt auailable for our ſaluation; and that (beſides the ſacrifice of Chriſtes body) there is no other ſacrifice of his ſoule, which can be neither bodily nor bloody.*] If I alone did teach thus, and not the whole Church of Chriſt with me; or if the ſacred Scriptures which muſt guide vs all what to affirme and beleeue in the worke of our ſaluation, did not teach the ſame; I were worthy to be challenged: but if I ſay no more than the Scriptures do warrant me to ſpeake, looke you Sir Diſcourſer to your late created Creed that can not admit nor endure the words of the Holy Ghoſt. That the true ſacrifice for ſinne was but ONE and ONCE made, and that it required the BODIE, BLOOD, and DEATH of the Offerer, is not my addition, but the Apoſtles aſſertion. Chriſt [p] *appeared* (ſayth Paul) *in the end of the world once to put away ſinne by the ſacrifice of himſelfe*; and by reaſon he was an high [q] *Prieſt after the order of Melchiſedech, and a* [r] *Miniſter of the true Tabernacle and Sanctuarie, it was of neceſſitie he ſhould haue ſomewhat alſo to offer,* [s] *Wherefore when he commeth into the world, he ſaith* (to God) *Sacrifice and offering thou wouldeſt not, but a bodie haſt thou ordained me.* [t] *It is written of me that I ſhould doe thy will O God;* [u] *by the which will we are ſanctified* (ſayth the Apoſtle) *euen by the offering of the body of Ieſus Chriſt once. Who after he had offered* (this) [x] *one ſacrifice for ſinne, ſitteth for euer at the right hand of God. For with* (this) [y] *one offering hath he* (conſecrated or) *made perfect for euer them that are ſanctified.* That likewiſe without [z] *effuſion of blood there is no remiſſion*, and therefore *Chriſt with his* [a] *owne blood entred in once vnto the holy place, and obtained eternall redemption*; as alſo that the [b] *death of the teſtator muſt be, where a teſtament is*; in either of theſe the Apoſtle is euident and vehement. Now if you (Sir Diſcourſer) can conuey theſe things to the ſoules proper and immediate ſuffering the paines of hell from the hand of God, and ſhew how theſe reſolutions of the Apoſtle perteine *properly* yea *only* to the ſoule of Chriſt; we ſhal greatly woonder at your wiſdome. For thereby ſhall you prooue, that the ſoule hath not only a body, but blood alſo that may be ſhed, which are miracles, I will not ſay monſters, both in Scripture and nature. [c] *A ſpirit* (ſayth Chriſt) *hath no fleſh and bones, as ye ſee me haue.* If you can teach Chriſt that he neuer knew before, by my conſent you ſhalbe allowed for more than a Creed-maker. Howbeit, you will marre your owne market in ſo doing. For if the ſoule conſiſt of bodie and of blood, what ſhall become of her *proper and immediate facultie*, of ſuffering without and beſides the bodie, which you ſo highly aduanced in the beginning, as to make it the proper and principall humane ſuffering? If you ſhrinke from theſe follies or rather frenſies, as I hope you will, then muſt you grant the ioynt ſufferings of Chriſt, I meane the wounding of his body and ſhedding of his blood euen vnto death, as the Scriptures deſcribe it, to be the true ſacrifice for ſinne, and conſequently moſt auaileable for our ſaluation. If you thinke I exclude the ſoule of Chriſt from her part in this bodily and bloody ſacrifice of Chriſt; I haue ſo often ſaid and ſhewed the contrarie in my former reply that I am weary of iterating one and the ſame thing, though you be neuer weary of miſtaking it. My former words I repeat againe, that the Reader may ſee, I haue no cauſe to recant or controle them. [d] *The true ſacrifice for ſinne which Chriſt offered, muſt haue the body, the blood, and the death of the offerer; none of which agree to the ſoule of Chriſt, though the body without a ſoule could be no reaſonable ſacrifice; and therefore I exclude not the ſoule, whoſe obedience, innocence, and patience concurred to ſanctifie this ſacrifice, but I note the parts of the ſacrifice for ſinne by the Apoſtles doctrine were thoſe, which I named, the blood and death of the Sacrificer, both which muſt needs be found in his bodie, and not in his ſoule.* Theſe words you quote in the margent, but you take not the paines to refute them, much leſſe to eſtabliſh your vnbloody and vnbodily ſacrifice of Chriſts ſoule ſuffering hell paines from the immediate hand of God. Which kind of offering

[p] Heb. 9. verſ. 26.
[q] Hebr. 7. verſ 17.
[r] Heb. 8. verſ. 2.
[s] Heb. 10. 5.
[t] verſ. 7.
[u] verſ. 10.
[x] verſ. 12.
[y] verſ. 14.
[z] Heb. 9. 22.
[a] verſ. 12.
[b] verſ. 16.
[c] Luk. 24.
[d] Concluſ. pa. 352. l. 19.

offering for sinne is as strange to the Scriptures, and to all the learned and auncient fathers as the rest of your vnknowne doctrine. And therefore you doe well to straine still on the same string by censuring what you mislike, and neuer prooving what you affirme, least you should marre your musicke, if you should proceede to the parts or proofes of your new found Redemption by the paines of hell.

Yet [e] *somewhere I seeme to yeeld wholy as much as you affirme; as where I say, the same part indeede might suffer in Christ which sinned in man, I meane the soule.*] Somewhat it is you find so many writers new and old on your side; you here no sooner the suffering of the soule, or the anger of God against sinne in any man, but you presently count him vnder your coulours. Euen as I make for you, when I write against you, so doe the Auncient fathers, and later Diuines, whose names you abuse. [But if [f] *I meane as I ought*, then at least I follow your meaning.] It is a peece of your skill, when I speake directly against your fancies, to make men beleeue I meane as you doe, or at least I ought so to meane. Indeed if you may be vmpeere what I ought to meane, I shall be sure to iump with your meaning; but looke to my words good Sir and measure my meaning by that which I speake, and not by that which you would haue me speake. I said *Christs soule might suffer for sinne*: what collect you thence? I did not adde without or with the body, so that all the sufferings of Christ inflicted on his body might be and were impressed in his soule, and you nothing the nearer to your purpose of hell paines suffered in the Soule of Christ. But graunt the soule of Christ did suffer for sinne without concurrence of the body; must it needs follow, he therefore suffered the paines of hell? how many griefes and paines of the soule are there, not proceeding from the body, which are nothing like nor neare the paines of hell? For example in harty and true repentance how great is the griefe and paine of euery part and facultie of the soule detesting and abhorring sinne, and fearing and feeling the power of Gods wrath? and yet I trust ech penitent person doth not suffer the paines of hell. *Feare, griefe, and sorrow* then, the soule of Christ might deepely tast when he suffered for sinne, and yet be farre from the paines of hell. But your collection from my words is more absurd; for where I say, *the soule of Christ might suffer for sinne, yet by no meanes could it receiue the same wages* (of sinne) *which we should haue receiued*; you inferre not only without any words of mine, but directly against my words; ergo I meane, or I ought to meane, that the soule and mind of Christ suffered the paines of hell from the immediate hand of God: and so where I auouch Christ by *no meanes could suffer the same wages* (of sin) *which we should haue suffered*; you paraphrase, I meane, or I ought to meane, Christ *suffered the selfe same which we should haue suffered*, and of my negatiues you make affirmatiues, and then tell the Reader I contradict my selfe.

But in plaine termes *I* [g] *allow in Christ all those afflictions and passions of the Soule which naturally and necessarily follow paine; and this* ALL *reacheth vnto moe then meere bodily paines; it includeth the soules proper and immediate paines also.*] Where you learned to reason I doe not know, but you haue the best grace to disgrace your selfe that euer I saw; and if this be all the learning you haue, you may clout shoes with this *Al.* Doe the torments of hell *naturally and necessarily follow paine?* then whosoeuer in any part, or for any cause is payned, suffereth the paines of hell, or at least the soules proper and immediate paines, which you make extreamest and sharpest in hell. Babes and boyes may thus bable; it is a shame for men to talke so much out of square. Let my words stand simplely as you bring them, and allow in Christ *all those afflictions and passions of the soule, which naturally and necessarily follow paine*, what conclude you out of them? your sight is very sharpe, if you see any absurditie in them. Howbeit you draw my words from their right course and sense, by leauing out what pleaseth you: My words are [h] *When the auncient fathers affirme that Christ dyed for vs the death of the body only, we must not like children imagine, they exclude the vnion, operation, or passion of the soule: but in the death of his body and shedding of his blood, they include all those afflictions and passions of the soule which naturally and necessarily follow paine, and accompany death.* Christ suffering for vs a painefull death how could it be otherwise, but

[e] Defenc. pa. 14 *Christ might suffer in soule and yet not hell paines.*

[f] Defenc. pa. 14. l. 21.

[g] Defenc. pa. 14. l. 27.

[h] Sermons pa. 87.

but such *afflictions and passions of the soule as naturally and necessarily follow paine and accompany death*, should be found in the soule of Christ, vnlesse we giue him an insensible flesh or impasible soule, both which are errors in the nature of Christ? His flesh was sensible, and his soule passible as ours is, because they both were humane. Paine then and death in my words are plainly referred to the body of Christ, whose flesh could not be wounded and blood shed as his was, but naturally and necessarily his soule must feele the paine thereof. And yet if my words were not limited to the paine of Christs body, as indeed they are; I see no inconuenience growing from them, nor helpe for your fansie cõtained in them.* *Yet plainer* (as fauoring your error) I say, [i] *smart, paine, & griefe of body or mind be it neuer so great, will commend Christs obedience & patience; And the punishment of sinne, which proceedeth from the iustice of God, and is no sin, that Christ might and did beare. Yea he suffered death, with all painfull, but no sinfull concomitants or consequents.* How good a sempster you are, doth well appeare by your short cutting and wide stitching my words together. The first sentence you take out of a Section of my sermons, wherein I purposely shew, that not only the paines of hell, but euen the feare of hell must be farre from the soule of Christ. The suffering of hell paines in the soule of Christ, I there *refuse as* [k] *not consonant to the Christian faith, but rather repugnant to the dignitie, certaintie, sanctitie of Christs person, coniunction, and communion with God.* Immediatly after the words which you bring I say; *In Christ there could be* [l] *no apprehension of hell paines as due to him, or determined for him, but he must find or feare that God would be inconstant or vniust, which are more then haynous impieties:* Yea to these very words which you cite I ioyne this exception in the same line: but *the* [m] *sense of damnation or separation from God, or the feare or doubt thereof in Christ, as they quench faith and abolish grace, so they dissolue the vnion and communion of both his natures, or else breed a false persuasion and sinfull temptation in the soule of Christ.* Who can be so sottish as not to see, that my former words import *Smart, paine and griefe of body and mind* which haue in them neither *sense* nor *feare* of hell paines, that is of *damnation or separation from God*; since no man is damned but vnto the paines and place of hell, and is first separated from God?

With as great discretion you fasten on an other sentence of mine; where though my proposition be not generall but indefinite, and hath two restraints euen from your owne wordes; to wit, *in this life*, where Christ suffered; *and like to vs*, who are his members; you throw off all, forgetting what your selfe obiected, and whereto I fitted my answere, and suppose that here I fully concurre with your conceites. But looke to your owne obiection, and that will rightly guide my solution. Your reason, which you proudly boasted could not be refuted by the wit of man, was (as you call it) taken from the lesse to the more. [n] *Thus doe the members of Christ suffer (the terrors of God and sorrowes of hell,) therefore of necessitie Christ suffered the like.* Prooue you by this *Argument*, that Christ after this life suffered the terrors of God and sorrowes of hell? I doe you wrong to suspect it, for it is open impietie so to thinke or say. Then do you more wrong to imagine that I extended my words farther then to refell your reason. As you spake of this life, though you expressed it not; so I replied that *the punishment of sinne, which proceedeth from the iustice of God* (in this life) *and is no sinne, Christ might and did beare; but in no wise those terrors and feares of conscience, which proceede from sinne, and augment sinne.* Now I pray you what allowance finde you here for your new erected hell, or how force you my words to fit your deuises? Terror of conscience, and feare of hell could haue no place in Christ, by reason they proceede in vs from remorse of sinne, weakenesse of faith, and doubt for the time of Gods fauour, which we cannot ascribe to Christ without drawing him into the dregges of our sinne. And therefore when we compare his suffering with ours, we must alwayes except the rootes and branches of our corruption, for that they be taintes of sinne, and wants of grace, neither of which may be admitted in the soule of Christ. Now if I exclude the *feare of hell*, and terrour of conscience from the person of Christ in the same sentence, which you quote; how should my words sound in your eares, as if I admitted the true

paines

* [i] Defens. pa. 14. l. 29.

[k] Sermons. pa. 137. l. 27.

[l] Ibid. pa. 139. li. 1.

[m] Ibid. pa. 138. li. 26.

[n] Treat. p. 146.

paines of hell to be suffered in the soule of Christ, which I haue often said the wicked doe not suffer in this life; muchlesse Christs members, whence you fet your paterne for Christs sufferings; least of all Christ himselfe, on whom that vengeance by no iustice could be inflicted? The mortall bodies of men and their fraile life, are by no meanes capable of those terrible iudgements of God against sinne reserued for another world: and howsoeuer your errour leadeth you to aduenture the making of a new hell, my resolution is euery where occurrent in my Sermons, that no iustice of God could award against his owne Sonne the same paines, which the damned in hell doe suffer; if we measure their paines by the Scriptures and not by your fansies: besides that the members of Christ are not subiected in this life to those torments of hell, which the reprobate in an other place doe and shall endure. ° *There is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Iesus.* How then should the Lord Iesus himselfe not onely feare, which I there denie, but also suffer the same condemnation to hell paines, which the wicked and accursed doe and shall suffer?

° Rom. 8.

ꝑ *We say not Christ suffered simply all the paines of the damned; he felt not such as are by their very nature sinnes, as well as paines; as indeede desperation is.* When God offereth grace and mercie, as in this world he doth to many; to renounce or refuse is a damnable sinne; but in hell where there is no promise nor possibilitie of either; there to *despaire* is no sinne: yea rather there to hope, that Gods irreuocable iudgement shal be altered, and his setled counsell changed, were to hope that God will be false of his word, and wauering in his will, which indeede is a mightie sinne. And therefore neither reiection, confusion, destruction, desperation, nor damnation, are sinnes in hell, but the iust and fearefull punishments of sinne, ordained by Gods iustice, and inflicted by Gods power; who there requireth no obedience, but onely executeth vengeance; the suffering whereof is not sinnefull, though it be neuer so painefull to the damned, abiding for euer in the pollution and confusion of their sinnes here committed. So that if my Lordship as you call it, doe stand to my words, and not clippe them nor renounce them, your Patriarkshipgaineth little by them for your purpose. For I by no meanes acknowledge that the true paines of hell are inflicted on any in this life; and by no iustice could the Sonne of God be damned to suffer hell paines, either in substance or in circumstance, as the Scriptures describe them. And therefore your vaunting before the victorie, depending onely on the fooliish mistaking, or peeuish peruerting of my words, is as ridiculous, as it is vaine-glorious. All you can get is this, that if you can be suffered to wrest my wordes from their coherence and sense, without respecting what goeth in the same Section before them, or what is ioyned in the same sentence with them; and then interlace them with other wordes of your owne, seruing your turne when mine doe not; you can picke out two or three lines in the whole booke, that thus abused and corrupted shall sound somewhat towards the secrets of your phantasticall hell. By which arte of yours you make me say in one section, that *the iustice of God both temporally and eternally punisheth the soule* (ONLY) *by the bodie*; and in the next section, you say I grant, *that Christ did beare punishment of sinne*, (AS GREAT AS ANY IS) *proceeding from the iustice of God, yet being no sinne*; and so with adding (ONLY) to my wordes in the first place, and as (GREAT AS ANY IS) in the second, you haue made some shew of contradiction in my positions, or at least in your additions.

ꝑ Defens. pa. 15. li. 6. *Desperation in hell is no sinne.*

Thus much for the examination and refutation of those maine diuisions and positions which the Discourser hath laid for the foundation of his cause in his generall opening of the Question; and likewise for the clearing of those contradictions which he falsely supposed to be in my writings. Wherein if I would haue taken the trade which he doth, I could with farre more breuitie and facilitie haue denied all that he affirmeth, and ballanced my *no* to be euery way as good as his *yea*: but for their sakes that cannot discusse those things themselues, I haue not refused more largely and fully to expresse and proue the trueth in ech of those points, which he catcheth hold of in defence of his errour, and thereby haue giuen the Reader to vnderstand that this

Discoursers

Discourſers new doctrine is as wide from the veritie, as from the authoritie of holy Scripture. There remain the particular challenges ſuch as they are, which this impugner maketh to many parts & points of my Sermons, and of my concluſion annexed to them; as alſo his defence of thoſe ſpeciall reaſons publiſhed in his firſt Treatiſe, which I refuted as farre as needed in the concluſion afore mentioned. In which I meane to ſpend no more time then neceſsitie forceth me, but to referre the Reader to the places where the things are purpoſely handled, except ſome new matter not fully debated be offered vnto me, by reaſon whereof I may ſometimes be drawen to make larger proofe of ſome things, ſhortly but truely before vttered by me; and ignorantly, if not peruerſely miſtaken by him.

To the Diſcourſers chalenge that I forced my Text by miſtaking *the croſſe of Chriſt* for Chriſts perſonall ſufferings on the Croſſe, where Paul meaneth the afflictions of Chriſtes members in this world; I made in the concluſion of my Sermons a tripartite anſwere, 1. That the *Croſſe of Chriſt* did alwayes in the Scriptures import the perſonall ſufferings of Chriſt on the Croſſe; and neuer the afflictions of the godly. 2. That the circumſtances of the Text conuinced no leſſe; which were Pauls earneſt *renouncing of all ioy ſaue in the Croſſe of Chriſt*, and his vehement oppoſing himſelfe to thoſe that *ioyned circumciſion* to the Croſſe of Chriſt, *leaſt they ſhould ſuffer perſecution for it* at the hands of the Iewes. 3 That the beſt and moſt ancient Fathers, Ierom, Chryſoſtome, Auſten and others, expounded theſe words preciſely of Chriſts death on the Croſſe.

[q] Defenc. pag. 22. To this what replieth our Controuller? [*The* [q] *croſſe of Chriſt here ſignifieth I grant Chriſt crucified, not in his owne perſon onely, but alſo in his members.*] Then firſt you be ſlipt from your former reſolutiō deliuered in your Treatiſe, which is no ſtrange thing in your writings. There your words were, [r] *I take it to be cleare, the Apoſtle* HERE SPEAKETH NOT *of the perſonall ſufferings of Chriſt, but of the godly:* You there denie that Paul ſpeaketh of Chriſts perſonall ſufferings, but of the godly. Here you affirme hee ſpeaketh of both, and leaſt you ſhould ſeeme to diuide them, you adde; Paul *doth here* [s] *ioyntly together vnderſtand by Chriſts croſſe, the afflictions of the whole myſticall bodie, both head and members.* A large and long Croſſe of Chriſt, that conteineth not onely his owne death and paſsion, and whatſoeuer perſecution he ſuffered in his life time, but *ioyntly together* all the afflictions of the godly from the beginning of the world to the end. I will not aske you where you find, or how you proue Chriſts croſſe to be ſo vſed in the Scriptures; you that take vpon you to frame *new Redemptions, new hels, and new heauens* to your fanſie; will not ſticke to frame a *new Croſſe of Chriſt*, without any Scripture: howbeit know this, all wiſe will beware of ſuch expoſitions as haue neither example nor ground in the word of God. For though our Sauiour ſometimes ſaid, *If any will come after me, let him denie himſelfe, and take vp his* [t] *Croſſe and follow me*; yet he neuer ſaid, let him take vp *my Croſſe* and follow mee; and Paul who often vſeth the word *Croſſe* without addition, & many times the *Croſſe of Chriſt*, neuer taketh it in all his Epiſtles for the afflictions of the godly, but onely for the ſpitefull and ſhamefull death which Chriſt in his owne perſon ſuffered on the Croſſe. So that howſoeuer euery Chriſtian may be ſaid to take or beare *his Croſſe*; the Scriptures no where apply the Croſſe of Chriſt, but only to the force and fruit of Chriſtes death ſuffered on the Croſſe for vs and our ſaluation: which is the ſenſe that I affirme Saint Paul here intended.

[r] Treatiſ. pag. 32.

[s] Defenc. pag. 22. l. 9.

[t] Matth. 16. Marke 8. Luke 9.

But the *markes, afflictions, and* DYING OF THE LORD IESVS, are vſed in this and other places of the Scripture, to ſignifie the afflictions of the godly.] Thoſe places haue ſpeciall wordes adioyned, which can not bee referred to the perſon of Chriſt, but muſt of force belong to the ſpeaker or ſufferer. As [u] *I beare* IN MY BODY *the markes of the Lord Ieſus*, ſaith Paul: and againe, [x] *I fulfill the reſt of the afflictions of Chriſt* IN MY FLESH. And ſo, [y] *we beare about* IN OVR BODIE *the dying of the Lord Ieſus.* Where theſe words, *in my bodie*, and *in my fleſh* are proper to the ſpeaker, and no way deriueable to the perſon of Chriſt. Wherefore the *markes, afflictions*

[u] Galat. 6.

[x] Coloſſ. 1.

[y] 2. Corinth. 4.

afflictions, and *dying of the Lord*, must either import a *resemblance to the personall* sufferings of Christ, or demonstrate the cause for which the Apostle suffered, which was for Christs sake: and in this is no difficultie, to suffer affliction, in like manner *as Christ did*, or to suffer it for *Christs cause*. But the *Crosse of Christ*, whereof the Apostle speaketh in my Text was that, at which the Iewes were so greatly offended, for which the true preachers were so sharpely persecuted, to which the false teachers ioyned circumcision for the better attayning of saluation, in which the godly most reioyced, and by which the faithfull were crucified to the world, and the world to them; and all these are proper to the personall death and crosse of Christ as he was the Sauiour of the world, and not common to the afflictions of the Saints. It was a question of doctrine, not of manners, for which the Apostle so much striued; and the highest point of mans redemption, not of mans perfection, in which he so much gloried. For touching other mens miseries, how should Paul reioyce in them; or how should he by them be crucified to the world; and the world to him? He had good cause to reioyce in the death of Christ though it were neuer so much maligned and pursued by the Iewes, because it was the wisedome and power of God to saue all that beleeued; and in his owne troubles for Christes quarrell hee might reioyce as hauing thereby [z] *fellowship with Christs afflictions and made conformable to his death:* but to reioyce at other mens troubles, that hath no warrant in the word of God. [a] *Reioyce*, saith Paul, *with them that reioyce, and weepe with them that weepe.* Wee may take comfort, and giue God thankes that the faithfull haue grace to endure persecution with patience and courage; but that affliction befalleth them, we may not be glad. For that is to reioyce at other mens harmes, which is repugnant to the rule of charitie. Neither could Paul be crucified to the world, by other mens troubles long before dead, or then vnborne; examples might encourage the weake, but Paul was strong and proposed himselfe as a paterne of patience, suffering persecution. And therefore this haling into the Crosse of Christ the afflictions of all the godly that euer were or shall be, as if the Apostle so highly reioyced in them, and were crucified to the world by them, is wholy against the haire, and hath neither dependence nor coherence with the Apostles words.

[z] Philip. 3.
[a] Rom. 12.

Besides you doe not, or will not vnderstand the maine point here in question betwixt the Apostle and those false teachers of the Iewes, whom he reprooueth and refuteth in this Epistle. You say indeede, [b] *It is manifest the Apostle here* (Gala. 6. v. 12.) *reprooueth the false teachers for mingling the pure doctrine, because they were loth to taste persecution*; but you neither tell vs what the Gospell was which they thus mingled with circumcision, nor why they feared persecution, nor from whom; which things if you would haue specified as the Scriptures deliuer them, you should soone haue perceiued how properly the Apostle addeth *for the Crosse of Christ*, and how rightly I referred these *words* to the *force* and *fruite* of *Christs death*, which is the summe and substance of the Gospell. What the Gospel was which Paul preached, appeareth plainly by his owne words. [c] *We preach* (saith he) *Christ crucified, vnto the Iewes a scandall* (or offence) *and vnto the Grecians foolishnesse:* [d] *but vnto them which are called both of the Iewes and Greekes, Christ the power of God, and wisedome of God*, to saue all that beleeue. For *Christ is* [e] *made of God to vs righteousnesse, redemption, and sanctification*; to the end, [f] *That he which reioyceth might reioyce in the Lord.* In so much that [g] *I esteemed not to know any thing among you* (sayth Paul) *saue Iesus Christ, and him crucified.* So that, *Christ crucified, the Crosse of Christ, the preaching of the Crosse, and the Gospell of Iesu Christ* are phrases of like force vsed by Paul for one and the selfe same word of trueth, which is the doctrine of our saluation by the death and blood of Christ. [h] *Christ sent me* (saith he) *to preach* THE GOSPEL *not with wisedome of words, least* THE CROSSE OF CHRIST *should be frustrate. For the* [i] PREACHING OF THE CROSSE *is to them that perish foolishnesse, but to vs that are saued, it is the power of God.* Christ crucified then being the very ground of our saluation, and the Gospel declaring him to be the *power of God to saue all that beleeue*; euidently the crosse of Christ

[b] Defens. pa. 22. l. 2.
[c] 1. Corin. 1. vers. 23.
[d] 24.
[e] 30.
[f] 31.
[g] 1. Cor. 2. vers. 2.
[h] 1. Cor. 1. vers. 17.
[i] 18.

was the maine doctrine of the Gospell which Paul preached to the Galathians; and which the false Apostles mixed with circumcision and the righteousnesse of the law, as well for the aduancing themselues being Iewes, as for feare of their countreymen, who vtterly disdained, and egerly pursued all that taught, a man hanged on a tree as a malefactor, (for so the vnbeleeuing Iewes conceiued of Christ) to be the Sauiour of the world, and complement of all Gods promises made to the seede of Abraham for their euerlasting blisse.

The rage of the vnbeleeuing Iewes against Paul for preaching the death and blood of Christ to be the Redemption of all the faithfull is manifest in many [k] places of the Actes and of his owne [l] Epistles; which furie whiles the false Apostles sought to decline, and somewhat to please and pacifie the Iewes, they added circumcision and the obseruation of the law vnto the Crosse of Christ as necessary for iustification and saluation, without which the death of Christ could doe vs no good. This error then newly sowen among the Galathians (to whom Paul before had preached Christ crucified as the sole and sufficient meane of their Redemption, and Iustification, through faith in his blood) the Apostle throughout that large Epistle of his *written* vnto them with his *owne hand*, doth purposely and mightily confute; and is so farre from coupling any thing with Christ as requisite for righteousnesse or blessednesse, and chiefly the law, that he opposeth himselfe against men and Angels for the truth of his doctrine; and resolueth cleane contrary to those false teachers and flatterers of the Iewish nation, in most vehement manner; [m] *Behold I Paul say vnto you, that if yee be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing. Ye are abandoned from Christ, whosoeuer are iustified by the law: ye are fallen from grace.* His reasons are vrgent and euident. [n] *If righteousnesse* (could be) *by the law, then Christ died in vaine.* [o] *And that no man is iustified by the law in the sight of God, it is plaine; for the iust shall liue by faith; now the law is not of faith. For all haue sinned, and are iustified freely by* (Gods) *grace through the Redemption that is in Christ Iesus,* [p] *whom God hath set foorth, to be a Reconciliation* THROVGH FAITH *in his blood, to declare his righteousnesse by the forgiuenes of sinnes.* [q] *As many* (then) *as are of the works of the law, are vnder the curse; but Christ hath redeemed vs from the curse of the law being made a curse for vs; (as it is written, cursed is euery one that hangeth on a tree) that the blessing of Abraham might come on the Gentils through Iesus Christ.* And that made the Apostle enter this disputation with so sharpe a rebuke to the Galathians, for sliding from this Gospel or glad tidings of their saluation in the Crosse of Christ, to circumcision and the works of the law. [r] *O foolish Galathians,* (saith he) *who hath bewitched you not to obey the truth; to whom Iesus Christ was before your eyes described crucified among you?* And in this confident course he goeth on with plentifull and substantiall proofes; that the *Redemption, righteousnesse, blessednesse, adoption, freedome and sanctification* of Gods children, proceede from the grace of God and of Christ, *who* [s] *gaue himselfe for our sinnes that he might* [t] *tast death for all,* and are receiued by faith in the blood of Christ, which confesseth him to be the Sonne of God and the only Sauiour of the world.

What marueile then, if in the close of this example, when Paul had shewed his care to haue the Galathians persist in this truth, in that he *wrote so* [u] *long a letter vnto them with his owne hand*, which otherwise he did not vse; he did also traduce the pride and pollicie of the false Apostles, who partly to aduance themselues because they were Iewes, partly to shunne the enuie of their countrimen, frustrated the Crosse of Christ, by adding circumcision and the obseruation of the law vnto it, [x] *not that they themselues kept the law* but [y] *only because they would not suffer persecution for preaching the Crosse of Christ*, which the vnbeleeuing Iewes so egerly resisted and impugned; and withall professed of himselfe, that howsoeuer *they* [z] *reioyced in the flesh*, that is, in the circumcision of the Gentils; yet [a] *God forbid* that he *should reioyce but in the crosse of Christ*, as the most sufficient meane of mans Redemption, by *which he was crucified to the world, and the world to him*, what persecution soeuer he suffered for it? And the verses following, which you peeuishly pull to patience in persecution, pertaine directly

[k] Acts 14. 17. 18. 21.
[l] 2. Cor. 11. 1. Thes. 2.
[m] Gal. 5.
[n] Gal. 2.
[o] Gal. 3.
[p] Rom. 3.
[q] Gal. 3.
[r] Gal. 3.
[s] Gal. 1.
[t] Heb. 2.
[u] Gal. 6. v. 11.
[x] Vers. 13.
[y] 12.
[z] Vers. 13.
[a] Vers. 14.

rectly to establish the truth and force of Christs Crosse. *For* [b] *in Christ Iesus* (saith he, that is, to attaine saluation by Christ crucified) *neither circumcision auayleth any thing, nor vncircumcision, but a new creature*; that is, Regeneration in Christ, when the inward man of the hart is renued by faith through the operation of the spirit. *And* [c] *as many as walke according to this Rule* of doctrine by preaching and beleeuing the crosse of Christ, (*for many* [d] *walke* (after an other rule) *of whom I haue often told you*, that they are *the enimies of the crosse of Christ*) *peace be vpon them and mercy, and vpon the Israell of God*, that is vpon as many as be Iewes within and not without, and haue the circumcision of the hart in the spirit not in the flesh, *whose* [e] *praise is not of men but of God. And therefore* [f] *from hence forth let no man put me to businesse* as if I liked or allowed circumcision when and where pleased me. For if I yet [g] preach *circumcision, why doe I yet suffer persecution? the slaunder of the Crosse is abolished*, and the Iewes haue no cause of offence against me. But [h] *of the Iewes fiue times receiued I fortie lashes, saue one; I was thrise beaten with rods, I was once stoned, I haue beene in stripes aboue measure, in prison frequent, in death often. I* [i] *beare in my body the markes of the Lord Iesus*, that is, the signes of these persecutions suffered for his cause, which prooue that in preaching the crosse of Christ I goe not about to please men *but God. For* [k] *if I would please men, I were not the seruant of Christ.*

[b] Vers. 15.
[c] Vers. 16.
[d] Philip. 3.
[e] Rom. 2.
[f] Gal. 6. v 17.
[g] Gal. 5. v. 11.
[h] 2. Cor. 11.
[i] Gal. 6. v. 17.
[k] Gal. 1. v. 10.

There is no miscoherence with the Text, nor dissidence from the truth in this exposition which not my selfe alone but the auncient Fathers and best Diuines both olde and new haue imbraced: yea it fully agreeth with the maine intent of Paul in this Epistle, with the perpetuall vse of his words, and with the cleare light of other places where like persons and cause were vndertaken by the Apostle. You only are found, Sir Discourser, that to shew neither learning nor reading, but a presumptious ouerweening of your owne witte will needs make the Reader beleeue I vnderstand not the Text. But let vs heare your pure conceit, how currantly it carrieth with it the words and circumstances of the Text. *They vrge you to be circumcised, onely least they should suffer persecution for the crosse of Christ*, saith Paul of those false teachers, which peruerted the truth of the Gospell among the Galathians by teaching circumcision and the righteousnesse of the Law to be necessarie to saluation. How expound you these words of the Apostle? [l] *he may* (say you) *be vnderstood to say, that he would not suffer persecution for commending the afflictions and shame of good Christians for Christs sake*. You should say, THEY *would not suffer persecution*, vnlesse you put Paul into the number of false teachers, but that might be the scape of your Printer. Come to your owne ouersights. First then Christs personall sufferings are here quite excluded; for Christ I trust shall haue an other title with you then the name of a good Christian among the many; and so the crosse of Christ in this place by your exposition doth both exclude and include the proper sufferings of Christ. For afore you said, *here* Paul *doth iointly together vnderstand by Christs crosse, the afflictions of the whole mysticall body of Christ both head and members*. Secondly where euer read you in the Scriptures, that the Iewes raized persecutions against any, for *commending the afflictions* of the godly? If it be a truth, name vs the place and the persons; if it be a dreame of yours, keepe it to your selfe: the Scriptures can expound themselues without your fansies. That the Iewes had a furious disdaine and hatred against the person of Christ, and specially against the shame and reproch of his crosse, and for his sake against all that preached or beleeued him to be the Messias so long before promised, and his death to be the Redemption of the world, the Euangelistes and Apostles euery where in their writings giue full testimony. Paul himselfe first persecuting the Christians vnto death, and afterward as sharply pursued by the Iewes for the very same cause, best knew what offence the Iewes tooke at the infamous death of Christ on the crosse, and how egerly they were bent against all that durst professe the name of Christ; and therefore could speake in this case out of his owne experience; that not the commending of the afflictions of the godly, but the preaching of Christs death on the crosse to be the saluation of the world, was the point that so much irritated the Iewes to lay

[l] Def. pag. 23. li. 36.

violent hands on the Christians. Thirdly did circumcision hinder the commending of the afflictions of the godly? the Apostles and first spreaders of the Gospell, as also Paul himselfe were circumcised, and yet the chiefest fauourers and encouragers of the afflicted Christians, so that circumcision was no impediment to like and allow the afflictions of the godly. But as Paul saw himselfe to be most odious to the Iewes, because they held opinion of him, that he [m] *taught all men euery where against the people, the Law and the Temple*; (and indeed he boldly professed that in Christ Iesus neither [n] *circumcision auayled any thing nor vncircumcision*, and that they were no longer vnder the Law, since Christ had redeemed both Iew and Gentile from the curse and bondage of the Law) so he could not but discerne the drift of those false teachers, who to flatter the Iewes, and to claw fauour with the enimies of Christs crosse taught circumcision and the righteousnesse of the law, to be necessary vnto saluation, as if the death of Christ without them could profit vs nothing. You doe therefore not expound, but peruert the words of Paul, which I tooke for my text; when as he reprouing those false teachers, (whom he before confuted) for adding circumcision and the iustification of the law to the death of Christ, thereby to mitigate the malice of the Iewes conceaued against the crosse of Christ; you turne the Apostles words from doctrine to manners, from preaching to not commending, from the death of Christ to the afflictions of Christians; and so of the highest point of our Redemption, and Saluation by the crosse of Christ, you haue found out a cold kind of scant allowing the troubles of the Saints.

[m] Acts 21.

[n] Gal. 5. & 6.

But the *Fathers* (which I brought) *ouerthrow not your sense, they rather iustifie it.*] Whether Augustine, Chrysostome, Ierome, and Bede, whom I cited for the sense of this place, do take the word *Crosse* in this very sentence for the personall sufferings of Christ on the crosse, which was my assertion; I referre it to the censure of the Reader vpon the sight of their sayings, which he may finde in the [o] conclusion of my Sermons. I must confesse mine eyes be not matches, if they speake not directly to that purpose. Howbeit, you haue a speciall gift to make a short returne of all the Fathers with a *nihil dicit*, when they speake against you. Indeed you are out of your element when you talke of Fathers, for you neither like their credits, nor allow their iudgements, as in processe we shall more fully shew. For the present, to satisfie those that be soberly minded, and to let all men see to your shame, that I tooke my text right, though you fondly seeke by your silly conceits to impeach it; marke I pray thee, Christian Reader, whether both elder and later Diuines doe not concurre with me in that sense of Christes crosse, which I auouched to be in Pauls words. *Christ was crucified vnder Pontius Pilate.* [p] *This* (sayth Augustine) *we beleeue, and we so beleeue it, that we reioyce in it. Be it farre from me* (sayth Paul) *to reioyce but in the crosse of Christ.* [q] *Happily some man* (sayth Athanasius) *beholding the Lord and Sauiour to be condemned of Pilate and crucified of the Iewes, will cast downe his head for shame. But if we learne the cause why the Lord suffered, wee shall cease to blush, and rather reioyce as Paul did in the Lords crosse.* Ignatius in his Epistle to those at Tarsus where Paul was borne, sayth, mindfull of Paul; [r] *Holde it for most certaine, that the Lord Iesus was truely crucified, (for Paul sayth, Be it farre from me to reioyce but in the crosse of our Lord Iesus) and truly suffered and died.* Cyril: [s] *Be it farre from me to reioyce but in the crosse of the Lord Iesus. Paul sayth, he reioyceth in the death of Christ: he knew Christ therefore to be God, and to haue suffered for vs in the flesh.* Theodoret thus expresseth Pauls meaning; [t] *Ego autem propter solam salutarem crucem me iacto & mihi placeo. I onely boast my selfe on that crosse* (of Christ) *which bringeth saluation, and therewith I content my selfe.* Theophylact vpon the same words of Paul; [u] *Illi (inquit) circumcisionem hanc gloriæ ducunt, à me vero procul sit cæterarum rerum iactantia. Licet in vna Christi cruce & morte admodum gloriari. They* (sayth Paul) *count circumcision a glorie, farre be it from me to boast in other things. It is lawfull for me thorowly to reioyce only in the crosse and death of Christ Iesus. Some will aske, How or why doest thou reioyce in the Lords crosse? For that he was crucified for my sake, which am no bodie, and loued me so deerely, that he offered himselfe to death*

[o] Conclu. pa. 229.

[p] Aust. de symbolo ad Catechum. li. 3.

[q] Athana. in passionem & crucem domin.

[r] Ignatius epist. 4. ad Tarsenses.

[s] Cyrill. de recta fide ad Reginas.

[t] Theodoret in galat. ca. 6.

[u] Theophylact. in Galat. ca. 6.

death (for me.) Oecumenius; [z] *What is this reioycing* (in Christs crosse which Paul speaketh of?) *That for vs who were vnworthy* (Christ) *would be crucified; for that is the cause we haue to glorie.* Haymo vpon the same place in the person of Paul sayth; [y] *I will not reioyce in the riches and dignities of this world, but in the crosse of Christ; that is, I will reioyce in his passion which was celebrated on the crosse, whence is my redemption and saluation.* Moe I might easily bring, but these for antiquitie may suffice.

[z] Oecumenius in Gala. ca. 6.

[y] Haymo in Gala. ca. 6.

The graueſt and exacteſt of the new writers agree with the Fathers. Bullinger: *Whereas* [x] *Paul might haue vſed a ſimple kinde of affirmation,* ONLY THE DEATH OF CHRIST *is ſufficient for me to ſaluation, he choſe rather to expreſſe it by the way of deteſtation, and to ſay; Farre be it from me to reioyce, but in the crosse of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. Where againe the ſecond time, by the crosse he meaneth the death, ſacrifice, and expiation of the Lord Christ and the whole worke of our redemption.* Gualter in his 59. homilie vpon that Epiſtle ſayth: *Now* [a] *Paul oppoſeth himſelfe to thoſe falſe teachers declaring how he himſelfe is affected, and vpon that occaſion repeateth the Summe of his doctrine, touching the redemption and ſaluation of mankind, in theſe words; Be it farre from me to reioyce, but in the crosse of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. He might haue ſayd ſimply; I reioyce only in Chriſt crucified, in whoſe crosse I know there is repoſed for me life and ſaluation. But he vſeth ſuch a kind of ſpeech as teacheth vs their inſolencie was an abominable and capitall offence.* Caluin, a man for his great paines in the Church of God worthy of great praiſe, where he ſteppeth not too much aſide from the ancient Fathers, expounding theſe words of Paul, ſayth: [b] *To reioyce in Chriſts crosse, is as much as in Chriſt crucified, but that it expreſſeth more:* for it *ſignifieth that death of Chriſts which was full of reproch and ſhame, and was accurſed of God. That death then which men abhorre, and whereof they are aſhamed, in that death Paul ſayth he reioyceth, becauſe he hath perfect bleſſedneſſe therein.* Piſcator in his Scholies vpon Pauls Epiſtle to the Galathians, noting what crosse of Chriſt it was for which the falſe teachers would not ſuffer perſecution, ſayth; [c] *Ob crucem Chriſti, id eſt, ob doctrinam Euangelij de ſalute parta per ſolam Chriſti crucem;* they would not ſuffer perſecution *for the crosse of Chriſt, that is, for the doctrine of the Goſpell teaching ſaluation to be purchaſed by the crosse of Chriſt only.*

[x] Bullingerus in Gala. ca. 6.

[a] Gualterus in Epiſt. ad Gala. homil. 59.

[b] Caluinus in Gala. ca. 6.

[c] Piſcator in ſchol. ſuper Epiſtolam ad Gala. ca. 6.

There is not a new writer of any iudgement or diligence which ioyneth not with theſe; and howſoeuer ſome of them withall auouch, that Paul meant to ſhew by this oppoſing himſelfe to theſe falſe teachers, that hee ſhunned not perſecution for the crosse of Chriſt as they did, but reioyced in the doctrine of the crosse by which the elect are ſaued, what affliction ſoeuer befell him therefore; yet they deriue that part of Pauls meaning, not from the confuſed ſignification of Chriſts croſſe, as you doe; but either from the EFFICACIE thereof by which Paul *was crucified to the world, and the world to him,* in neglecting the flattery and enduring the fury of ſuch as oppoſed themſelues againſt Chriſt: or from the CONFORMITIE to it, that as he deſired to reigne, ſo he was willing to ſuffer with Chriſt, and therefore reioyced as well in the *fellowſhip* as in the *force* and effects of Chriſtes ſufferings on the croſſe: or laſtly, *from the* CONTRARIETIE to the falſe teachers, that though they adulterated the true doctrine of Chriſtes croſſe, becauſe they would decline perſecution; it was Pauls ioy to teach ſincerely the power of Chriſt crucified, whoſoeuer purſued him for ſo doing. This ſinceritie and duetie of the Apoſtle I am farre from denying, but the croſſe of Chriſt I conſtantly referre to the doctrine of mans redemption and ſaluation by the croſſe of Chriſt, that is, by his perſonall ſufferings on the croſſe, as all thoſe old and new writers do, and not to the troubles and afflictions of the godly, to which if this Diſcourſer dare aſcribe the *meane* or *merit* of mans redemption or ſaluation, he falleth from puritie to poperie, and from the Chriſtian faith to open hereſie. Thou ſeeſt then, gentle Reader, how ſure ground and iuſt reaſon I had to propoſe that ſenſe of my text which I did; as alſo how vntruely, vnwiſely, and headily, this fellow ranne firſt to the challenging of my text, and ſtill vpholdeth his humour with his priuate dreame of Chriſts croſſe conteining *ioyntly together* all the afflictions of Chriſt and his members from the beginning of the world to the ending thereof; and maketh the

falſe teachers, as fearing perſecution for the commending of his conceit, to ioyne circumciſion to the doctrine of the Goſpell, and ſo by altering and interlacing Pauls words after his owne fanſie, hee hath hatched at laſt an expoſition without head or heele, which no man vnderſtandeth beſides himſelfe, and the Diuines of all ages both new and olde do contradict.

[d] Defenc pa. 24. But I committed another great ouerſight in handling my text, which *was to* [d] *take occaſion from the text to ſpeake of any thing*, for you count them *the faithfulleſt and wiſeſt handlers of Scripture which conclude euen from their text firmly and firſt of all whatſoeuer they afterwards teach thereupon.*] Indeed I thinke your maner be to conclude all that you afterward ſay, euen from your text without the helpe of any other places of Scripture. You be ſo faſt in your conceits, and ſo looſe in your concluſions, that you can inferre any thing of euery thing. Euery word you ſpeake, you tie to your text as firmly as flax to fire: but if you would take the paines once to proue that you ſay, and not only to ſay that which you ſhould prooue, you would finde great difference betwixt the firmneſſe of a fanſie in which you be ſo reſolute, and of an argument which for ought I yet ſee in your writings, you ſcant make nor vnderſtand. And where you quarrell with ſuch *handling of texts as is vſuall in theſe dayes, but no good nor commendable vſe*, your reading muſt be greater and iudgement better, before you take vpon you to controle the Preachers of England for miſhandling their texts. Many hundreds there are of whom you may learne both how to diuide and how to purſue your theme; your skill is not ſuch, that you ſhould profeſſe your ſelfe a *Method-maſter* to this Realme. When *I tooke occaſion from my text to lay downe firſt the contents, then the effects of Chriſts croſſe*, as the Scriptures did deliuer them; that is, what Chriſt ſuffered on his croſſe for vs, and what he performed by his croſſe to vs; ſay good Sir out of your new found art, what fault you finde either with the matter or with the method. [*Chriſtes croſſe*, you ſay, *ſignifieth* here no ſuch thing, but the *afflictions of Chriſt and his members.*] That is the vanitie of your errour; that is not the trueth of my text. Chriſt crucified in his owne perſon for mans redemption, is the full purport of Chriſts croſſe in my text; as in my Sermons I ſhortly declared; in my concluſion I more amplie proued; and now I truſt I haue therein fully ſatisfied the Reader. That ſtanding good, I note *what Chriſt ſuffered*; which I call the *contents* of his croſſe; and to *what end* he ſuffered, which are the *effects* of his croſſe; both theſe are aptly and fairely cloſed in my text, and by other places of Scripture iuſtly proued to be compriſed in my text. This forſooth your maſterſhip liketh not, but I muſt make ſyllogiſmes out of euery word conteined in my text, or els I make *the Scriptures ſuch an inſtrument as they ought not to be.* Silly Sir you vnderſtand not what you ſay: firſt learne, and after teach, leſt you teach that you neuer learned. When it is ſayd, [e] *Giue vnto God the things which are Gods*, can you out of theſe words without the aid of other Scriptures, *firmely conclude what things are Gods*, and how they muſt be giuen vnto him; or muſt you proue that by other places of holy Scripture? Euen ſo when I had ſhewed what was iuſtly incloſed within the words of my theme, I made direct & ful proofe thereof by other places of holy writ; which I take to be a ſound and ſure way of well vſing the Scriptures, to that very purpoſe they ſhould be applied, notwithſtanding your palterie prouiſoes, that no man muſt after ſpeake any thing that can not firmely be concluded by the ſole and ſingle words of his text; which is a rule fit for ſuch a Rouer as you are, that neuer ſoundly proue any thing; but not for him that will fully diuide and rightly deliuer, as well the ſenſe as the ſound of any ſentence of holy Scripture which he taketh in hand to vnfold.

[e] Matth. 22.

To ſhew your ſelfe a firme and fine concluder vpon texts, you exemplifie your skill, and inferre that in three ſpeciall points, *I my ſelfe* [f] *by my very text ouerthrow my ſelfe, in the firſt entrance as all men may ſee*: First, in that I expreſly *grant, the proper ſufferings of Chriſtes minde may rightly be in the contents of his croſſe*, contrary to *my maine opinion, that Chriſts bodily ſufferings* ALONE *were the full price of our redemption.* Secondly, that *Chriſts ſoule in a large ſenſe may be ſayd to be crucified*, if I *ſuppoſe my text to*

[f] Defenc. pag. 25.

ſignifie

ſignifie the whole contents of Chriſts croſſe, which I reproued in you with great contempt. Thirdly, in that I quite ouerthrow my ſecond queſtion: for if it be *a deteſtable thing to reioyce but in the croſſe of Chriſt*, then Chriſtes deſcent to hell after death muſt either be a part of the contents of his croſſe, and ſo he muſt ſuffer among the diuels and damned ſpirits, or els he did vs no good there, if we may not reioyce in his deſcending thither. *Theſe iarres in my ſelfe*, you ſay, *I muſt reconcile, els men will thinke, I haue not handled my text indeed very rightly.*] Theſe iarres good Sir, for ſo much as concerneth me, are ſoone reconciled. Your firſt obiection is a plaine *falſitie*, your ſecond an open *follie*, your third a meere *mockerie*. The contents of Chriſts croſſe I extended to thoſe griefs, wrongs, and paines, which Chriſt ſuffered in his paſſage to his croſſe, as namely his *ſubmiſſion* in the garden, his *apprehenſion*, *accuſation*, *illuſion*, *flagellation*, *condemnation* and ſuch like, all which he felt before he was faſtened to the tree; and though indeed they were precedents to his croſſe, yet becauſe the griefe and ſmart of them continued and increaſed with his hanging on the tree, the Scripture doth not exclude them from the croſſe of Chriſt, which often meaneth by that word, the whole courſe and maner of Chriſtes death and paſsion, as well in comming to his croſſe, as in hanging on his croſſe. As for the *proper ſufferings of the minde*, thoſe be none of my words; yet if you thereby meane *care and feare*, *ſhame and ſorrow*, not repugnant to the condition and perfection of Chriſtes perſon; let them in Gods name come within the contents of Chriſtes croſſe as antecedents or conſequents to the paines which he ſuffered. But if vnder the *proper ſufferings of the ſoule* you conuey *the ſuffering of hell paines*, or *the death of the ſoule from the immediate hand of God*, which is your dreame; keepe your errours for your owne accounts, my words haue no ſuch matter nor meaning.

How then [g] *can my maine opinion be true that Chriſts bodily ſufferings* ALONE *were the full price of our Redemption, which I would alſo ground on all the Fathers though very vntruely?*] How can your obiections be waightie that ſpeake neuer a true word? By Chriſts bodily ſufferings I no where exclude either the *ſenſe*, *conſideration*, *or affection of the Soule*, diſcerning the paines which, and the *cauſe* why the body ſuffered, as you falſely imagine; I only except the *death of the Soule and paines of hell in Chriſts ſufferings*; and to barre that, I ſhew by many ſufficient teſtimonies of the auncient Fathers, (which you ſhall neuer ouerbeare for all your bragges,) that Chriſt dyed for vs the *death of the bodie onely*, and not the death of the ſoule. In this caſe I vſe the word ONLY, as hath beene often told you; otherwiſe to exclude the *vnion*, *operation*, *or paſſion* of the ſoule from Chriſts ſufferings, I neuer vſe it. And where I ſo often and inſtantly vrge that Chriſts death, and blood-ſhedding are ſpecified in the Scriptures as the *full price* of our Redemption, and true meanes of our reconciliation to God; You fooliſhly by their fulneſſe would turne out all the reſt of Chriſts ſufferings as ſuperfluous; but my words throughout my ſermons are expreſſe to the contrarie. [h] *The croſſe, blood, and death of Chriſt are euery where mentioned in the Scriptures, as the very ground-worke, and pillars of our Redemption. And the things which are named in the Scriptures as they were the laſt, ſo are they the chiefeſt parts of Chriſts ſufferings; the reſt being vnderſtood as antecedent to them, and not eminent aboue them.* So that by the death and blood of Chriſt I neither did nor doe exclude the reſt of his ſufferings before he came to his croſſe; only I make them *Antecedent* to that, *not eminent aboue* that which he ſuffered on the croſſe. For as the end of euery thing preſuppoſeth a beginning and a middle, and the higheſt ſtaire doth orderly confirme there are lower greeces; ſo the fulneſſe of Chriſts obedience and our Redemption performed by his death and bloodſhed on the croſſe, doth not exclude the reſt of his antecedent ſufferings from the communion of his merits, or cauſe of our ſaluation, but onely noteth that his obedience, and patience on the croſſe euen vnto death as it was the laſt, and the ſharpeſt, ſo it was the chiefeſt and acceptableſt part of the ſacrifice which he offered for the ſinnes of the world. Though then as you haue vſed the matter by adding PROPER (to the) *ſufferings of the mind*, and ONLY *to the ſufferings of the body*, you

[g] Defen. pa. 25. li. 6.

[h] Sermons. pa. 63.

you make ſome ſhew of repugnancie in my poſitions; yet when your miſcoloured and miſconſtrued patches are returned to their owner, my opinions ſtand ſound in themſelues and conſonant ech to other, and haue that reference to my Text which
[i] Defenc. pa. 25. I firſt expreſſed.

But Chriſts ſoule in a [i] *large ſenſe may be ſaid to be crucified if we ſuppoſe this text to ſignifie the whole contents of Chriſts croſſe; which I reproue in you with* (ſuch) *contempt.*] It is an Idle skill and dangerous trade in you and your aſsiſtants, when the neceſſarie parts of Chriſts ſatisfaction, and eſſentiall points of our Redemption come to be queſtioned; for you to bring your inuentions, beſides the Scriptures and without, if not againſt the faith, and then to vouch it *may be ſaid in a large ſenſe*; that is by a metaphoricall, hyperbolicall, or metonymicall vnderſtanding. In exhortations we permit many things to Diuines, which in poſitions of faith are vtterly vnlawfull. So long as the words of a perſwader may receaue any true conſtruction, be it proper or figuratiue, we beare with his vehement and ſuddaine affections; but in determinations of doctrine, and concluſions of faith, all men require plaine and proper ſpeech, that the truth may appeare and not be ſhadowed and obſcured with darke and doubtfull riddles. If your *hell paines in Chriſts ſoule and the death of Chriſts ſoule*, be but phraſes of ſpeech firſt deuiſed by you, you ſhould not ſo much ſtriue for them being no where mentioned, nor applyed to Chriſt in the ſacred Scriptures; but if they be matters of faith, and ſufferings requiſite by Gods iuſtice for mans ſaluation, as you beare the world in hand; why now when you ſee the falſitie and abſurditie of them iuſtly reprooued, come you in with *a large ſenſe*, a kind of ſpeach, which in reſolutions of faith is not tolerable? I haue no doubt but *figuratiuely* the *ſoule of man* and the *Sonne of God may be ſaid* to be *crucified* euery day. For not only the [k] *Lord of glory was once crucified by* the Iewes; but *there are that* [l] *crucifie againe to themſelues the Sonne of God*, euen ſuch as willingly fall from the truth. And that the deſires and delights of the *ſoule* may and muſt be continually crucified, the word of God is euident. [m] *They which are Chriſts, haue crucified the fleſh with the affections and luſts*; not by faſtning their bodies to the tree, but by [n] *mortifying their earthly members, as inordinate affection, euill concupiſcence, couetouſnes*, and ſuch like which haue their ſeate principally in the ſoule. [o] *The world is crucified to me, and I to the world*, (ſaith Paul) when he meaneth that his hart deſpiſeth for Chriſt all the *baites* and *threats* of the world. In a large and figuratiue ſenſe therefore, *Chriſts ſoule* may be ſaid to be *dead and crucified*, and ſo may the diuell be ſaid to be God, for the Scripture calleth him the [p] *God of this world*; but I hope theſe may not goe for poſitions of faith, nor for Articles of Chriſtian Religion, without beleeuing of which we can not be ſaued.

[k] 1 Cor. 2.
[l] Hebr. 6.
[m] Gal. 5.
[n] Coloſſ. 3.
[o] Gal. 6.
[p] 2. Cor. 4.

From the word *Croſſe* to *crucified* is an argument, you thinke *à Coniugatis*, as from words of the ſame force and inflection; and therefore if Chriſts ſoule were partaker of the croſſe, it was alſo crucified.] From being faſtened or nayled to the Croſſe vnto crucified is indeede a good conſequent in the proper ſignification of the word; for ſo much doth *Crucifigi* import, whence *Crucifixus* commeth: but from the *Patients, inſtruments*, or the *precedent* or *conſequent circumſtances* of the Croſſe, which yet are incloſed in the contents of the Croſſe, to *being crucified*, is ſuch an Argument as none but you would make. The diſciples flying, Peter forſwearing, Pilats wife dreaming, the Maries ſorrowing, the women of Ieruſalem weeping, Simon of Cyrene bearing the Croſſe, are all within the contents or precedent circumſtances of Chriſts Croſſe, and yet it were ſtraunge Logicke to ſay they were all dead and crucified. The ſwordes and ſtaues that were brought to take him, the cordes that bound him, the whippes that were made to ſcourge him, the thornes that crowned him, the nayles that faſtned him, the wood that bare him, the lots caſt on his garments, the ſponge that was filled with vineger to giue him drinke, the ſpeare that pearced his ſide, are all within the contents of his Croſſe: Shall we thence reaſon, and ſay they were alſo crucified? only his bodie was faſtned to the Croſſe, in which reſpect the whole perſon is ſaide to haue bene crucified; and the paines which he ſuffered before in his bodie & brought with

with him to the crosse, are properly contayned in his crucifixion, by reason they continued in his bodie when it was nayled to the Crosse. The rest of the wrongs & paines which he suffered, are figuratiuely compriſed in the name of Christs Crosse, becauſe they were antecedents to his Crosse, or els the name of Crosse is largely taken for all maner of affliction, which befell him after his laſt Supper, when once he yeelded himſelfe to be prepared as a ſacrifice for the Crosse. But what is this to the death of Chriſts ſoule, or how doth it any way prooue that in ſoule he muſt ſuffer the paines of hell before he could redeeme vs?

At leaſt yet; *I quite ouerthrow my ſecond queſtion*, that *Chriſt after this went downe into Hell.* For *either Chriſt got vs no purchaſe in hell*, for which we ſhould reioyce; *or elſe I muſt extend the croſſe of Chriſt, and his bitter ſufferings, euen vnto his being in hell, among the deuils and damned ſpirits*, before we may reioyce therein] A concluſion fit for ſuch a Clerke as you are, that can neither diſtinguiſh things *different* from things *pertinent* to the croſſe of Chriſt, nor ſee the coherence betwixt the cauſe and effects of Chriſts ſufferings. In that I obſerued, the Apoſtle made it a *thing deteſtable* to reioyce in any thing els but in the croſſe of Chriſt; I followed therein, *Chryſoſtome, Oecumenius, Theophylact, Bullinger, Gualter* and others, whoſe litle fingers I take had more learning and iudgement then your whole head; neither do I ſee what you bring againſt it, but the opening of your owne follie. For firſt there be things *coherent* to the *croſſe of Chriſt*, and things *different* from it. Hee that reioyceth in the croſſe of Chriſt, doth alſo reioyce in euery thing that is neceſſarily by Gods power and ordinance adioyned vnto it. For no man can reioyce in the cauſe, but he muſt likewiſe reioyce in the effects; and where the Antecedent is expreſſed, the conſequent is therewithall intended. Now the croſſe of Chriſt in it ſelfe without the effects, was and is moſt odious and ſcandalous to men, as appeareth by the Iewes and Gentiles ignorant thereof, and offended therewith. So that when the godly profeſſe they reioyce in the croſſe of Chriſt, they meane in the loue of Chriſt, who willingly endured the paine and ſhame of the croſſe, to purchaſe them euerlaſting bliſſe, and therewith procured and eſtabliſhed all the meanes and parts of their *Redemption, iuſtification, and ſanctification* in this life, and *ſaluation* in the life to come: and, but in reſpect of Chriſts loue ſubmitting himſelfe to the croſſe, and of thoſe effects merited and obtained by the croſſe of Chriſt, they take no pleaſure, much leſſe ioy in his griefes and torments, as the wicked did that put him to death. Wherefore it was an eaſie thing for euery childe to ſee, that when the Apoſtle reioyced in the death of Chriſt ſuffered for vs and for our ſaluation, he alſo reioyced in the conſequents of Chriſts death, as his *Reſurrection, aſcenſion, ſitting at the* right hand of God, and promiſed *returne* to Iudgement, by which as by certaine degrees and ſteps, our *iuſtification, mortification, ſanctification, and ſaluation*, are aſſured and performed. Now a conſequent to Chriſts death, if not a part or preamble to his Reſurrection from the dead, is the deſtruction of the diuell, and of hell, which is the chiefe place of Satans power as I thinke, and as the Church of Chriſt before me hath thought, notwithſtanding all that you haue ſaid, or can ſay to the contrarie. Thus ſtandeth my Text neither forced, nor miſapplied, as by your ioynt myſticall imagination of a new croſſe you ſuppoſed, but rightly both conceiued and referred to the painfull ſufferings and powerfull effects of Chriſt on the croſſe; in which the Apoſtle ſo reioyced, that he deteſted all things *different* from it, or *derogatorie* to it: and the iarres which ſo much offended your eares, were but your owne ieſts and * iefallies not truely reporting, but groſly miſtaking the ſenſe and ſequels of my poſitions.

* *Follies.*

[q] *Proceeding forward, I ſtill ſhew a badde minde towards you, ſeeking foorthwith euen in the entrance to draw you without cauſe into hatred for diſdaining the Fathers. What then is your contempt and diſdaine of the Fathers, which I ſo often report in ſundry places, and as odiouſly as is poſſible? Surely you beleeue I can not tell, happily it is becauſe you follow not their authorities in ſome opinions of religion, nor in diuers expoſitions of Scripture.*] What need you ſeeke ſo buſily for that which I ſo plainly haue exemplified vnto you? you afſourd

[q] Defenc. pag. 25. l. vlt.

found the Fathers when pleaſeth you, neither true knowledge of the firſt principles of their faith, nor the right vnderſtanding of words familiar in their natiue tongue, nor ſo much as *reaſonable* or *likely* expoſitions of the Scriptures, but *fond* and *abſurd* as you terme them; and yet you aske *What is your inſolent dealing againſt the Fathers?* With one conſent they teach that for our redemption Chriſt died *the death of the body only*, and *by no meanes the death of the ſoule:* You teach that Chriſt muſt die the death of the ſoule before he could redeeme vs, and that his bodily ſufferings [r] *properly did not make to our redemption.* And though Auſten aske, [s] *Who dare auouch that Chriſt died in ſoule*, or *in his humane ſpirit?* you not only dare and doe it, but you make it the maine ground of our redemption: wherein you condemne him and the reſt of the ancient and learned Fathers as ignorant of the very way and meane of our redemption. So likewiſe, that Chriſt receiued vpon him the *puniſhment*, but not the *guilt* of our ſinne; that the ſecond death in the Scriptures is the *eternall puniſhment* of bodie and ſoule; and that *the death of the bodie* was inflicted on Adam and all his poſteritie *as a puniſhment of ſinne*; in theſe and many ſuch, which are deliuered as ſound concluſions of Chriſtian religion, you oppoſe your ſelfe againſt S. Auſten and the reſt, and reiect their iudgements as falſe and erroneous. And for the ſenſe and ſignification of words vſed in the Scriptures, you luſtily controle them in their natiue ſpeech, and leaue them not ſo much as the true vnderſtanding of the Greeke or Latine tongue. This [t] *I affirme*, ſay you, *it is only the Fathers abuſiue ſpeaking and altering the vſuall and ancient ſenſe of Hades that bredde this error of Chriſts deſcending into hell: their vnapt and perillous tranſlating into Latine Inferi.* [u] *And note heere firſt, it is a thing too rife with the Fathers, yea with ſome of the ancienteſt of them, to alter and change the authentike vſe of words; whereby conſequently it is eaſie for errours and groſſe miſtakings to creepe in.*] This challenge of yours againſt the credits and conſciences of ſo many learned and worthy Fathers as haue vſed the word *hades* to ſignifie the place of hell, how inſolent it is, I leaue to the wiſe Reader to iudge, when he ſhall ſee that indeed they concurre with the writers of the new Teſtament, and with the ancient and vulgar vnderſtanding of their owne tongue. How you entertaine their expoſitions of the Scripture, your owne words doe witneſſe, when you replie to interpretations alledged out of them; [x] *this ſenſe is moſt abſurd*; [y] this is no leſſe *abſurd than the former, there is no reaſon, nor likelihood for it.* [z] *This is more fond and abſurd than the other.* This is the *reuerence* and louing regard you beare towards their opinions and iudgements for the manifolde graces of God that were otherwiſe in them; and this you thinke is no *contempt*, nor *diſdaine* of the Fathers.

I call the Fathers iudgements many times AVTHORITIES, *that* [a] *the world might conceiue their words to be warrants vnto vs, and good authorities to reſt on in matters of Religion. If I had not this drift in my minde, why giue I them ſuch a title, which to you ſeemeth ſomewhat inſolent indeed.*] What difference there is betwixt the authoritie of God and man in matters of religion, I need not to learne, nor you to teach; there is no ſuch thing in queſtion betwixt vs: S. Auſten hath long ſince in [b] ſundrie places of his works, *humbly, truely, and fully* confeſſed and profeſſed the eminence of the Canonicall Scriptures aboue and againſt all the writings of others, whoſoeuer they be: with him I wholly ioyne in iudgement. This therefore is an idle ſhift of yours, to gueſſe what drifts I haue in my minde, and that I goe about to impaire the ſoueraignte and certaintie of the Scriptures, by giuing ſuch a title to the expoſitions and opinions of the Fathers, as to call them *Authorities*. As though the beſt learned Diuines both new and olde, did not vſe the ſame word in the ſame ſenſe and caſe that I do. Peruſe the labours of that learned Father, Biſhop Iewel, and ſee how often in his *Replie* to Harding, and his *Defence* of the Apologie, he calleth the teſtimonies of the ancient Fathers and Councels *Authorities*. *We* [c] *reſt* (ſayth he) *vpon the Scriptures of God, vpon the Authoritie of the ancient Doctours and Councels.* And againe, *to* [d] *reckon vp the authorities of* ANTIQVITIE *it would be infinite. The halfe communion by the authoritie of Gelaſius may well be called open ſacriledge.* In the concluſion of the ſame booke, [e] *I grant*

[r] Treat. pa. 18. l. vltim.
[s] *Auſten. Epiſt.* 99.
[t] Trea. pa. 95.
[u] Ibid. pag. 96.
[x] Trea. pa. 66.
[y] 67.
[z] 68.
[a] Defene. pag. 26.
[b] *Auſten. contra Fauſt. Manich. li. 11. ca. 5. & de Baptiſ. contra Donatiſt li. 2. ca. 3. & Epiſt. 19. & in proœm. 3. li. de Trinitate.*
[c] Replie. pag. 95.
[d] Ibid. pag. 149.
[e] *In the anſwer to Hardings concluſion.*

grant you haue alledged authorities ſundrie and many ſuch as I knew long before. Verely I neuer denied but you were able to bring vs the names and ſhadowes of many Fathers. You [g] *haue defended the open abomination of your ſtewes by the name and* AVTHORITIE *of S. Auguſtine. You haue ſought vp a companie of new petite Doctors Authors void of Authoritie, full of vanities.* In the concluſion of his defence of the Apologie, [f] *my Authorities of Doctors and Councels as you haue vſed them, are few enough. What meant you in fauour of open Stewes to ſhew vs the name and* AVTHORITIE *of S. Auguſtine?* Peter Martyr againſt Smithes bookes of the ſingleneſſe of Prieſts, ſayeth. [g] *In iudging of things obſcure, we muſt haue two waies or meanes to direct vs; one inward which is the Spirit, the other outward which is the word of God. Tum ſi ad hæc patrum etiam authoritas acceſſerit, valebit plurimum; to theſe if the authoritie of Fathers be ioyned, it is of great force.* So Chemnitius in his examination of the Tridentine Councell. [h] *Quod de patrum authoritate ſentimus, etiam ab ipſis Patribus didicimus. That which we hold touching the authoritie of the Fathers, we learned of the Fathers themſelues.* Where alſo he teacheth you this Rule worth the noting for your new found Redemption and the reſt of your nouelties. [i] *Sentimus etiam nullum dogma in eccleſia nouum, & cum tota antiquitate pugnans recipiendum. We alſo confeſſe that no point of Doctrine which is new to the Church, and repugnant to all antiquitie, is to be receiued.*

[f] *The concluſion to Harding.*

[g] *Peter Martyr de votu & celibat. fol. 474.*

[h] *Chemn. in 1. parte exami. concilij trident. cap. 6. genus traditionum.*

[i] *Ibidem.*

If the Fathers themſelues will better pleaſe you, I want not their example for the vſe of that word which ſo much offendeth you. Ierome in his Epiſtle to Damaſus in very earneſt manner maketh this petition, [k] *Vt mihi epiſtolis tuis ſiue tacendarum, ſiue dicendarũ hypoſtaſeωn detur authoritas; That* AVTHORITIE *may be giuen me,* ſaith he, *by your letters to vſe or refuſe the word hypoſtaſes.* Vincentius in his book againſt hereſies mooueth this queſtion. [l] *Here ſome perchaunce will aske, where as the Canon of the Scripture is perfect, and abundantly ſufficient in it ſelfe for all things, quid opus eſt vt ei eccleſiaſticæ intelligentiæ iungatur authoritas; what neede is there that the authoritie of the eccleſiaſticall interpretation ſhould be ioyned with it?* The effect of his anſwere (which is good for you to obſerue, that claime ſuch libertie for your ſelfe to expound the Scriptures at your pleaſure) is this, leaſt euery man ſhould wreſt the Scriptures to his fanſie, and ſucke thence not the truth, but the patronage of his error. Saint Auguſtine that is euery where carefull to yeeld the Scriptures their due reuerence, yet giueth the word *Authoritie*, to the decrees of Councels and writings of godly Fathers before his time. Speaking of generall Councels he ſaith, [m] *Quorum eſt in eccleſia ſaluberrima authoritas, Whoſe* authoritie *is moſt wholſome in the Church.* And alleaging the teſtimonies of Irenæus, Cyprian, Hilarius, Ambroſe, Gregorie, Chryſoſtome, Baſil, and others againſt Iulian the Pelagian he concludeth; [n] *Hoc probauimus Catholicorum authoritate ſanctorum; this haue we prooued by the authoritie of Godly Catholike men; vt veſtra fragilis & quaſi argutula nouitas ſola authoritate conteratur illorum; that your weake and ſleigh noueltie might be ouerwhelmed with their onely authoritie. For your contumacie is firſt to be repreſſed by their authoritie.* [o] *With theſe teſtimonies and ſo great authoritie of holy men, thou muſt either by Gods mercy be healed,* or elſe thou *muſt accuſe the egregious and holy Doctors of the Catholike truth; againſt which miſerable madnes I muſt ſo anſwere, that their faith may be defended againſt thee, euen as the Goſpell it ſelfe is defended againſt the wicked and profeſſed enimies of Chriſt.* If then this word ſeeme inſolent to you which is ſo frequent with the beſt Diuines of former and latter times, let your Reader iudge whether it be ignorance or inſolence in you to ſtumble at ſo plaine a word, as if the religious and auncient Fathers, and lights of Chriſts Church were not worthy with you to be counted learned *Authors*, nor their teſtimonies to be named *Authorities* fit to guide and lead others to the knowledge of the truth.

[k] *Hiero. ad Damaſ. Epiſt. 57.*

[l] *Vincentius aduerſ. Hæreſes.*

[m] *Auguſt epiſt. 118.*

[n] *Idem contra Iulianum Pelazianum li. 2. cap. 9.*

[o] *Ibid. cap. 10*

[p] *I truſt no aduiſed Chriſtian will challenge more authoritie to the Fathers then was giuen,* (by thoſe of Beræa) *to the Apoſtle, nor deny indeede to any priuate man, much leſſe to a Miniſter to iudge and diſcerne in themſelues not onely the words of men,* but *euen of the ſenſe and meaning of the Scripture by the Scripture it ſelfe, which thing the Beræans did, and are commended by the holy Ghoſt for it.*] I truſt you claime no power to iudge of the

[p] Defenc. pa. 27.

the Scriptures; you may diſcerne the truth there written, but with *neceſſitie to beleeue, not with libertie to iudge.* And if by your freedome you faſten on falſehood, it is no excuſe for you, but a condemnation vnto you. Saint Auſten ſpeaking of the *bookes of the Prophets and Apoſtles* ſaith, [q] *quos omnino iudicare non audeamus*, which *we may not dare at all to iudge.* And where you ſay the [r] *Beræans are commended by the holy Ghoſt for not beleeuing that Paul ſpake touching Religion, till they had examined by the Scriptures and ſeene whether the truth were ſo as he vttered*; You ſpeake not onely vnwiſely and vntruely, but if you would haue Chriſtians to follow that courſe, you ſhew intolerable pride againſt the word of God: for the Beræans were commended (when as yet they neither beleeued in Chriſt, nor acknowledged Pauls Apoſtleſhip) for their readineſſe to heare, and care to ſearch whether Paul ſpake trueth or no. This if you now aſſume to your ſelfe ouer Pauls words or writings, you incurre the crime of that impietie. Pauls words to vs that beleeue, without further ſearch or other credit, are of equall authoritie with the reſt of the Scriptures; and not to beleeue him, till we examine and ſee the trueth of his doctrine, is meere infidelitie. [s] *Behold, I Paul ſay vnto you*, muſt ſuffice all Chriſtians, and if [t] *an Angel from heauen preach otherwiſe* than he preached, we muſt *hold him accurſed.* For our comfort that beleeue, and to perſwade them which as yet beleeue not, we may ſearch and ſee the conſent betwixt the Prophets and Apoſtles; yea the ſonne of God ſent men to the writings of Moſes and the Prophets, not as wanting ſoueraignetie and ſufficiencie in himſelfe aboue all Prophets, but leading them that knew him not, to conſider better of thoſe Scriptures which they knew. It is as true of Pauls writings, as of the reſt of the Apoſtles and Prophets, which S. Auguſtine affirmeth; [u] *De quorum ſcriptis, quòd omni errore careant, dubitare nefarium eſt. Of whoſe writings to doubt whether they be free from all error, is plaine wickedneſſe.*

[q] *Auguſt contra Creſcenium grammaticum lib.2.cap.31.*

[s] Galat. 5.

[t] Galat.1.

[u] *Aug.epiſt.19.*

The Fathers may be left in ſome priuate opinions.

[a] Defenc. pa. 28. [b] Ibid.pag.29. [a] *Neuertheleſſe I well perceiue that all this great ſhew of cleauing to the Fathers iudgements is but coloured in you. For in other points againe we ſee when they ſpeake not to your liking, the caſe is altered.* [b] *I ſee in this booke where you forſake the ancient and learned Fathers, that is, as you ſpeake in my caſe, you contemne & deſpiſe them.* The more vniuſt then and iniurious was your ſlander, that I went about by the vſe of one word, which olde and new Diuines vſed in like ſort before me, to make the Fathers of *equall authoritie* with the Scriptures: ſince now you can both obſerue and obiect, that euen in this booke which you impugne, I ſay and do the contrarie. And though I be farre from repenting or miſliking any thing that I ſayd touching the prerogatiue of the ſacred Scriptures and their irrefragable authoritie againſt all the words and wits of men; yet can I not chuſe but note your negligence, that marke neither what, nor of whom I ſpeake. Had I brought Fathers in matters of faith againſt or without the Scriptures, you had ſome colour to choake me with mine owne words; but taking care as I did, that in caſes of faith the Scriptures ſhould be plaine and perſpicuous for my purpoſe before I cited them; and the teſtimonies of the Fathers euident and concurrent with the Scriptures; how doe I croſſe any of thoſe places which you quote out of my writings touching the authoritie and ſufficiencie of the Scriptures in points of faith? or what agreement hath your diſſenting from the Scriptures and Fathers in the chiefeſt keyes of Chriſtian religion, with my leauing them in ſome expoſitions and poſitions not pertinent to the faith nor generally receiued of them all? It is *vanitie* enough to dreame of contradictions where none are; and as great *infirmitie* not to ſee that which lieth before your eyes: but to pronounce, that you know *how* [y] *wauering and ſlipperie I am for the moſt part therein*, when you neither conſider nor conceiue what I ſay, that is more than childiſh *temeritie.* As I ſayd, ſo I ſay againe; *In Gods cauſes Gods booke muſt teach vs what to beleeue, and what to profeſſe; and therefore what I reade in the word of God, that I beleeue; what I reade not, that I doe not beleeue.* Yea, I adde thereto S. Baſils concluſion: [z] *If all that is not of faith, be ſinne, as the Apoſtle ſayth; and faith commeth by hearing, and hearing by the word of God; all that is without the Scripture inſpired from God, as not being of faith, is ſinne.* This confeſsion I conſtantly holde, and as in the

[y] Defenc. pa. 29.li.12.

[z] *Baſil.moral. Sum 80.ca.21.*

the first booke which you quote, I directly and expresly defend, that no point of faith should be beleeued without Scripture, so in my Sermons I no where varie from it, how slipperie soeuer your tongue be to tell a tale in stead of a trueth.

I doe [a] *reiect Austens opinion in three speciall points, and diuers Fathers in two other cases*, and some of those things *I affirme against all the Fathers, and almost against all the Church*; and yet I bitterly reproue you for vsing the like libertie.] Doe I any where reiect S. Augustine or all the Fathers in any point of doctrine necessarie to our saluation, as you do in the chiefest grounds of our redemption? And when I let the Reader vnderstand, that the reasons which some Fathers bring to fortifie their priuate opinions, are not sufficient for to force consent to be giuen vnto them, doe I call them *fond, absurd without reason or likelihood, and paradoxes in nature*, as you do? These two things I iustly reproue in you, which I my selfe doe not fall into for all your fitning: In the maine principles of Christian religion and our redemption, you make the best learned Fathers ignorant of their Creed and Catechisme; and when their expositions of the Scripture crosse your imaginations, you Reuell against their Iudgements as void of *sense* and *reason*. This doe I not; In the rule of faith I renounce not their maine consent nor vndoubted maximes, least I conclude them or my selfe to erre in faith: In other questions of lesse importance wherein they differ sometimes from ech other, sometimes euen from themselues, I let the Reader see their reasons, and leaue him free to follow what he liketh, or to suspend his iudgement, if he find cause therefore. This libertie I neuer take from you, nor mislike it in you; but when you pronounce all to be *absurd, fond, and foolish*, that yeeld not to your fansie: wherein you doe not onely proudly aduance your owne dreames as necessary Doctrines, but reprochfully preiudice the freedome of others. This difference is not my deuise: the [b] *auncient consent of Godly Fathers* (saith Vincentius) *is with great care to be searched and followed of vs, not in all the questions of the Diuine Law, but onely or chiefly in the Rule of Faith*. Whether therefore the bodies of such as arose and came out of their graues after Christs resurrection returned againe to corruption, or still kept the honor of immortalitie, which was bestowed on them; as also when Christ said to the theefe on the Crosse, *this day shalt thou be with me in Paradise*, whether Christ ment the presence of his humane soule or of his Diuine glory should be that day in Paradise, and so whether the soules of the faithfull departing this life, goe straight to heauen, or stay in a place appointed them of God till the day of iudgement: and likewise whether Abrahams bosome were a receptacle for soules within the earth, and neere to hell; or far aboue the earth: and lastly whether the loosing of Adam from hell, by Christs descent thither, which the whole Church almost seemed to hold by tradition, freed onely the person of Adam from the place of hell; or both him and his posteritie from all feare and danger of hell: These be things that may be liked, disliked, or suspended without any manifest breach of faith, and wherein Saint Austen probablely disputeth, but determineth nothing for certaintie to be beleeued; alwaies tempering his words in these cases with [c] *Ego quidem non video, explicent qui possunt, nondum intelligo, nulla causa occurrit, nondum mueni. I see not how, let them declare it that can, as yet I vnderstand it not, I conceaue presently no cause, as yet I find it not cleere.* If I then laboured with respectiue words, and other places of the same Fathers, to shew wherein they doubted, or dissented; who but a light head and slipper tongue would call this *contemning or despising* of the Fathers? But you will proceede to the speciall examples wherein I charge you with despising the Fathers; and I will not be long after you.

[a] Defenc. pa. 29.

[b] *Vincentius aduersus Hæreses.*

[c] *August. epist. 99.*

First [d] *where you say out of certaine Fathers, that Christ in his dying gaue vp his spirit miraculously, no violence of death wresting it from him, as it doth ours, but when he saw his time, he euen at an instant laid it downe of himselfe; Contrarie to this I alleaged the Scripture,* HE VVAS LIKE VS IN ALL THINGS, *sinne onely excepted. To answere this you reply, was he like vs in his birth? Can we lie in the graue without corruption as he lay? Or raise our selues from death as he did? Which poore answere I wonder to see comming from you. As well you might shew farder, he was not like vs in that he walked on the water,*

[d] Defenc. pa. 30.

nor in that he fasted fortie daies, nor in that he knew the secrets of mens harts, nor in that he turned water into wine, and with a word healed all diseases. These things done by his manhood, yet were they the proper effects of his Godhead: they were no naturall but spirituall things.] You may wonder at what you will, and though your proofes and replies be not worth the paper you wast, yet you so powder them with figures and fansies, that you thinke them very pretious. Where I obserued out of Augustine, Ierome, and Bernard, that the manner of Christs death was not like ours, (though his death were the same that ours is, I meane the separation of the soule from the body,) by reason he had perfect sense and strong speech euen to the very instant that of his owne accord (when he saw his time) he breathed out his soule; whereas both *speech*, and *sense* doe faile in vs before we die, and our soules are taken from vs, we can not breath them out when we will; to impeach this obseruation you cast out first reprochfull words, and then vntidy proofes, such as your store could best affourd. [t] *Here a fine fable is offered vs*, say you, *a Paradoxe in nature, and contrary to the Scripture* which saith, HE VVAS LIKE VS IN ALL THINGS *sinne onely excepted.* This scornefull speech and bare pretence of Scripture misapplied to your peeuish conceite, is all the answere you vouchsafe to those auncient and reuerend Fathers, I meane Saint Austen, and Saint Ierome. To repell this pride of yours, and to make you perceaue the misconstering of the Scriptures, I shortly replyed; *Was Christ like vs in his birth?* in his *graue* or in *his resurrection?* If he were vnlike vs in these, and yet those words must stand true, then might he also be vnlike vs in his death, and no proofe out of those words could be made to the contrarie. At this poore answere you wonder; but you and your adherents lay your wits together as you haue done your heads, you shal neuer refell this answere, as poore as it is, without confessing the weakenesse of your owne proofe. For if you restraine the text (which you brought) to *naturall humane properties, and infirmities*, as now you doe, then most apparantly his birth and his graue must in all things be like to ours, for they are in vs naturall humane properties or infirmities. To be borne of a Virgin, not to rotte in graue and to rise from the dead, [t] Those *Diuine effects* (you say) *are iustly beleeued to haue beene in Christ because of the expresse Scripture that witnesseth the same.*] But then the text which you vrged, *he was like vs in all things*, must haue an other meaning then you made shew of. And so it well may, for euen in his *birth*, in his *graue*, and in his *resurrection*, he was like to vs though not in euery circumstance thereof. His body was made of the seede and substance of his mother as ours is, though she a Virgin, and we were begotten by our Fathers. It also lay senseleste and dead in the graue as ours doth, though it could not returne to dust as ours shall. He rose from the dead to a celestiall and immortall life; and so shall we, but *not when we will*, nor of our *owne power*, as he did: So that *he was like vs in all things*, that is in *euery part* of our nature, and in *euery kind* of humane infirmities, but not like vs in euery action, circumstance or consequent of all humane properties and infirmities. For so we should depriue him of that *fulnesse* of *wisdome, grace and power*, wherewith his humane soule was indued farre vnlike to ours, not only if we respect naturall properties, and infirmities in vs, which are vtterly voide of these gifts; but if we compare our measure of knowledge, *grace*, and *strength* with the abundance of his spirit. Then might he be like vs euen in death also which parted his soule from his body, as it doth ours; though he were vnlike vs in power to dye when he would, which we can not, and retained full force of sense and speech to the very moment of giuing vp his Ghost, which we doe not.

[t] Treatis. pa. 53.

[t] Defenc. pa. 30.

Againe the words following in the Text *He was like vs in all things*, SINNE EXCEPTED, are a sufficient exemption of Christ from our manner of death, as well as from our kind of birth, and rotting in the graue. For we are borne in sinne, which he might not be, & therefore was to be borne of a Virgin to auoid all concupiscence, as well of a Father as in his Mother, without whom he could not be made our flesh. So rotte we in the graue by reason of sinne dwelling in our bodies; which must be changed into dust, whence we were taken, in reward of our first fathers sinne, from whose

whose loynes we come with like infection of sinne. This Christs body might by no posibilitie admit, though you in the margin of your booke make a false note to the contrarie. First, for that no part of his person might vtterly be dissolued or corrupted after it was once vnited to his Godhead, but must remaine for euer inseparable from his Diuine nature, and so incorruptible: because God was vnited not to dust or ashes, but to humane flesh which so must still continue. Secondly, for that all Christs sufferings for sinne must haue in them exact and perfect obedience, and so precisely sense and will in euery passion, to submit himselfe to the hand of God: which in death he might doe and did; but in rotting in the graue where sense and will wanted he could not doe. Lastly, the Apostle extendeth Christs obedience in suffering, no farder then to the death of the Crosse; after which could follow no farder humiliation, and so no corruption to dust; but a sure confirmation of his death by lying three daies in the graue, and a plaine pledge of his resurrection, because he could not see corruption. The same words exempt Christ from our manner of death. For where death entred not but by sinne, and the soule of ech man to this day, by a naturall instinct sheweth her secret abhorring of death and open strugling with death before she depart her body, from which she doth not yeeld but by force of death taking from her first speech and sense, and so by degrees the whole possession of hir bodie; violently thrusting hir out of her seate; Neither this *violence* of death, nor this *resistance* of the soule may be *admitted*, or were *perceaued* in the person of Christ. He might suffer nothing but willingly; because the misliking of the hart is disobedience though the fact be endured. Wherefore if we meane with the Apostle to confesse Christ to haue beene obedient to his death, we must leaue in him both *sense* and *will* to obey euen to the last gasp, and also *power* to breath out his soule into his Fathers hand, when the time was come appointed by God for him to depart this life. Againe, what force created could wrest his soule from him being God, and man, but at his liking? His owne words are, *none taketh my soule from me, but I lay it downe of my selfe*. Whereon Chrysostome rightly groundeth this consequent. [g] *Si nemo, vtique nec mors. If none then surely neither death.* [g] *Chrysost. de feria 5. passionis sermo 6.*

But you would *see* [h] *expresse words in the Text that Christ died, as I say, not naturally, but miraculously, and then you will beleeue it.*] Would you haue so plaine words in the text, that you can not, or that you should not quarrell with? If you delude, as your maner is, the plaine words of the Scripture with *kinds of speeches* and *large senses*, I see no words that can hold you, but you may defend after your fashion any kind of fansie or heresie, with *Synecdoches*, *Allegories*, and *Hyperboles*. And though the iudgement of so great and godly fathers ioyning with the very words of the Scripture, carie with it sufficient weight to a sober and religious Reader; yet for your pleasure, that you may see your follie, I am content to cast about againe. What is *ponere animam* in the Scripture, Sir, I pray? is it willingly or vnwillingly to lay downe a mans soule or life? You know Peters words to his Master, [i] *Animam meam pro te ponam. I will lay downe my life for thy sake.* And S. Iohns, [k] *Nos debemus pro fratribus animas ponere. We ought to lay downe our liues for our brethren.* And Christes, [l] *Propter hoc Pater me diligit, quoniam ego pono animam meam, vt iterum sumam eam. Therefore the Father loueth me, because I lay downe my soule to take it againe.* In all these places *ponere animam* must needs be *to lay downe life or soule willingly*; except you be so wise as to thinke that Peter in loue telleth his Master he was vnwilling to die for him; and S. Iohn forwarneth vs, we must not be willing to die for our brethren; yea, and that the Father loued the Sonne because hee was vnwilling to die for his sheepe, which were Diuinitie fit for such a Doctor as you are. Then *tollere animam* is for another to *take our* (*life* or) soule *from vs*, whether we be willing or vnwilling it should be done, as appeareth by Eliahs prayer vnto God, in saying [m] *take away my soule*, when he *desired to die*. Resort now to the words of our Sauiour, where he sayd, [n] *None taketh* (my soule) *from me, but I lay it downe of my selfe*, and see whether they inferre a peculiar maner of dying, not common to others. Had he meant to say no more, but I die willingly, as you imagine he intended;

[h] *Defenc. pa. 30.*

[i] *Iohn. 13.*

[k] *1. Iohn 3.*

[l] *Iohn. 10.*

[m] *1. King. 19.*

[n] *Iohn. 10.*

tended; *pono animam, I lay downe my soule*, had been words enow to expresse that meaning: but he maketh an addition, which must needs haue some force; and not be an idle repetition of the same thing; and likewise an opposition, the contrarie whereof must be found in his death. For where other mens soules are taken from them, though they be neuer so willing to die, as appeareth by the witnesse of Scripture, *I lay it downe* OF MY SELFE, sayth our Sauiour; that is, not onely of *mine owne accord*, but *by mine owne power*. To shew that so he doth, he sayth, *None taketh* (my soule) *from me*, (which they do from others) I lay it downe of *my selfe*. And lest any man should doubt as you doe, whether he spake of his willingnesse to die, which is common to others; or *of his power*, which was proper to himselfe; in full, expresse, and direct words, to stoppe such cauilling mouthes as yours is, hee addeth as a proofe of his
• Iohn.10. speech, • *I haue power to lay it downe* (he meaneth of himselfe, as the former words conuince) *and haue power to take it againe: this commandement haue I receiued of my Father*. That he was willing to lay down his soule I do not denie, the word *pono* (I lay it down) proueth so much; but he professeth that hee had receiued *power and commandement from his Father to lay it downe of himselfe*, and to take it againe of himselfe. This *commaundement* was *peculiar* to his person; no man liuing euer had or shall haue the like; & this *power* to lay downe his soule of himselfe was as MIRACVLOVS, as his power to raise himselfe from the dead, since they are both compared and ioyned together. These things did those ancient and learned Fathers see, when they made their collections: and so plaine and perspicuous are they euen in the Text it selfe, that none of meane capacitie or any modestie can mistake, or will outface them.

p Defenc. pa. 31. *As for* p *Chrysostom whom you cite hereupon, he hath nothing for this point.*] He that hath once hardned his hart and mouth against the truth, will neuer stay nor sticke at any thing. When you would needs out of those words, *He was like vs in all things* inferre, therefore Christ must be like vs in the manner of his death; I let you see that Chrysostom auoucheth the contrary. The death of Christ, and his rising from the
q Chrysost. in Iohan. homil. 59. dead, q *both these* (saith Chrysostom) *were strong, and besides the common* (that is, the naturall) *course* of men. And expounding Christs words *I haue power to lay downe my*
r Ibidem. *soule, that is*, (saith Chrysostom) r *I alone haue this power, which you haue not*. In this power which he had and we haue not, I trust he was vnlike vs; and so Chrysostom directly refelleth your vnskilfull application of the Scripture that Christ was *like vs in*
s Defenc. pa. 31. *all things*, euen in the manner of his death. But s *If it were new and not ordinarie that Christ should haue power to lay downe his life, yet why may not his manhood dye naturally notwithstanding?*] Forsooth because he vsed that power at the time of his death, as he himselfe witnesseth, which no man euer did, or can doe. As he had power which was aboue nature to lay downe his life when he himselfe would; so his owne mouth testifieth that *none tooke his soule from him*, but he *layed it downe of himselfe*, that is, of his
t Chrysost in Iohan. homil. 59. owne accord and power, when he saw his time. And so Chrysostom telleth you; t *Ita mori vires humanas excedit*; *So to dye* (as Christ did) *passeth the power* (or nature) *of man* and, *solus erat vitam ponendi dominus*, Christ alone was *the (Ruler or) master of laying downe his life*. Howbeit in your mocking vaine you goe on, and say, that *I will conclude this better. You must remember what God himselfe saith; O foole this night they shall fetch away thy soule from thee*. Whereto you adde. *I remember it well, what then? ergo, Christ saying none taketh my life from me, ment he would dye miraculously, and not by the fayling of nature in him? If this be the reason, verely I graunt it is marueylous subtill and past my reach.*] If you ouer-reach no more then this reason doth, you will come short of all your new conceits. If your memory be not too much moistened, you may call to mind that this place was brought to proue, Christ was vnlike vs in the laying downe of this soule; and if I be not as grosse as you are gamesome, it proueth it very directly. God by those words expresseth the rich man should that night die, and thereby teacheth vs that when we dye, our soules are taken from vs. So that it is not in our power to keepe our soules in our bodies as long as we will, nor to leaue them when we list: but when God sendeth, *will we, nill we, they are taken from vs*. This Christ denieth

eth to be verified in him; *none tooke his soule from him, but he laid it downe of himselfe, which we cannot doe.* Hence if it please you to frame but this reason which is in open sight: *All mens soules are taken from them when they dye: Christs soule was not taken from him when he dyed: ergo, Christ dyed not in the same manner* that we doe; and so was vnlike vs in his death, by the manifest wordes of the Scripture; you shall see a plaine truth, not past your reach, though repugnant to your purpose.

But I should proue Christ died [u] *miraculously not naturally. That at last after long and sore anguish of mind, & bodily torments his natural strength failed him, & therfore he bowed his head and gaue vp the ghost; what miracle is there in this?*] Men may well marualle at your folly, who turne & wind euery way rather then you will acknowledge that which the Scriptures expresly witnesse was in Christ aboue mans nature, which they that saw it marueiled at, & which the best Diuines of all ages haue confessed to be miraculous in the death of Christ: To haue perfect *sense, speach,* and *motion* at the very instant of giuing vp the ghost is a thing not possible to our nature. Our speach and sense & voluntarie motion doe first euidently faile before our soules depart from our bodies: But Christ had all three by the full report of the Euangelists, euen to the very act of breathing out of his soule. Saint Iohn writeth that [x] *Iesus knowing all things were fulfilled said, I thirst: and when he had tasted the vineger he said, it is finished: and inclining his head gaue vp the ghost.* Hee noteth in Christ *exact memorie* of all things written in the Scripture touching him, *Plaine speach, and voluntarie motion* in laying downe his head at the very moment that he yeelded vp the ghost. S. Luke witnesseth that [y] *crying with a lowde voyce* (Christ said) *Father into thine hands I will commend* (or lay down) *my Spirit.* καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐξέπνευσεν. *And speaking these words hee breathed out his soule.* The lowdnesse of his voyce, and effect of his prayer professing hee would now die, and at the same instant performing it by giuing vp his spirit, conclude that neither sense, memorie, speach, nor prayer failed him to the last breath, as they doe vs when wee draw towards death; and therefore the maner of his death to bee farre distant from ours.

[u] Defenc. pa. 31.

[x] Iohn. 19.

[y] Luke 23.

[z] *Anone after* (you say) *he might die,* and in the meane while both sense and speach faile him before he died.] Your libertie to iudge of the sense of the Scripture doeth lead you, and hold you to this errour. You imagine what please you of the words of the Euangelists, and auerting them from their true coherence by interposing your fansies, you maintaine it as your right to iudge of the meaning of the holy Ghost. But consult your conscience, that you iest not with the truth; and compare the Euangelists words and purpose together, and you shall soone see the course, and force of them. To what end doe the Euangelists so carefully note in Christ these circumstances, not vsuall with vs, nor possible for vs at the departure of our soules, but onely to shew the trueth of his owne words, that *none tooke his soule from him,* but hee *laied it downe of himselfe,* which he had power to doe and accordingly did? and therefore they describe him *remembring all things, calling* euen *for drinke* because hee was exceeding drie through paine, warning the people standing about him, *with a lowde prayer,* that *he would* (now) *lay downe his soule into his Fathers hands.* And so *bowing* his *head* of his owne *accord he forthwith breathed out his soule. Anone after,* say you, but nature first decaying in him; *Presently* say I, when there was in him no decay of nature, nor any want of *memorie, sense,* or *speach.* In vaine else were all those things, both performed by our Sauiour, and testified by the Euangelists, if this were not the scope thereof, that Christ with actuall and perfect obedience, deuotion, and submission to the will of God, and therefore also with full and perfect memorie, sense, and speach, did aboue the strength and vse of men, willingly and powerfully with one breath render his soule into the hands of his Father; who had decreed hee should die, but gaue him leaue and power to lay downe his soule of his owne accord when hee would, without constraint or stroke of death wresting or taking his soule from him. And that the maner of Christs death was miraculous euen in his owne Person, and draue the standers by to confesse hee was more then a man, that so could die; if you could but open

[z] Defenc. pa. 31. li. 37.

your partial eares, you should heare the Euangelists cõfirme, though you very courselyintreate S. Ierom as bending himselfe therein against the plaine text, where indeed he rightly pursueth the words of the holy Ghost, and you would saucily controle one text by an other, and not seeke to reconcile them together. Saint Markes words are

• Marke 15. these. And ' *Iesus crying with a lowde voyce, gaue vp the ghost, and the Centurion that stoode ouerright him, seeing,* ὅτι οὕτω κράξας ἐξέπνευσεν, *that crying in such sort hee breathed out his soule, said; Surely this man was the Sonne of God.* This crying so lowde which Saint Marke speaketh of, was that prayer whereby Christ commended his soule into his Fathers hands, as S. Luke testifieth; for those were the last words hee spake at the time when he gaue vp the ghost. The breathing out of his soule so presently vpon so strong a voyce, and so lowde a prayer was so strange, that it forthwith mooued the Centurion, who stoode ouerright him, and well obserued him, to pronounce that *he was the Sonne of God.* What now hath Ierom offended, I pray you, in noting that

b Hieronymus ad Hedibiam quæstio. 8. which S. Marke writeth, that the b *Centurion hearing Christ say to his Father, Into thy hands I commend my spirit,* ET STATIM SPONTE, and *foorthwith of his owne accord to haue giuen vp the ghost, mooued with the greatnesse of this wonder, said, truely this man was the Sonne of God?*

• Defenc. pa. 32. *I ' vrge Ierom,* you say, *against the plaine text in an other place: which saith; When the Centurion saw the Earthquake, & the things which were done, he said, truly this man was the Sonne of God.*] If Ierom should haue falsified one text, as you haue done, to out-face an other, he were worthy to be blamed; but your libertie to iudge of the Scriptures at your pleasure must excuse you. What hath Ierom said in those words; which Saint Marke, and S. Luke in effect did not before him? That the lowde voyce which Christ vsed presently before his yeelding vp the ghost, was that prayer which Ierom mentioneth, S. Luke witnesseth. *And speaking those words* (saith S. Luke) *Christ gaue vp the ghost.* That was a very strange, and marueilous thing to the Centurion to heare him so speake, and see him so die. Saint Marke obserueth; The *Centurion seeing, that crying in such sort, Christ gaue vp the ghost,* said, *Surely this man was the Sonne of God.* Could it moue the Centurion (that had the charge to see Christ executed) to this confession, and not seeme strange vnto him? Pilate that gaue sentence of death vpon him, *Marueiled* he was so soone dead; and doe you thinke it much S. Ierom should say it

• Defenc. pa. 32. was a wonder? But in S. Matthew it is d *expresly noted that the Earthquake chiefely did moue the Centurion so to thinke, and speake.*] Saint Marke saith, *The Centurion that stoode ouer-right Christ,* and beheld him; when hee saw in what sort *hee cried, and died,* said, Truely this was the Sonne of God. After his death, the *Earthquake* and other things that followed the death of Christ, caused the Centurion and *his Souldiers,* as they were keeping Iesus now dead, greatly to feare, and with one voyce now to confesse that surely he was the Sonne of God. Both which reports stand true together; the one not ouerthrowing the other. For the Centuriõ alone at the hearing of Christs voyce, and sight of his death did first affirme it: Afterward when Christ was dead, as the Centurion and his souldiers kept his body on the Crosse, till Pilates pleasure were knowen, the wonders which followed Christs death, as the *shaking of the earth,* the *cleauing of the rockes,* and *opening of the graues,* made the *Centurion and those that were with him watching Iesus greatly to feare,* and (with one mind) to say, *Truely this was the*

• Pag. 32. li. 45. *Sonne of God.* So that your words ' HE SAID, meaning thereby the Centurion, are not in S. Matthew, but *the Centurion and those that were with him* SEEING (the wonders that followed Christs death) *greatly feared, saying, Truely this man was the Sonne of God.* And had the Centurion seene nothing wonderfull in Christs person before he died; how should hee and the rest haue gathered certainely, that these things declared Christ and none other, to be the Sonne of God? But Christ suffering all things with silence and patience till the instant of his death, he then shewed himselfe to die with a strange and diuine power aboue mans nature, which the Centurion first marked, and therefore confessed him to be the Sonne of God; & when the rest of the wonders that followed the death of Christ, were perceiued; they confirmed him and all his souldi-

ers

ers in the ſame opinion : yea * all *the people that came to that ſight, beholding the things which were done, ſmote their breſts and returned.* Where S. Luke alſo putteth a manifeſt difference betwixt the Centurion and the reſt of the people. Of the Centurion hee ſaith, ‖ ἰδὼν τὸ γενόμενον *ſeeing what was done*, in that Chriſt praying gaue vp the ghoſt, hee glorified God and ſaid, truely this man was iuſt. Of the reſt Saint Luke ſaith, θεωρήσαντες τὰ γενόμενα, *Beholding the ſundry things that were done* (after Chriſts death) they ſtroke their breſts and returned. * Luk 23. Verſ. 47. Verſ. 48.

This miraculous and diuine power, which appeared in the perſon of our *Sauiour* breathing out his ſoule at an inſtant, when he would and as he would, beſides and beyond the nature of man, at which the Centurion ſo much wondered; the beſt Diuines of all ages haue likewiſe obſerued, and acknowledged. So that you haue ſmall cauſe to conceiue, you can take Bernard tardie in a tale in ſuch ſort as you doe; as if his age were too young, or his wits too weake to encounter your worth. He ſayth indeede: *to die was a great infirmitie, but ſo to die,* (as Chriſt did) *was a great* (or an infinite) *power.* Where ſhewing your ſelfe to be ſharpe ſighted in toyes, and heauie headed in trueth, you aske, which is this infinite power? *Chriſts taſting the vineger, or his ſaying it is finiſhed, or his bowing the head, or his giuing vp the ghoſt?* Had you not taſted ſo much the vineger of your owne conceits, that you can ſcant lift vp your head to looke on any thing but lees, you might eaſily haue ſeene what Bernard ſayth, and that he ſayth no more then the beſt learned Fathers in Chriſtes Church ſaid before him. [f] *Solus poteſtatem habuit ponendi animam ſuam, nemo eam abſtulit ab eo & inclinato capite (factus obediens vſque ad mortem) tradidit ſpiritum. Quis tam facile quando vult dormit? magna quidem infirmitas mori, ſed planè ſic mori virtus immenſa. Solus poteſtatem habuit ponendi, qui ſolus facultatem æque habuit liberam reſumendi; imperium habens vitæ & mortis. Chriſt alone had power to lay downe his ſoule, none tooke it from him. Bowing his head, (being obedient vnto death) he gaue vp the ghoſt. Who can ſo eaſily ſleepe, when he will? To die was a great infirmitie, but ſo to die was plainely an exceeding power. Hee onely had power to lay downe his ſoule, who onely had like free power to take it againe; hauing the rule of life and death.* [f] Bernard ſeria 4. hebdo. paneſæ.

Long before Bernard S. Auſten ſayd as much, whoſe *words you ſay, being* [g] *granted, neceſſarily conclude nothing for my purpoſe. They ſhew nothing but Chriſts voluntarie dying, and that at his death he ſhewed great power, which you denie not.*] Were it infirmitie in you that you could not vnderſtand S. Auſtens words, it were the leſſe to be miſliked; but being an inſolent conceite of your ſelfe, that will quarrell with Scriptures and Fathers, leaſt you ſhould be conuinced of a manifeſt errour, this hath neither trueth nor touch of any Religion. That Chriſt *died* VOLVNTARIE, and ſhewed GREAT POVVER AT HIS DEATH, S. Auſten you grant auoucheth; and you becauſe you can wind thoſe wordes at your will, doe not denie them: but were you as carefull to take Saint Auſtens words in their right ſenſe, as you be readie for a ſhewe to admit them, this matter were ended. S. Auſten ſpeaketh indeede of Chriſts *voluntarie*, and *powerfull* dying, but he doth not meane, as you doe, that Chriſt was onely willing to die, as religious and godly men are, which deſire to depart this life; but that he died [h] *quia voluit, quando voluit, quomodo voluit; becauſe he would, when he would, as hee would.* And giuing the reaſon of his ſpeech out of the Scripture, (though you proudly and falſely ſay he hath no ſtrength of reaſon by the Scripture) hê learnedly and truely purſueth it in this ſort. [i] *Where the ſpirit is farre better then the bodie, and it is the death of the ſpirit to be forſaken of God; as it is the death of the bodie to be forſaken of the ſpirit: and this is the puniſhment in the death of the bodie, that the ſpirit becauſe it willingly forſooke God, ſhall vnwillingly leaue the bodie; neither can the ſpirit leaue the bodie when it will, vnleſſe it offer ſome violent death to the bodie; the* (Soule or) *Spirit of* (Chriſt) *the mediatour did plainely prooue that he came to the death of his fleſh by no puniſhment of ſinne, in that he forſooke not his fleſh by any meanes againſt his wil, but* BECAVSE HE VVOVLD, VVHEN HE VVOVLD, AND AS HE VVOVLD. *Therefore he ſaid, I haue power to lay downe my ſoule, and haue power to take it againe. None taketh it from me, but I lay it* [g] Defenc. pag. 33. l. 1. [h] Sermo. pa. 3. [i] *Auſten. de Trinitate. 4. cap. 13.*

it downe of my ſelfe. And this thoſe that were preſent GREATLY MARVAILED AT, *as the Goſpell obſerueth, when after that* (loud) *voyce he preſently gaue vp the ghoſt. For they that were faſtned to the tree were tormented with a long death. Wherefore the* (two) *theeues had their legs broken, that they might die. But Chriſt was* WONDRED AT, *becauſe he was found dead; which thing we read Pilate marueiled at, when Chriſts bodie was asked of him to be buried.* There is more ſound Diuinitie in this one Chapter of S. Auſtens then in both your Pamphlets; though you pretend S. Auſtens wordes conclude nothing, nor againſt you, nor for me. Where you may learne, (for it is fitter for you to be a ſcholler then a writer, till you haue learned to leaue your wilfull humours, and to giue eare vnto the ſage and wiſe Fathers that were pillars of Chriſtes Church many hundred yeeres before you;) firſt that for the puniſhment of ſinne, the death of the body was inflicted on all mankinde, in which the ſoule ſhould depart from her bodie againſt her will, and not when ſhe would, nor as ſhe would. Secondly that the manner of Chriſts death was cleane contrary to ours; he gaue vp his ſpirit of his owne accord, and power, when he would and as he would. Thirdly his giuing vp the ghoſt ſo preſently vpon his loude prayer, was wondered at by the ſtanders by, and by Pilate himſelfe when he heard of it. Whether this conclude my purpoſe I leaue to the iudgement of the diſcreete Reader: your no, as it lightly commeth without cauſe, ſo with me it goeth as lightly without regard.

[k] Sermons pagina. 8.

But Auſtens words, which I firſt [k] quoted, prooue not ſo much.] You take vpon you to refute firſt and laſt; why skip you then that which is cited in the midſt? Grant Auſtens words to be true, as indeede they are moſt true, which are alleaged in the firſt place, and my purpoſe is fully concluded. They prooue that no man can [l] SO SLEEPE when he will, *as Chriſt died when he would*; that no man can *ſo put off his veſture* when he will, as Chriſt *put off his fleſh*, when he would; that no man can ſo leaue the *place where he ſtandeth*, at his will, as Chriſt *left his life when he would. And if ſo great power appeared in him dying*, with what power ſhall we thinke he will come to iudge? Where voluntary dying in Chriſt doth not onely import that he was content and willing to die; as Paul was when he *deſired to be diſſolued*, but that he left this life by ſeparating his ſoule from his bodie when he would; hauing at that preſent when he parted his ſoule from his bodie; perfect *memorie, ſenſe, and ſpeech*, and breathing out his ſoule of his owne accord, with more facilitie and celeritie then we can lay off our garments, or change the place in which we ſtand. And from this admirable power, by which he layd downe his ſoule, and tooke it againe at his pleaſure, Auſten draweth a compariſon to the exceeding greatneſſe of that power with which he ſhall come to iudge the world.

[l] *Auguſt. in Iohan. tract. 119.*

With Auſten ioyne all the Fathers of Chriſts Church that euer ſpake of this matter, and the beſt Diuines of latter ages confeſſe the ſame. Athanaſius. [m] τὸ δὲ ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν θεῖναι καὶ λαβεῖν, ὅτε βούλεται, τῶν ψυχῶν, οὐκέτι τοῦτο ἴδιον ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' τῆς τοῦ λόγου δυνάμεως ἐστιν. ἄνθρωπος μὲν γὰρ οὐ κατ' ἰδίαν ἐξουσίαν ἀλλ' ἀνάγκῃ φύσεως καὶ μὴ θέλων ἀποθνήσκει. *To haue power to lay downe his ſoule when he would, and to take it againe; this is not the propertie of men, but it is the power of the Sonne of God. For man dieth not by his owne power, but by neceſſitie of nature and that againſt his will: but Chriſt being God had it in his own power to ſeparate himſelfe from his bodie, and to reſume the ſame againe, when he would.* Origen.

[m] *Athana. cont. Arian. orat. 4.*

[n] *Origenes in Iohan. Euang. tomo 19.*

[n] *An non Dominus ſingulare quiddam præ omnibus, qui in corpus aduenerint, de ſeipſo dicit? doth not the Lord affirme a thing that was (peculiar or) ſingular to him aboue all that euer were in the fleſh; when he ſaith, None taketh my ſoule from me, but I lay it downe of my ſelfe, and haue power to lay it downe and power to take it againe? Let vs conſider what he meaneth, who left his bodie, and departed from it without any way leading to death. This neither Moſes, nor any of the Patriarkes, Prophets, or Apoſtles did ſay beſides Ieſus. For if Chriſt had died as the theeues did that were crucified with him; we could not haue ſaid, that he layd downe his ſoule of himſelfe, but after the maner of ſuch as die. But now Ieſus crying with a ſtrong voyce, gaue vp the ghoſt, and as a King left his bodie. His power greatly appeared in this, that at his owne free power and will leauing his bodie he died.* Gregorie Nyſſene.

° *Memento Dominici dicti, quid de ſeipſo pronunciet is, a quo pendet rerum omnium vis & potentia; quomodo ex plena ſummáque poteſtate, ac non ex naturæ neceſſitate animam à corpore ſeiungit. Remember the Lords words, what he pronounceth of himſelfe, of whom dependeth all power; how with full and ſoueraigne power, and not by neceſſitie of nature he ſeuered his ſoule from his bodie; as he ſayd, None taketh my ſoule from me, but I lay it downe of my ſelfe. I haue power to lay it downe, and power to take it againe.* Gregorie Nazianzene maketh the mother of Chriſt thus to ſpeake vnto him after his death. ᵖ *Comming I heard thy voice vnto thy father, ἀιζυρὸς δ' ἀπέπτης, and thou ſuddenly departedſt* (this life) *as leauing it willingly.* Ierome: ᵠ *With a faint voice,* or rather *ſpeechleſſe we die, that are of the earth; but he which came from heauen breathed out his ſoule with a loud voice.* ʳ *We muſt ſay it was a ſhew of his diuine power to lay downe his ſoule when he would, and to take it againe. Yea, the Centurio hearing him ſay to his Father, Into thine hands I commend my ſpirit, & ſtatim ſponte ſpiritum dimiſiſſe, and ſtraightway of his own accord to ſend forth his ſpirit, mooued with the* GREATNES *of this* WOONDER *ſaid, Truly this was the Sonne of God.* Chryſoſtome vpon theſe words of Matthew, *Ieſus crying with a loud voice gaue vp the ghoſt,* ſayth, ˢ *Idcirco magna voce clamauit, vt oſtendat hæc ſua poteſtate fieri. Therefore Chriſt cried with a loud voice, that he might ſhew this to be done by his owne power.* Marke ſayth, *Pilate marueled if he were alreadie dead. And the Centurion alſo* THEREFORE CHIEFLY *beleeued, becauſe he ſaw Chriſt die of his owne accord and power.* Victor of Antioch vpon the like words of Marke, ſayth, ᵗ *By ſo doing the Lord Ieſus doth plainly declare, that he had his whole life and death in his owne free power.* Wherefore Marke writeth, *that Pilate not without admiration asked if Chriſt were yet dead; addidit item ea potiſſimum de cauſa Centurionem credidiſſe; he added likewiſe that the Centurion chiefly for that reaſon beleeued, becauſe he ſaw Chriſt giue vp the ghoſt with a loud crie, and ſignification of great power.* Leo noting that Chriſt died not for lacke of helpe, but of determinate purpoſe ſayth, ᵘ *Quæ illic vitæ interceſſio ſentienda eſt, vbi anima & poteſtate eſt emiſſa & poteſtate reuocata? What intreatie for life ſhall we thinke there was, where the ſoule was both ſent out with power, and recalled with power.* Fulgentius: ˣ *Cum ergo homo Chriſtus tantam acceperit poteſtatem, vt cum vellet animam poneret, & cum vellet denuò reſumeret, quantam potuit habere Chriſti diuinitas poteſtatem? Ideo autem ille homo poteſtatem animæ habuit, quia cum diuina poteſtas in vnitatem perſonæ ſuſcepit. Where then the man Chriſt receiued ſo much power; that he might lay downe his ſoule when he would, and take it againe when he would, how great power might the Godhead of Chriſt haue? and therefore the manhood of Chriſt had power to lay downe his ſoule, becauſe the diuine power admitted him into the vnitie of perſon.* * Sedulius: *Animam protinus ſuam ſancto de corpore volens ipſe depoſuit.* Chriſt *himſelfe forthwith* (vpon his prayer) *willingly layd off his ſacred ſoule from his bodie.* Nonnius in his Paraphraſe vpon S. Iohns Goſpell, expreſſeth the ſaying of Chriſt, None taketh my ſoule from me; in theſe words, * *No birthlaw taketh my ſoule from me, no incroching time that tameth all things; nor Neceſſitie which is vnchangeable counſell;* ἀλλὰ μὴν αὐτοκελευστὶ ἐκὼν ἐθέλουσαν ἐπίεσκον; *but ruler of my ſelfe, I of mine owne accord yeeld vp my willing ſoule.* Beda vpon that place of Matthew, *And Ieſus crying with a loud voice, ſent out* (or gaue vp) *his ſpirit;* writeth thus: ʸ *Quod autem dicit, emiſit ſpiritum, oſtendit diuinæ poteſtatis eſſe emittere ſpiritum, vt ipſe quoq; dixerat, nemo poteſt tollere animam;* in that the Euangeliſt ſaith, *Chriſt ſent out his* (ſoule or) *ſpirit, he ſheweth it is a point of Diuine power to ſend out the ſoule, as Chriſt himſelfe ſayd, None can take my ſoule from me.* ᶻ *Nullus enim habet poteſtatem emittendi ſpiritum niſi qui animarum conditor eſt. For none hath power to ſend out the ſoule, but he that is Creator of ſoules.* Which Bede buildeth vpon the words of S. Matthew, who ſaith that Chriſt crying with a loud voice ἀφῆκε τὸ πνεῦμα, *diſmiſſed or ſent his ſoule from him.* Theophylact: ᵃ *Ieſus crieth with a loud voice, that we ſhould know it was true which he ſayd, I haue power to lay downe my ſoule: for not conſtrained but of his own accord he diſmiſſed his ſoule. And* ᵇ *the Centurion ſeeing that he breathed out his ſoule ſo like a Commander of death,* WONDERED, *and confeſſed him:* ᶜ ὃ γὰρ οὐκ ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλὰ δεσποτικῆς ἀπέθνησκε· *for he died not like other men, but as the Maſter of death.* Lyra vpon theſe words of Matthew,

° Gregor. Nyſſenus de reſurrectione Chriſti Oratio 1.

ᵖ Nazianzen. in Chriſto patiente.

ᵠ Hierom. 15. cap. Marci.

ʳ Idem ad Hedibiam quæſt. 8.

ˢ Chryſoſtom. in Matth. cap. 27. hom. 89.

ᵗ Victor Antiochenus in cap. 5. Marci.

ᵘ Leo Serm. 17. de Paſſione Domini.

ˣ Fulgentius ad Traſimundum lib. 3.

* Sedul. operis Paſchalis lib. 5. cap. 17.

* Nonnius Paraphraſ. in Joan. ca. 10. ver. 18.

ʸ Beda in Matt. cap. 27.

ᶻ Ibid. in Marci cap. 15.

ᵃ Theophylact. in Matth. cap. 27.

ᵇ Idem Marci cap. 15.

ᶜ Idem Luce cap. 23.

thew,

[d] Lyra in Matthei cap. 27.

thew, [d] *Iesus againe crying with a loude voice, sent forth his soule. Whereby it appeareth that voice was not naturall, but* MIRACVLOVS, *because a man afflicted with great and long torment, and through such affliction neere to death could not so cry by any strength of nature.*

The latter writers concurre with the older in this obseruation. Erasmus in his Paraphrase vpon Saint Luke. [e] *Iesus when with a mighty cry he had said, Father into thy hands I commend my spirit, breathed out his soule: to make it manifest to all, that he did not faint as others doe, the strengh of the body by little and little decaying, but straightway vpon a strong cry, and words distinctly pronounced, laid downe his life as of his owne accord.* [f] *And the Centurion who stood ouerright as a Minister and witnesse of his death, and had seene many dye with punishment, when he saw Iesus besides the manner of other men, after a strong cry presently to breath out his soule, said; truely this man was the Sonne of God.* [g] Musculus, *That Christ sent foorth his soule with a loude voice is a proofe of greater power, then may be found in a man dying. Whereby he shewed that he layed of his soule of his owne accord; answerable to that, I haue power to lay downe my soule and to take it againe. To which end Iohn saith, that bowing his head he gaue vp the Ghost. Others first dye, and then their heads fall; but he first layeth downe his head, and then of his owne accord deliuereth his soule vp to his Father.* Gualter [h] *But let vs see the manner of Christs death, who as Iohn writeth with bowing downe his head yelded his Spirit. Luke saith, he cryed with a loude voice, Father into thy hands I commend my* Spirite. *Concurrunt hic non obscura Diuinitatis argumenta; Here find we manifest arguments of his Diuinitie, which the Centurion and others obserued as some of the Euangelists witnesse. First this cry and distinct pronouncing of his last words sheweth a power and vertue* MORE THEN HVMANE. *For we know that men dying so faint, that the most of them cannot speake be it neuer so softly. Againe, he dyeth when he will himselfe, yea and layeth of his soule with authoritie, to shew himselfe Lord of life and death, which is an euident proofe of his Diuine power. It is profitable for vs diligently to marke the Diuine power of Christ, which shewed it selfe so plainly in his death.* Marlorat vpon the words of Mathew, *and Iesus crying againe with a loud voyce sent foorth his spirit,* saith; [i] *Declarat hic Christus maiestatem suam, Christ declareth here his Maiestie, that he layeth downe his soule, not when men constraine him, but when he himselfe will. Whereupon Pilat marualled that Christ was so soone dead. And the Lord himselfe said, None taketh my soule from me but I lay it downe of my selfe. I haue power to lay it downe, and power to take it againe. To which it pertaineth that is written, he bowing downe his head gaue vp his spirit; for other men first dye, and then their heads hang; but Christ first laid downe his head, and then voluntarily rendered his soule to his Father.* Many moe might be brought of all ages and places confessing the same; but if these suffice not, what may be enough I doe not know.

[e] Erasmus para. in Lu. ca. 23.

[f] Idem in Marci. cap. 15.

[g] Musculus in Matth. cap. 27.

[h] Gualter in Ioh. hom. 169.

[i] Marlor. in Matth. ca. 27.

To decline the Scriptures and Fathers that make against him, the Discourser hath deuised two shifts very like the rest of of his tenents, that is void of all truth and iudgement. [k] *I deny not,* saith he, *but Christ might shew some strange vnusuall thing apparantly to the beholders in vttering his last voice, which might very much moone the beholders and hearers. Adde hereunto that experience sheweth, (as Phisitians say,) how some diseases in the body bring death presently after most strong and violent crying: Namely in some excessiue torments, as of the stone.*] Things reported and expressed in the Scriptures touching the strange and wonderfull manner of Christs death you deny; and dreame of things there no way mentioned, to coulour your matter and cosin your Reader. That Christ did render his soule into his Fathers hands, when as yet neither *speech, sense, memory, nor motion began to faile, is diligently* obserued by the Euangelists, and was greatly marueyled at by the Centurion, which saw the manner of his death: As also that he breathed out his soule of his owne accord when he had spoken those words without any former or other degrees or pangs of death appearing in him, is likewise witnessed by the Scriptures, and constantly auouched by all the Fathers. Saint Luke saith, *and speaking these words he breathed out his soule:* Saint Mathew, *and crying with a loud voice he dismissed his spirit:* Saint Marke, *and sending a strong voice from him he blew out his*

[k] Defenc. pa. 32.

The Defender deuiseth shifts to decline Scriptures and Fathers against him.

Soule

Soule. This did he of his owne accord and power, *None taking his soule from him,* as in death they doe ours; but declaring himselfe by laying of his soule when he would, and as he would, to be Lord and master of life and death. This is fit for all Christians to confesse, least they dishonor the death of Christ by depriuing his person of that power and glory, which he openly shewed in the eyes & eares of all his persecutors. This you shift of, and insteed thereof imagine some strange and VNVSVALL accident in the manner of Christs death, which neither the Scriptures report, nor you can expresse: wherein you shew your selfe forward to inuent what is not written, and backward to beleeue what is written, which is the trade of such men as meane to make a shipwracke of their faith.

That a man may dye crying, as Christ did, you haue found at length if not from Diuines, at least from Phisitians; for I perceaue you haue sought all sorts of helps both farre and neere to vphold your fansies.] Perchaunce Phisitians may tell you, when a painefull disease possesseth the parts which are no fountaines of life or sense, a man may cry, till sense and strength begin to faile, and so hasten his death by the violent spending of his spirits; but that a man may by any course of nature retaine perfect *memorie, sense, motion, and speach* to the very act of breathing out his soule, I assure my selfe no wise Phisitian will affirme. And if any more humorous then learned will wade so farre without his Art, he must vnderstand that his word may not ouersway the Rules of Diuinitie and Principles of nature. For what are the powers and faculties whereby the soule is conioyned with the body, but life, sense, and motion? so long then as they last, the soule by nature neither doth, nor can forsake the body. But when sense and motion first outward and then inward are oppressed and ouerwhelmed, then life also perisheth and the soule may no longer abide in her body; the vnion by which she was fastened vnto it, being wholy dissolued. Wherefore death which is the priuation of life, by Gods ordinance for the punishment of sinne by degrees surpriseth and in the end quencheth all sense and motion, and so forceth the soule to forsake her seate; which by Gods appointment is violently parted from hir body whether she will or no: but neuer till the effects of life, which are sense and motion, be first decayed and abolished. A sowne is the suddainest ouerwhelming of the powers of life, which any natural experience doth teach vs; and yet therewith though outward sense and motion doe faile at an instant, and the inward be very weake and almost insensible, the soule doth not presently depart, but stayeth a time till all sense and motion without and within, (except the partie be recouered) be vtterly extinguished. Wherefore in all men by necessitie of nature the powers and parts of life decay in some sooner in some later before they die; and therefore in Christ on the Crosse it was MIRACVLOVS and aboue nature, that hauing full & perfect outward and inward sense speech and motion, he did in a moment, when he would, and as he would, render his soule into the hands of his Father without any farder decayes, or other degrees of death precedent then the very act of breathing out his soule, which left his body presently and perfectly dead.

Thou hast gentle Reader the causes and proofes that mooued me to obserue the maner of Christes death to bee different from ours; which whether they be consonant to the Scriptures, and rightly conceiued by those learned and ancient Fathers, which I haue named vnto thee, I leaue to thy discreete iudgement; assuring thee there is nothing to hinder the maine consent of so many old and new writers in a matter of so great consequence, but onely the headdinesse of this discourser; who vpon a bare pretence of one peece of Scripture not well vnderstood and worse applied, thinketh he may worke wonders; and conclude all these graue and sound Expositours to be so ignorant of the sense of that place, and so vnable to reach to the depth of those words, *Christ was* LIKE VS IN ALL *things*; that with one accord they would affirme [1] *a fine fable, a Paradoxe in Nature, and contrarie to Scripture.* Howbeit it is no newes with this man to defend that Christ *was* [a] *distempered, ouerwhelmed, and all confounded both in all the powers of his soule and senses of his body.* He boldly auoucheth it was so

[1] Trea. pag. 53.
[a] Ibidem.

ſo with Chriſt before his death in the Garden and on the Croſſe, and therefore hee preſumeth it might much more befall him at his death. But let him keepe theſe ſecrets to himſelfe. I doubt not Chriſtian Reader but thou wilt be well adviſed before thou put the Sauiour of the world and the Sonne of God out of his wits or ſenſes, to make way for ſuch witleſſe and ſenſeleſſe fanſies.

[a] Defenc. pa. 33.

[a] *He proceedeth to ſhew my diſdaine to the Fathers for inſolent reiecting all their opinions touching the cauſes of Chriſts Agonie in the Garden, and of his complaint on the Croſſe. For anſwere, firſt I deſire to know whether you allow of all theſe cauſes, or no; you ſeeme to refuſe thē here: for herein you ſhewed not your own opinion, but the Iudgement of the Fathers. Elſewhere your ſelfe are reſolute for ſome of thoſe cauſes, and againſt other ſome. And yet before; all theſe interpretations you ſay are ſound, & ſtand well with the rules of Chriſtian pietie; thus variable you are in that wherin you ſeeme moſt reſolute.*] When you know what it is to be conſtant, you ſhall doe well to talke of inconſtancie; till that time your owne doctrine will moſt diſgrace your owne doings. You catch oft at contrarieties in my writings; make good but one, and then prate at your pleaſure. Otherwiſe men will thinke it to be the weakneſſe of your witte, or ſtiffneſſe of your ſtomacke, that can not or will not rightly conceiue that which is truely ſpoken.

I did not reſolue what was the cauſe of Chriſts agonie.

Touching the cauſe of Chriſts Agonie in the Garden; ſince the Scriptures doe not expreſſe it, I ſaid it was curioſitie to ſearch it, preſumption to determine it, impoſsible certainely to conclude it: yet for that you made this your chiefe aduantage, that there could be coniectured none other cauſe of Chriſtes exceeding ſorrow in the Garden, beſides the preſent ſuffering of Hell paines in his ſoule; I gaue the Reader to vnderſtand how many there might be beſides your deuice, which of all others was leaſt tollerable or probable. Now you would *know whether I* ALLOVV *of* ALL *theſe cauſes, or no.* I haue anſwered you that already, if you had but eares to heare it. I did not acknowledge any of theſe to be preciſely or particularly mentioned in the Scriptures as the right cauſe of that Agonie, but if you would needes goe to coniecturing, I ſaid, there might be conceiued ſo many, and euery one of them *more* LIKLIE, *and godly*, then your ſuppoſing of Hell paines at that inſtant in Chriſts ſoule. I perſiſt ſtill in the ſame minde, what change finde you in me? *Elſe where I am* [b] *reſolute* (you ſay) *for ſome of theſe cauſes, and againſt other ſome. And yet before I ſaid, all theſe interpretations are ſound and ſtand well with the rules of Chriſtian pietie.*] It is more then a penance to be troubled with a trifler, that hath neither eyes to ſee, nor head to apprehend what is ſaid. When I came to conſider of the generall reſpects in Chriſt, whence that Agonie might ariſe; as the perſons were two, *God with whom*, and *Man for whom* Chriſt delt in that worke of our redemption; ſo I *reſolued* the cauſe of Chriſtes Agonie could not proceede, but either from his *ſubmiſſion* to God, to whoſe will and hand he muſt ſubiect himſelfe, if he would ranſome man; or from *compaſſion* of mans miſerie, for whom he was willing to lay downe his life. A third ground of Chriſts feare I grant I ſee none. For that Diuels ſhould torment Chriſtes ſoule, I leaue that inuention to your deuotion. But doe I determine any particular cauſe contrarie to my firſt profeſſion, when I ſtand reſolute, that from one or both of theſe fountaines the cauſe of Chriſts feare and ſorrow muſt be deriued? If I doe not, then piper-like doe you play with my variableneſſe, when you doe not ſo much as attend that I am reſolute in the generall dueties of pietie and charitie, which I aſcribe to our Sauiour; though I bee not reſolute in any particular cauſe of his feare at that preſent, as I at firſt profeſſed I neither could, nor would be, by reaſon the Scriptures do not expreſſely mention any. Againe, what dulneſſe is this to ſay I am *reſolute againſt ſome* of theſe cauſes, for that I make two principall heads, whereon the reſt depend? Can not your wiſedome ſee, that Chriſtes SVBMISSION to the Maieſtie of God ſitting in iudgement, and his DEPRECATION of Gods wrath proceede from his religious and humble ſubiection to the will and hand of God? As alſo that his ſorrow for the REIECTION of the Iewes, and DISPERSION of his Church, and his LAMENTATION of mans ſinne grow from his compaſsion on mans miſerie? And laſtly that the VOLVNTA-

[b] Defenc. pa. 33. li. 12.

RIE

RIE DEDICATION of his blood to bee ſhed for the ſinnes of the world, and the SANCTIFICATION OF HIS PERSON to offer the true and eternall ſacrifice, partake with both the former reſpects? Is it a contradiction with you to ſee many braneches on one ſtemme, many Springs in one well, many members in one bodie? And ſo childiſh you are, that you take ote-meale for egges, and *interpretations* for *cauſes*, and then you crake of my contrarieties, how much I ouer ſhot my ſelfe. For where I bring diuers Expoſitions of Chriſts words on the Croſſe, *My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken mee*; and ſay in the end, [p] *All theſe interpretations are found and ſtand with the rules of Chriſtian pietie*: you in a dreame or drowſineſſe (chooſe which you will) imagine I ſay, ALL THESE CAVSES of Chriſtes Agonie are found, and ſtand well with the rules of Chriſtian pietie; and ſo contradict my former reſolution, as if onely two were found, and not the reſt; where in trueth I neither auouch the one, nor the other: ſuch conflicts you make with your owne follies, and get the conqueſt not on my Aſſertions, but on your owne moſt fooliſh ouer-ſights. [p] Serm. pag. 37. li. 33.

Yet theſe [q] *agree not with any circumſtance of the Paſſion, and one of them croſſeth and ouerthroweth an other.*] Take firſt the paines to prooue ſomewhat, and then challenge your priuiledge to prate at your pleaſure; otherwiſe your word is no warrant for any wiſe man to depend on. The Scriptures teſtifie firſt Chriſts *ſorow* in the Garden, and then his ſweat like blood. *His ſorow* where he ſaith, [r] περίλυπος ἐστιν ἡ ψυχή μου, *my ſoule is euery way (grieued or) afflicted with ſorrow euen vnto death. His ſweate*, after he was comforted by an Angel from heauen, and fell to feruent prayer. So ſaith Saint Luke; *An Angel appeared to him from heauen comforting him. And being in an Agonie he prayed more earneſtly, and his ſweate fell on the earth like drops of blood.* Now an Agonie doth not properly or neceſſarily inferre either fainting feare or deadly paine, as you miſconceiue; but noteth a *contention* or *intention of bodie or minde whereby wee labour to performe* our deſire, and ſtriue againſt the danger which may defeate vs, as in place conuenient ſhall more fully appeare. Where alſo you ſhall ſee that not feare but feruencie in all likelihood was the cauſe of that bloodie ſweate. In the meane time it is plaine that Chriſt profeſſed he had ſundrie cauſes of his ſorrow in the Garden; for hee ſayth my ſoule is περίλυπος *on euery ſide oppreſſed with ſorow*. And what vrged him to that agonie or vehemencie of prayer, which S. Luke ſpeaketh of, after he was comforted by an Angell, wherein his ſweat ran from him like drops of blood, is not yet agreed on, nor any way confirmed by you? But note any of theſe ſixe cauſes, which I conceiued might induce our Sauiour to this ſorrow or ſweat; and ſee whether they haue not direct reference to his paſsion, and a full coherence ech with other. Howbeit, you reſerue that for a fitter place, and ſo do I. [q] Defenc. pa. 34. li. 3. & 6. [r] Matth. 26. [s] Luk. 22.

Why then doe *I ſeeme to* [t] *refuſe them as* none of mine, by ſaying, *I ſhewed not mine owne opinion but the iudgements of the Fathers?*] Nay why ſeeme you ſo void of all vnderſtanding, that you apprehend not ſo much as vſuall Engliſh? [u] MY *doctrine is not* MINE (ſayth our Sauiour) *but his that ſent me*: will you hence conclude a manifeſt contradiction in Chriſt, becauſe he ſayth, *mine is not mine*, but *his that ſent me*. In poſſeſsions, that is mine, which is wholly mine and no mans els; and in opinions, that is properly mine, whereof I am the firſt inuenter and author; howbeit by a larger extenſion of the word, that is mine alſo, wherein I communicate with others, though it be not properly or only mine. Out of this diſtinction of proper & common, knowen to the very children in Grammar ſchooles, our Sauiour ſayth moſt truly; *My doctrine* (that is, the doctrine which I preach, and in that reſpect is mine) *is not mine*, is not only mine, nor of my deuiſing, *but his that ſent me*. This were enough to warrant my words; and yet my ſpeech is ſomewhat plainer: for I added, not MINE OVVNE *opinion, but the iudgements of the Fathers*. Now mine owne is that *which is properly mine*, and *wherein no man partaketh* with me; and although you might ſtumble at *Mine*, yet MINE OVVNE would put you out of doubt. So that here, as elſwhere, you bewray the ſharpneſſe of your quarrelling humor; but if neither you nor your friends could ſpie any greater faults, than theſe abſurd and ignorant cauils; the Reader will ſcant [t] Defenc. pa. 33. li. 10. [u] Iohn 7.

truſt you hereafter, when you talke of my contrarieties and inconſtancies. But how doth this excuſe the foulenesſe of your mouth in reiecting the Fathers iudgements with irreuerent and diſdainfull termes; which was the thing I then reproued in you? If the opinions were onely theirs and not mine, would you the rather reuile them as *fond and abſurd*, becauſe they were wholly theirs, and no way mine?

z Defenc.pag. 33.l.vlt. [z *The Fathers you ſay, I call not ſo. Such I meant and tooke for abſurd gatherers, as commonly little regard the ſound doctrine of the Fathers, but onely admire their faults: whome here I noted by the name of our Contraries.*] Are you ſo ſet on ſhifting and ſhufling, that you can not forbeare ſeuen lines but you muſt needs contradict your ſelfe, and that ſo groſly, that euery Carter may controle you? In the ſeuenteenth line of your three

y Pa.33. li.17. and thirtieth page, you tell me, [y *I am in the beſt opinion, when I denie theſe to be mine opinions*: and being charged, that inſolently you called thoſe iudgements of the Fa-

a Ibid. li. 24. thers *fond and abſurd*, you anſwer (*that*) *theſe your words are* [a *purpoſely meant of thoſe in theſe dayes, that delight to vaunt of the Fathers, and chiefly in their errors.* Your vnciuill and vnſeemely liueries of *fond and abſurd* opinions and ſenſes, muſt needs belong either to the Fathers that vttered them, or to me that cited them. To catch me in a kind of contradiction, as you thought, your ſelfe acquit me from holding them: For I *denie* them, you ſay, and *refuſe them* as none of mine. On whom then light your *fond* and *abſurd* ſpeeches, but on the Fathers that firſt conceiued, and firſt deliuered thoſe opinions and ſenſes, which you ſo much diſlike and reproch? You meant it not of the Fathers.] You flutter in vaine, to free your ſelfe from that lime-twig: againſt your plaine ſpeech no man will admit your ſecret meaning cleane contrary to your words.

c Trea.pa.65. li.25. You ſay indeed, [c *I know our contraries do fanſie other ſenſes of this Text, My God, my God why haſt thou forſaken me*; but the ſenſes of that text alledged out of the Fathers word for word, & the places of the Authors named, when you come after your proud and peremptorie maner to examine and cenſure; you ſay, to that which was produced out

b Trea. pa.66. li.31. of *Ierome* and *Chryſoſtome*, [b *which ſenſe is moſt abſurd*; *and this is too fond to be ſpoken.*

c Trea.pa.67. li.11. To the ſenſe noted out of *Athanaſius*, *Auſten*, and *Leo*, your anſwer is; [c *this is no leſſe abſurd than the former*; *there is no cauſe nor likelihood in the world for it.* So when the teſtimonies of *Ambroſe*, *Auſten*, *Ierom* and *Bede* were produced, that the reiection of the Iewes might be ſome cauſe of Chriſtes ſorrow in the Garden; you groſly miſtake their words, as if they had expounded Chriſtes complaint on the croſſe, and pertly

d Trea pa.68. li.3.&8. reioyne, [d *this is more fond and abſurd than the other*; *there is no ſenſe nor reaſon in it.* How thinke you Sir? ſpeake you of the men, or of the *matter*, when you ſay, *this ſenſe is moſt abſurd*, *this is too fond to be ſpoken?* Could you wrench your words from the matter to the reporter, which you can not; what gaine you by that? If to alledge theſe opinions of Fathers, *be ſo fond and abſurd*, as you ſay, though I refuſe them, as you auouch I did; what was it in the Fathers themſelues to profeſſe and publiſh thoſe moſt *fond and abſurd ſenſes* (as you call them) to all ages and Churches, but meere and inexcuſable madneſſe? But tie your tongue ſhorter, leſt men thinke you mad, thus to raue at euerie thing, be it neuer ſo learned or aduiſed, that rangeth not with your erroneous fanſie. They haue ſpoken wiſely and grauely, and your kicking and wincing at their religious and ſober expoſitions with ſuch ſcornfull phraſes, may diſcouer your coltiſh conceits, it can neuer decreaſe or craze their credits.

e Defenc.pag. 31. *The Defender doth groſly miſtake the reiection of the Iewes to be the meaning of Chriſts complaint on the croſſe.*

I [e *caſt a needleſſe rebuke vpon you for confounding the cauſes of the agonie and the complaint together.*] Though all your exceptions to the Fathers expoſitions of that text, *My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me*, be moſt friuolous and fooliſh; yet none is more babiſh than when you miſtake the reiection of the Iewes (which I ſhewed out of *Ambroſe*, *Ierom*, *Auſten* and *Bede* might be ſome cauſe of Chriſtes ſorrow after his laſt ſupper) to be the meaning of his complaint on the Croſſe: and would needs in a flaunt affirme that ME in thoſe words of Chriſt (*why haſt thou forſaken me*) doth not ſignifie *my whole Nation*; which of my certaine knowledge neuer came into my head, nor euer out of my mouth. For I tooke care to wade no further in expounding them than the Scriptures and Fathers went before me; and howſoeuer his ſorrow for them

might

might happily not ceaſe before his death; yet there was no cauſe why hauing formerly prayed his Father to forgiue them, that knew not what they did, he ſhould now call the reſt of the perfidious and obſtinate Iewes by the name of himſelfe. If you ſtand to vphold this ouerſight, you ſhew your ſelfe to haue leſſe iudgement in mainteining it, than you had in miſtaking it; but you haue *ſtood too long on theſe trifles*, which I thinke to be true: for you trifle indeed, and neither in defence of your ſelfe, nor diſaduantage of me, bring any thing that is materiall. You come therefore to peruſe how you haue ignorantly and purpoſely peruerted my reaſons.

That the [f] *true ſacrifice for ſinne muſt be indeed* BODILY, BLOODY *and* DEAD, *we doubt not; we vnfainedly and heartily embrace it. The Patriarks beleeued it, the Iewes ſacrifices of beaſts figured it, the New Teſtament confirmeth it. But what will follow then? ergo Chriſtes bodilie deathonly and meerely was the whole ranſome and price of our ſinne? for we muſt note that this is the very queſtion indeed; this is the point of our controuerſie.*] When you can ſay nothing to ſupport your errours, you beginne to quarrell with the queſtion; as if you had or could preſcribe me what I ſhould preach of. What I by warrant of holie Scripture receiued into the contents of Chriſts croſſe, and what I excluded from the ſame, is euident by my words; you may not come after and alter the queſtion to your liking. Into the Croſſe of Chriſt I admitted whatſoeuer the Holie ghoſt witneſſeth the Sonne of God ſuffered either on his croſſe, or going to his croſſe. My words are plaine, [g] *the reſt which went before, not being excluded as ſuperfluous, but continued and increaſed by that ſharpe and extreme martyrdome which he endured on the croſſe.* And good reaſon had I ſo to doe: for all the paines and griefes of bodie or minde which befell him betweene his laſt ſupper and his faſtning to the croſſe, endured and augmented on the croſſe; and ſo by no meanes might be excluded from his croſſe. What things I then excluded from the croſſe of Chriſt, is as manifeſt by mine owne words; which neither I can hide, nor you may change. Theſe they are: [h] *Some men in our dayes ſtretch (the croſſe of Chriſt) a great deale farther, to the death both of bodie and ſoule, and vnto the whole paines of the damned in hell: but vpon how iuſt grounds, when you heare, you may iudge as you ſee cauſe.* Then ſhewing what might be tolerated, if men could therewith be contented, and that I neither refuted thoſe which tooke hell paines hyperbolically for [i] *great and intolerable paines*; nor thoſe that by hell paines vnderſtood either [k] *a wreſtling with the very powers of hell, or trembling at the terrour of Gods vengeance prouoked by our ſinnes*, ſo they put no diſtruſt nor doubt in Chriſtes ſoule of his owne ſaluation or our redemption, but leaue him *firme faith alwayes fixed on God*: I repeated againe, what it was I impugned; to wit, that [l] *ſome men in our dayes will no nay, but that Chriſt on the croſſe ſuffered the ſelfe ſame paines in ſoule, which the damned do in hell, and endured euen the death of the ſoule.* Heere Sir is the queſtion as I firſt propoſed it, I no where alter it, nor varie from it: both theſe, *I meane the death of the ſoule*, and *the ſelfe ſame paines which the damned* in hell do ſuffer, I excluded from the croſſe of Chriſt, and conſequently from the worke of our redemption; which I auouched to be perfect and full without either of thoſe additions. To this are all my proofs directed, and from this by your leaue I may not ſuffer you to wander: [m] *Your meere bodily ſufferings without any proper ſufferings of the ſoule* take backe to your ſelfe; I haue no ſuch words, nor make no ſuch doubts; *the death of the ſoule and the ſelfe ſame paines* which *the damned doe ſuffer*, and we ſhould haue ſuffered, had we not beene redeemed, which is the *ſecond death or the death of the damned*, are the things brought by me in queſtion. Wherefore howſoeuer you *will vnderſtand my meaning* contrarie to my words, becauſe you would ſhroud your ſelfe vnder the couert of theſe wordes MEERE AND PROPER, I muſt recall all my reaſons to thoſe two points to which I firſt intended them: and whether I ſpeake ambiguouſly or deceitfully, or change my queſtion, or charge you vniuſtly that you ſlip from the queſtion to certaine generall and doubtfull termes, let the Reader in Gods name iudge.

[f] Defenc. pag. 35.

The Defender not able to ſupport his errours, doth quarrell with the queſtion.

[g] Serm. pag. 8. li. 35.

[h] Serm. pag. 8. li. 23.

[i] Ibid. li. 29. li 36.

[k] Pag 9. li. 1. & 3.

[l] Serm. pag. 9. li. 14.

[m] Defenc. pa. 35. li. 32.

My proofes to my purpoſe ſtand ſound and good. The true ſacrifice for ſinne by the Apoſtles Doctrine hath theſe three properties in it; it muſt be BODILY,

BLOODY, and DEADLIE; that is, it must haue the *bodily and bloody death* of the mediator, who must be the Sonne of God. This the Patriarkes beleeued, the Iewish sacrifices prefigured, the new Testament confirmeth. What followeth you aske. *Ergo Christs bodily death onely and meerely was the whole ransome and price of sinne?*] Without your termes of *proper and meere* you are no body. My reason is in sight. *The death which the Mediator must dye for the sinnes of the world must be bodily and bloody. The death of the soule*, in this life, *and the death of the damned* after this life (which are the paines of hell) *could not be bodily and bloody*. Therefore *neither of them was the death which the Mediator must or did die for the sinnes of the world.* If he dyed neither of those, then he died the death of the body onely, for so much as the Scriptures mention no kinds of death but onely these three, except it be by way of figuratiue speech. Doe you now see what followeth? then what is your answere? ° *If I meane that the* MEERE *bodily sufferings of Christ without any proper sufferings of his soule are the intire and whole Ransome for sinne, then you affirme expreslie, there is no peece of reason in these words.*] You are a PROPER and MEERE Gentleman to sport out matters of this importance. I conclude by the Apostles assertion that Christ for the sinnes of the world died neither the *death* of the *soule*, nor the *death* of the *damned*, which is the paines of hell and second death; but ONELY A BODILY *death*. You reele too and fro, and stumble first at *bodily*, and then at *onely*, and in the end say you know not what. If I *meane* that Christes MEERE BODILY sufferings without any *proper* sufferings of the soule were the *whole* ransom for sin, then you see no reason in my words.] Thus much reason you may heare *in my words*, that Christ died neither the death of the Soule, nor the death of the damned, but ONLY A BODILY death, that is the death of the body and none other kind of death. What say you to this? ᵖ *This is not your Controuersie*, you say; *the very question indeede is as you haue set it.*] Haue you a Commission, when I haue proposed questions which I mind to impugne; to come after me and new set my questions? Acknowledge *the death of the soule, and the death of the damned*, which are the true paines of hell, to be no part of Christs sufferings, and we shall soone conclude that Christ died onely a bodily death for the sinnes of the world. But you after your slight and slippery manner, though euen here you deny it very stifly, when you be pressed with reasons or authorities, conuey your selfe presently to your ambiguous and deceitfull termes of *meere bodily sufferings*, and the *proper sufferings of the soule*, and from thence you make your aduantage. But what are *meere* bodily sufferings? such as haue no communion neither with the sense nor grace of the soule? can a liuing body die a shamefull and cruell death as Christ did and the soule neither like or mislike it, nor so much as feele it? This you inferre vpon the word *onely*, when I conclude that Christ died a bodily death onely.

° Defenc. pa. 35. li. 32.

ᵖ Pag 8. & 14.

ᵠ *If the sacrifice* (say you) AS *it is onely bodily and bloudy doe wholy purge sinne* ‖ *it followeth that no action or passion of the soule, neither by Sympathie nor any other, I say none at all* AS *being in the soule, was regarded as propitiatorie and meritorious.*] Graunt first your owne termes to be true, (which are neither my words nor my meaning) that *Christs* MEERE *bodily sufferings without any proper sufferings of the soule were the whole Ransom for sinne*; how exclude you the sense, affections, and actions of Christs soule not to be meritorious? Had Christ any sufferings in his body which his soule felt not? and when his soule felt them, did he not *patiently, obediently, and willingly* endure them for our sakes? Or was not the *patience, obedience, and loue* of Christ meritorious? How then will it follow, that if Christs sufferings were MEERE BODILY *without any proper sufferings of the soule*, no affection nor action of Christs soule was meritorious? But you adde *If the Sacrifice*, AS *it is onely bodily bloudy and deadly doth wholy purge sinne, then no action nor passion of the soule was propitiatorie and meritorious.*] If you meane that Christs body *as it was onely dead* (for that is your word) did without soule or life wholy purge sinne, then indeed your consequent is good, that neither action nor passion of the soule could be propitiatorie, because the soule was not present when the body was dead. But who maketh that blockish Antecedent be-

ᵠ Defenc. pa. 35. li 36.

‖ Et pa. 36. l. 2. *What is contained in Christes bodily death.*

sides

ſides your ſelfe? Or who euer excluded Chriſts *innocence, obedience, patience, charitie,* and *dignitie* from his bodily and bloody ſacrifice before you? will you ſeuer the manner of offering from the thing offered, and call it a perfect and propitiatorie ſacrifice?

As *it was only bodily and bloudy, it had no communion with any action or paſſion of Chriſts ſoule,* As *being in the ſoule.*] Why entangle you the Reader with an As and an As of your owne adding, which no where are found in my words? What ſenſe can any wiſe man pike out of this? *The ſacrifice,* As *it is only bodily, excludeth all actions and paſſions of the ſoule,* As *being in the ſoule.*] Is it ſo ſtrange a kind of ſpeech to ſay that *Chriſt died only a bodily death*, which ſo many learned and auncient Fathers haue ſo frequently vſed before me, that you ſhould bring in your As and your As thus to kicke at it? In death *as* in death, if thereby you meane the priuation and want of ſoule and life, there is neither paine, nor ſenſe; and in the body As in the body, if you take the body for a dead corps there is no abſolute neceſsitie of a ſoule; otherwiſe no body could be dead. What then? Had therefore Chriſts body no ſoule, nor his death no paine, when he ſuffered for our ſinnes? Or are you of late ſo ſouced in Sophiſtrie, that when you heare of a body you will inferre, there is neither action nor paſsion of the ſoule in that body, *as in a body?* or when you are told of a man tormented to death, you will aſſure vs that in his death, *as death*, he had neither paine nor ſenſe? All men beſides you, conceaue in the ſufferings of the body, the ſoule *as the ſoule* muſt haue the ſenſe and feeling thereof, and is thereby vrged by Gods ordinance to ſeeke for the cauſe and eaſe thereof. [r] *In their affliction* (ſaith God by his Prophet) *they will ſeeke me.* And Dauid, [ſ] *fill their faces with ſhame, that the may ſeeke thy name.* And likewiſe by the ſuffering of death they vnderſtand the paine and ſting of death approching, and laſtly ſeparating the ſoule from the body. And therefore Chriſts ſacrifice for ſinne though it were only bodily; becauſe no part of Chriſt died but only the body, yet the ſoule endured the paine and diſcerned the cauſe thereof. And though it were deadly, becauſe it ended in death and was finiſhed by death; yet the actions and affections of Chriſts ſoule, as well from her ſelfe as from his body, at the time of his paſsion impreſſed, or ſtirred, either by the cauſe, ſmart, author, or manner of his ſufferings were meritorious, and made way for the ſatisfaction of ſinne, which was not accompliſhed but by that death of Chriſts body, that God had determined. Let therefore the Reader iudge how well you impugne my concluſion, that Chriſt died for our ſinnes the death of the body only, and not the death of the ſoule nor of the damned; and how vainly you vouch, Chriſts death and ſacrifice as they were bodily, had neither *paines nor patience, obedience nor charitie,* nor any other action or paſsion of his ſoule in them.

[r] Hoſe. 5.
[ſ] Pſal. 82.

[t] *Elſe-where I ſee in you manifeſt contrarietie hereunto; for ſundry times you teach that Chriſt did ſuffer peculiarly and ſeuerally ſome proper puniſhments, (which I hope were propitiatorie and meritorious) in his ſoule, beſides his bodily ſuffering; yea that this was a part of his croſſe, and an effect of Gods wrath on his ſoule, as well as the ſuffering in his body.*] I pray thee Chriſtian Reader obſerue, that this Diſcourſer plainly and fully here confeſſeth that I SVNDRY *times teach, that Chriſt* BESIDES *his bodely ſufferings did ſuffer peculiarly and ſeuerally ſome* PROPER *puniſhments in his ſoule; and that this was a part of his Croſſe, as well as the ſufferings of his bodie.* Now iudge whether it be not a meere ſhift for him to beare thee in hand, that the queſtion betwixt vs is, *whether Chriſts meere bodily ſufferings without anie proper ſufferings of the ſoule* be all that Chriſt ſuffered for our ſinnes, and the whole ranſom for ſinne; or whether that be or can be my meaning as he outfaced thee the *next* [u] *Page before*; the contrary whereof I ſundry times teach as he now confeſſeth. But I *croſſe* my ſelfe, he thinketh, & *write I know not what.*] Sir Trifler if I contradict my ſelfe, ſhew me my words, my writing is extant. If you will be priuie to my meaning againſt my words, you are a ſtrange if not a ſturdie Prophet. But indeede I haue neither meaning nor words ſounding that way. I auouch that Chriſt for our ſinnes ſuffered the death of the body only, and not of the ſoule; or no death but only the death of the body. Vpon theſe words, *the death of the bodie onlie,* if

[t] Defenc. pa. 36.
[u] Pag. 35. li. 31.

it may be inferred by any reaſon or learning, ergo, *Chriſts dead bodie deprined of ſoule and ſenſe was the whole Ranſom for our ſinnes*, for that he meaneth by Chriſts death: or, ergo *no action, nor paſſion of Chriſts ſoule before or on his croſſe was meritorious:* If I ſay theſe concluſions doe neceſſarily follow out of thoſe words or out of the meaning of them; then I muſt confeſſe I am fowly ouerſhot in *my ſpeach*. But if theſe be moſt ignorant and abſurd collections from my words, and from theirs that vſed that ſpeech before me; then mayeſt thou ſee, Chriſtian Reader, what meaning this man hath throughout this booke, purpoſely to peruert and miſconſter all that I ſay, to make thee beleeue I broch ſome ſtrange and wonderous Doctrine. But ſhifts lie hid but a while, the ſhame in the end will be his.

x Defenc.pa. 36. li.13. x *How then can that which I ſundrie times teach* of Chriſts *ſufferings in his ſoule be true if our whole ranſom and propitiation be bodily bloudy and deadly, only which is the point I here ſtand on?* | What contradiction finde you in my words, that Chriſt might haue and had ſufferings in his ſoule, *as feare, ſorrow, and affliction of minde* and yet died no death, but only a bodilie? *Only a bodily death* doth not exclude all paines which are not bodily, but all deaths, ſaue the death of the bodie. Wherefore my concluſion is where it was, That the death which the Mediator muſt ſuffer for ſinne, by the Apoſtles doctrine muſt onely be bodily and bloodie; and therefore by no meanes the death of the ſoule, or of the damned. [*Yet this was not our whole ranſome* you ſay, nor the whole ſacrifice for ſinne, *the ſufferings of his ſoule muſt be added vnto it.*] When I ſpeake of Chriſtes death, I vnderſtand that maner and order of his death which the Euangeliſts deſcribe; for ſo the Scriptures meane when they ſpeake of Chriſtes death; and from that death I doe not ſeuer thoſe ſufferings of his ſoule which the Scriptures mention, becauſe the ſharpneſſe of that death which his body was to ſuffer, draue him to the deepe conſideration of the *cauſe*, why; of the *Iudge* from whom; and the *captiue*, for whom he ſuffered. Chriſt otherwiſe had not ſuffered death as a Redeemer, if he had been ignorant of any of theſe; or compelled by force to endure the furie of the Iewes: he had power enough to ſtay their rage, & decline their bloudie hands; yea, to auert or decreaſe the paines, as he thought good; but becauſe he was to offer himſelfe as a willing ſacrifice to ſuffer death to ſaue vs from the wrath of his Father; he layed aſide his owne power, and ſubmitted himſelfe wholly to be diſpoſed at his Fathers will, which the Scriptures call his *obedience vnto death*. When therefore he foreſaw and felt how ſharpe and painfull that death would be, and was, which he muſt and did ſuffer for our ſinnes; was it poſsible he ſhould not fully caſt the eyes of his minde vpon the horror of our ſinnes, which did ſo ſting him? vpon the fierceneſſe of Gods wrath, which did ſo purſue him though he were his innocent and only ſonne? and vpon the terrible vengeance that reſted for vs, if he ſhould miſlike or refuſe to beare the burden of our offences? If any man learned thinke it poſsible for Chriſt to ſuffer the one, and not in ſpirit moſt cleerely to ſee the other, I am content he ſhall ſeuer the ſufferings of Chriſts ſoule from the griefe and anguiſh of his bodily death: but if it be more than abſurd ſo to conceiue; then finde we that the ſight and ſenſe of Chriſtes extreame torments in bodie cauſed and vrged his ſoule thorowly to beholde theſe things with feare and ſorrow, which in themſelues were moſt fearefull, and could not chuſe but affect Chriſtes ſoule deeply and diuerſly. As for the whole ranſome of our ſinne, we ſhall haue occaſion in the next reaſon more largely to treate of.

y Defenc.pa. 36. y *But you haue reaſons, you ſay, to confirme your maine matter; among manie, theſe two: the firſt, the Iewiſh ſacrifices ſhadowing and foreſhewing; the ſecond, the ſacraments of Chriſtians teſtifying and confirming, that the true ſacrifice for ſinne was bodily and bloudy. Still what trifling is this? doth any in the world denie, that the true ſacriſice for ſinne was the bodie, bloud, and death of the Redeemer? Wherefore the propoſition muſt be, as I did ſet it in your behalfe: the Iewiſh ſacrifices were ſhadowes or figures, and our ſacraments were ſignes of our whole and abſolute redemption by Chriſt, I ſay of the whole and entire propitiatorie ſacrifice, or els you ſhrinke and leaue the queſtion.*] When I lacke one to *ſet propoſitions in my behalfe*, I will ſend to you for helpe: till then ſpare your paines, except you might reape

reape more thanks. But you muſt learne to get you plainer termes, or at leaſt more plainly to expound them, if you will needs be a ſetter of propoſitions: for what is the WHOLE *ſacrifice propitiatorie?* and what is *our* WHOLE *redemption?* By the whole ſacrifice meane you the *whole perſon* of Chriſt, that gaue himſelfe for vs? or intend you the whole *action*, whereby he ſanctified, ſubmitted, and preſented himſelfe as a ſacrifice of a ſweet ſmell vnto God? or by the whole, vnderſtand you *all that in Chriſt was denoted and deliuered vnto death* for the ſatisfaction of Gods iuſtice? And ſo our whole redemption, doe you referre it only to *remiſſion* of ſinnes, as the Apoſtle doth when he ſayth, *We haue redemption through Chriſtes bloud*, euen *the forgiueneſſe of ſinnes?* or alſo to *deliuerance* from the dominion and infection of ſinne, and to the *abolißhing* of all corruption in ſoule and bodie; which is our whole and *abſolute redemption?* When the powers of heauen ſhall be ſhaken, and the Sonne of man come in a cloud with power and great glorie, *then* [a] *lift vp your heads* (ſayth Chriſt) *for your redemption draweth neere.* [a] *You are ſealed* (by the holy Spirit) *vnto the day of redemption*, ſayeth Paul. And Dauid: *God ſhall* [b] *redeeme their ſoules from deceit and violence*; that is, he ſhall *deliuer* their ſoules. The Saints, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, [c] *were racked, and would admit no redemption to obtaine a better reſurrection*; where, by redemption he meaneth deliuerance. As Zacharias ſayd, *God hath* [d] *viſited and ſent redemption to his people*; that is, *ſaluation* (or deliuerance) *from our enemies, and from the hands of all that hate vs, to ſerue him in holineſſe and righteouſneſſe all the dayes of our life.* So that our *whole and abſolute redemption* compriſeth all the degrees and ſteps of our ſaluation, as iuſtification, ſanctification, and glorification; and theſe though they were merited and obtained for vs by Chriſtes obedience vnto death, yet are they performed and accompliſhed by diuers other meanes therewith concurring and thereon depending, as by the grace of his ſpirit, the working of his power, and glory of his comming. And therefore the words which you haue ſet in my behalfe, are like their authour; that is, they are ambiguous and quarrellous.

[a] Luc. 21. [a] Ephes. 4. [b] Pſal. 72. [c] Hebr. 11. [d] Luc. 1.

The whole propitiatorie ſacrifice are words as doubtfull as the other: for ſince Chriſt was the Prieſt, who [e] *by his eternall ſpirit offered himſelfe vnſpotted to God, and* [f] *gaue himſelfe for vs to be an offering and ſacrifice of a ſweet ſmel vnto God*; his innocence and obedience chiefly reſted in his ſoule, & thence ſanctified his bodie, which ſuffered death for the ranſome of our ſinnes. Though then all things in Chriſt were holie and acceptable vnto God, and ſo ſacrifices moſt meritorious; yet nothing did fully ſatisfie the iuſtice of God for ſinne, nor make a perfect reconciliation for vs with God, but his obedience vnto death. For that which muſt ſatisfie for ſinne, muſt be death; other ranſome for ſinne God neither in his wildome and counſell would, nor in his trueth and iuſtice could accept, after his will once determined and declared. It was the firſt wages appointed and denounced by God to ſinne: [g] *In the day that thou eateſt thereof thou ſhalt die the death*; (or certainly thou ſhalt die;) the doubling of the word noting the inflexibilitie of Gods counſell and iuſtice. The Apoſtle witneſſeth the ſame, when he ſayth, [h] *The wages of ſinne is death.* Then as ſinne was *irreuocablie rewarded* with death, ſo muſt it *neceſſarily be redeemed by death.* Which rule ſtood ſo ſure, that when the Sonne of God would giue himſelfe for vs to redeeme vs, he could not do it (by reaſon of Gods immutable counſell and decree) but by death. Wherefore the Apoſtle calleth him *the* [i] *Mediator of the New teſtament through death for the redemption of tranſgreſſions. And where a teſtament is, there* MVST BE (ſayth he) *the death of the teſtator.* He contenteth not himſelfe to ſay there was, but there *muſt be the death of the teſtator*, before we could be redeemed. A neceſsitie not ſimplie binding Gods power, but plainly declaring his counſell to be fixed, and his will reuealed.

[e] Heb. 9. [f] Eph. 5. [g] Gene. 2. [h] Rom. 6. [i] Hebr. 9.

Since then Chriſt was *to* [k] *taſte death for all men, that through death he might deſtroy him which had power of death, euen the diuell*; and deliuer vs who *were* [l] *reconciled to God by the death of his ſonne*; the point (which indeed wee both muſt ſtand on) is; what death Chriſt ſuffered to redeeme vs from ſinne, and to reconcile vs vnto God; whether it were the *death* of the *damned*, which is the *ſecond death*; or *the death of the ſoule*;

[k] Hebr. 2. [l] Rom. 5.

soule; or (as I auouch) the *death of the bodie only*. Other parts of Christes person, and beames of his vertues, and kinds of his sufferings are not to this question, farther than they commended and presented to God Christes death which must ransome our sinnes; but the *scope* to which all the rest was *referred*, and the *close* which *consummated* all the rest, was *death*; and therefore no sufferings of Christ were parts of the propitiatorie sacrifice which ransomed sinne, but such as ended in death, or tended to that *sorrowfull, shamefull and painfull death* of Christ, which by order of Gods iustice was appointed to satisfie for sinne. The fulnesse of which satisfaction consisted in death, and therefore the *death* and *bloud* of Christ though they were not the *whole* sacrifice, yet were they the *full and perfect ransome and price* for sinne; because without them the rest could not preuaile, and to them all the rest was directed. If then you will deale plainly as you pretend, or not forget your duetie to God and his trueth, you must leaue cauilling with the words of the Holy Ghost, and go soberly to consider, not whether any other sufferings, but whether any other death of Christes be mentioned in the Scriptures to ransome our sinnes, besides the death of his bodie. If you finde any other there, professe it in Gods name; if you finde none but only that described or mentioned in the Scriptures, leaue snarling at the depth and bredth of those words which the Spirit of God hath authorized, and learne rather to vnderstand them truely, than vainly to oppose against them.

In sense and substance there is no difference betwixt these words, the *death*, *bloud*, *and crosse* of Christ; the *crosse* noting the *tree*, *whereon* Christ died a reprochfull and cruell death for vs; and his *bloud* expressing the *maner of his death* by sundrie sorts of shedding the same, as by whipping, piercing his head with thornes, boaring his hands and feet to fasten him to the crosse, and hanging him thereon three houres by the soreneſse of his wounds, till his soule departed from his bodie. To make these iarre one with the other, which the holy Ghost had knit together, is the signe of a busie, but not of godly wit; and howsoeuer you and your adherents can flourish with figures of Grammar, you were best take heede that you turne not your eares from the trueth of God. The bodily death which Christ died to ransome our sinnes, the holy Ghost doth note sometimes by his *Flesh*, sometimes by his *Body*, sometimes by his *Blood* and sometimes by his *Crosse*, and these either ioyned or seuered; and sometimes also by his soule or life laide downe or powred out vnto death for vs. We finde them ioyned, when Paul saith, [m] *It pleased (God) by Christ to reconcile all things to himselfe* and *to pacifie by the* BLOOD *of his Crosse through him, both things in earth and things in heauen. And you which in times past were strangers and enemies, hath he now reconciled in the* BODY OF HIS FLESH *through death.* Seuered are they when Peter saith; [n] *You were redeemed by the precious blood of Christ as a Lambe vndefiled*; Who [o] *by his owne blood* (saith the Apostle) *entered in once into the holy place, and obtained eternall Redemption.* And so when Iohn saith, [p] *The blood of Iesus Christ cleanseth vs from all sinne.* As likewise Paul; [q] *We haue Redemption through his blood, euen the Remission of sinnes.* Of his body himselfe saith; [r] *This is my body, which is giuen for you*; and [s] *my flesh will I giue for the life of the world: so are* [t] *we sanctified by the offering of the body of Iesus Christ once.* Likewise of his soule by which the Scripture meaneth his life, for that life wholy dependeth vpon the presence of the soule in the body; [u] *My Father loueth me* (sayth Christ) *because I lay downe my soule* (or life.) [x] *The sonne of man came to giue his soule* (or life) as *a ransome for many.* And Esay foreshewed that Christ should diuide the spoyle of (or with) the mightie, *Because he* [y] *powred out his soule vnto death*, which seuereth the soule from the body; and so *made it an offering for sinne* by laying it downe of himselfe, that death might seaze on his body. This then being the maine foundation of the Gospel, which the Apostle receiued, that [z] *Christ died for our sinnes according to the Scriptures*, the Question still standeth as I first set it, *What death Christ died for our sinnes* by the witnesse of holy Scriptures, and not what sufferings went before, or what other things ioyned with his death, which is the hole that you would faine hide your selfe in. To that intent, which I set downe, my reasons drawen from the

m Coloss 1.
n 1.Pet.1.
o Hebr.9.
p 1.Iohn 1.
q Ephe.1.
r Luke 22.
s Iohn 6.
t Hebr.10.
u Iohn 10.
x Matt.20.
y Esa.53.
z 1. Co.in.15.

Iewish

Iewiſh ſacrifices and Chriſtians ſacraments did, and doe ſtill ſtand effectuall. For *the olde ſacrifices muſt figure*, and the *new Sacraments* muſt *ſeale whatſoeuer death* in Chriſt was the full and perfect ranſome of our ſinnes. But they foreſhew and confirme the bodily death of Chriſt onely; they neither ſhew nor ſignifie the death of the ſoule, nor the death of the damned. Therefore the bodily death of Chriſt onely is the full and perfect ranſome of our ſinnes: the death of the ſoule, and the death of the damned, as they ſerued nothing to our Redemption, ſo were they not ſuffered in the ſoule of Chriſt.

Two cauils you offer againſt the firſt part of this reaſon touching the ſacrifices of the fathers before and vnder the law. One that they figured not the whole ſacrifice, as neither Chriſtes *Deitie, his ſoule, nor his reſurrection:* the next that all the ſacrifices of the Iewes did not ſignifie his bodily death, becauſe the Scape-goate, which was a ſinne offering, was not ſlaine. Of trifling you talke much, this is more then trifling, it is plaine ſhifting. Chriſtes deitie could be no part of that ſacrifice which ſuffered for ſinne; the diuine Maieſtie can not ſuffer either paine or ſorrow. To what ende then come you in with Chriſtes Godhead, when you talke of his ſuffering for ſinne? His ſoule, you ſay, was not figured by thoſe ſacrifices.] The ſuffering death in his ſoule was indeed no way figured by them; but that the mediatour ſhould haue an humane ſoule to bee ſeparated from his body by death, before hee could make purgation of our ſinnes; that was more then figured by thoſe ſacrifices. For ſince not the blood of beaſts, but of man, and euen of the Sonne of God made man, was by Gods promiſe to be ſhed for our ſinnes; It is euident that from life to death he could not come, but by ſeuering his ſoule from his body. And conſequently he muſt haue a ſoule being a man, which muſt be powred out vnto death, before he could die, euen as the powers of life in bloody ſacrifices were parted from their fleſh, before they could be offered as ſacrifices vnto God.

But I [a] *charge you vntruely* when *I ſay, you expound your whole and abſolute Redemption* to be of *all the fruites and cauſes of our Redemption: you haue no ſuch word nor meaning as fruites.*] Your words are our *whole and abſolute Redemption*, and thoſe I ſay containe the whole courſe of our ſaluation euen vnto the laſt ſtep, which is our glorification, as I haue formerly prooued by Chriſtes owne ſpeech. Againe if the [b] reſurrection of Chriſt, which is your owne inſtance, bee a part of that propitiatorie ſacrifice, becauſe it was a neceſſarie conſequent, then all the benefites that Chriſt obtained for vs, or beſtowed on vs, muſt be compriſed in that his oblation for ſinne. For they are all neceſſarie conſequents and effects of our Redemption, and depend on theſe two branches; his death to free vs from ſinne, and his reſurrection to raiſe vs into a new and heauenly life now & for euer. *He was* [c] *deliuered* (to death) *for our ſinnes, and roſe againe for our iuſtification.* From theſe two heads the Scriptures deriue not onely forgiuenes of ſinnes, but newneſſe of life on earth, and happineſſe of life in heauen. Yet you did not call them fruits.] Effects you called them, and what is a ioyfull effect, ſuch as was Chriſts reſurrection, but a fruit? and that as well in Chriſt as in vs? When the Prophet ſaith of Chriſt [d] *he ſhall ſee the trauaile of his ſoule, and be ſatisfied*, what meaneth he but the fruits and effects of Chriſts labour? when for his obedience to death, God highly exalted him, and gaue him a name aboue euery name, that euery knee ſhould bow vnto him, what is this but a fruite and reward of his humiliation, firſt, in his owne perſon, then proportionably in all that be his?

[a] Defenc. pa. 36. li. 31.

[b] Treati pa. 11. li 30.

[c] Rom. 4.

[d] Eſay. 53.

[e] *Many of the Iewes ſacrifices, yea moſt of them, did repreſent and ſignifie Chriſts bodily ſufferings onely, yet not all. Therefore you may well deny mine aſſumption, as you did before; and affirme that certaine Iewiſh Sacrifices ſet forth the ſufferings euen of the ſoule of Chriſt, and not of his body only.*] Did I any where ſay that all the Iewiſh ſacrifices were bloudy? or that all of them did repreſent Chriſts death and blood ſhedding? Could I be ignorant, that the Iewes had oblations made onely by fier, as of *flower, wine, and incenſe?* and alſo offerings of the firſt fruits, and other things dedicated or preſented to the Lord for the vſe of his tabernacle and Temple? Doth not the Apoſtle ſay; [f] *Euery high*

[e] Defenc. pa. 37. li. 5.

[f] Heb. 5.

high Prieſt is ordayned for men to offer GIFTES *and* SACRIFICES *for ſinne?* Where *gifts* ſhew, that things without life were offered as well as liuing beaſts and birds which were ſlaine. As then there was no cauſe, nor neede I ſhould, ſo I neuer vſed the word ALL in that caſe, vnleſſe I added *liuing or* BLOODY *Sacrifices*. For they by their life loſt and blood ſhed figured the death of Chriſt Ieſus. But this ALL is your adding to my wordes, that you may take occaſion to pike ſome quarrell at them.

But you may well deny my aſſumption, that no ſacrifices of the Iewes did figure the ſufferings of Chriſts ſoule.] I aſſumed no ſuch thing, neither did I meddle with the ſufferings of Chriſts ſoule, vnleſſe they were the death *of the ſoule*, or *the paines of hell*, which the Scripture calleth the *ſecond death*; and I the *death of the damned*; becauſe none beſides the damned die that *ſecond death*: but you plainly giue me the ſlip; and conuey your ſelfe from ſpeaking of the death of the ſoule or of the death of the damned, which are the things in Queſtion, to the ſufferings of the ſoule in generall, of which I make no Queſtion. And though your meaning be, vnder the ſufferings of the ſoule to compriſe *the tormenting of Chriſts ſoule by the immediate hand of God with the ſelfe ſame paines which the damned do feele in hell*; Yet ſuch is your cariage, that euery where you ſuppreſſe your maine intent, and make a faire ſhew with the ſufferings of Chriſts ſoule, as if you ment no more, but that Chriſts ſoule muſt needs haue ſome ſufferings proper to it ſelfe; which you confeſſe I ſundry times teach; and yet you make your Reader beleeue, I euer impugne. You ſhall doe well to awake out of this ſlumber and call to minde, that there are no ſufferings of Chriſts ſoule now in queſtion, but the DEATH of the SOVLE, or of the DAMNED; which you dare not openly auouch, and therefore you plaſter them ouer with ſmoother termes of the ſufferings of the ſoule; to hide your ſecret myſteries till you meete with itching eares, that will liſten more to fanſies then to faith. Another peece of skill you ſhew in this place, to eaſe your ſelfe of all proofe, and thinke it enough if *you once denie it*. For where you *affirme that certaine Sacrifices of the Iewes ſet foorth* (thoſe) *ſufferings of Chriſts ſoule*, which you meane; and I vtterly denied that any ſacrifices of the Iewes did ſhew the ſuffering of hell paines in Chriſts ſoule, or any other kind of death beſides the death of the body only: you take not the paines to make any proofe of that you affirme, but ſtand in your ſtate, and ſay you deny my aſſumption. As if the negatiue being mine, and the affirmatiue yours, you were not by all rules of Reaſon to prooue your affirmatiue; and it ſufficed me to ſtand on the negatiue, till you made iuſt proofe of the contrary. [Here you will ſay you doe bring proofe for your aſſertion.] Here indeed you ſpend three leaues in talking of it as your manner is; howbeit your word is here, as throughout your writings, the beſt warrant you offer vs for this cauſe. But let vs heare your examples and proofes.

[8] Defenc. pa. 27 li. 10.

My Exceptions to the Defenders inſtance of the Scape-goat.

First, that [8] *ſacrifice conſiſting of two goats, a ſlaine and a ſcape-goat. You obiect heere againſt; firſt, that I abuſe the Text. That were a great fault; but let vs view the Text.*] Againſt your inſtance of the Scape-goat figuring as you would haue it, the ſufferings of Chriſts ſoule; I made three exceptions: Firſt, that the Scripture did not call the Scape-goat a Sacrifice for ſinne: Secondly, that no proofe was or could be made, that the Scapegoat ſignified the ſoule of Chriſt: Thirdly, that if both thoſe were granted, which were no way proued, the Scape-goat ſuffering nothing, but being let looſe into the wilderneſſe, did rather inferre that Chriſtes ſoule was freed from all ſuch ſufferings as you would force vpon it. To the laſt, which is the chiefeſt, you take the paines to ſay little; and ſo giue the Reader to vnderſtand, that your bolde aſſertion is the beſt foundation of your proofe: for if you can not ſhew, as you neither doe nor can, that the Scape-goat by the Scriptures ſuffered any thing; how will you bring it about, that the Scape-goat figured the ſufferings of Chriſtes ſoule? ſhall no ſuffering be a figure of ſuffering? ſuch may your figures be; but the wiſdome of God maketh figures for ſimilitude and reſemblance to the trueth; and not for contrarietie to it, as you do. The chiefeſt point then you cleane ſlide from, and take holde on

ſome

ſome words in Moſes text, about which you thinke you may wrangle with ſome more likelihood.

The verie expreſſe words of the text, you ſay, *are theſe: Aaron ſhall take of the people two goats for a ſinne offering. And verie good reaſon muſt I bring to fruſtrate ſo plaine a ſpeech.*] I am farre from bringing any thing to fruſtrate the Scriptures; but if the Scripture expreſſe it ſelfe, I preferre that before your miſapplying the words to your will. *(Aaron) ſhal take* of the congregation of the children of Iſrael *two goats (for ſinne.)* So ſtand the words, if you will needs appeale preciſely to the text. Here is a taking (of two goats) and an intent for ſinne declared in generall, but the particular maner of vſing and ordering either of them according to Gods appointment followeth in diſtinct and direct words. Aaron [k] *ſhall take the two goats and make them ſtand before the Lord at the doore of the Tabernacle. And Aaron ſhall giue lots vpon both goats, one lot for the Lord and another for the Scape-goat.* And *Aaron ſhall make the goat on which the lot fell for the Lord to draw neere, and ſhall make him reddie* (or) ſacrifice him for ſinne. For here is AASA'HV added, which in the Scriptures vſually ſignifieth to make readie a Sacrifice. *And he ſhall kill the goat that is for ſinne, for the people, and bring his bloud within the vaile.* In as plaine words as the former be, or any can be, *that goat on which the lot fell for the* Lord, *muſt be made readie*, that is, ſacrificed *for ſinne*, of which he ſpake at firſt; and that *which was the peoples ſinne-offering muſt be ſlaine*, and his blood brought within the vaile. But neither of theſe agree to the Scape-goat: therefore the Scape-goat was not the ſinne offering for the people, which the Scripture in that place mentioneth. [l] *Theſe words* (you ſay) *proue not that the Scape-goat was no ſinne-offering at all.*] Theſe particular circumſtances doe plainly proue, which of the two goats was made the peoples ſinne-offering, and ſo conuince that you inlarge the words of Moſes without any iuſt ground to ſerue your owne conceit. Two *ſinne-offerings* were not taken from *the people*, but *two goats* were taken for ſinne, and one of them ſacrificed for the people, as was after preſcribed and performed; and Aaron commanded for him and his houſe [k] *to offer a bullocke for his ſinne-offering.* So that where the Scripture mentioneth no moe ſinne-offerings for the people but one, neither vſeth the word AASA but to one of them; that one was prepared and ſlaine by Gods commandement as a ſinne-offering for the people, where the Scape-goat was preſerued aliue, and ſent away into the wilderneſſe, to ſhew the force of the former ſacrifice by carying with it the ſinnes of the people.

[k] Leuitic. 16. verſ 7.

[l] Defenc. pa. 37. li. 21.

[k] Leuitic. 16. verſ. 6.

[l] *I take a ſacrifice and offering in the largeſt ſenſe, as ſignifying any conſecrated thing giuen to God to appeaſe him for ſinne. And ſuch vnbloudie ſinne-offerings very manie we ſhall finde in Moſes Law. Wherefore the Scape-goat may be a ſinne-offering, though it were not ſlaine or bloudie.*] That the word Sacrifice may be diuerſly taken, and applied to things vnbloudie and ghoſtly, I haue no doubt: but that one and the ſame word, in one and the ſame place, ſhould import both a bloudie and vnbloudie ſacrifice for ſinne, is a ſhift of yours without all ſenſe, it hath no ſhew in the ſacred Scriptures. Againe, the ſacrifices for ſinne, were they bloudie or vnbloudie, which are mentioned in Moſes law, and namely in all thoſe places which you quote in your margin; they were all without exception OFFERED to God by FIRE; the things liuing ſuffered firſt death by effuſion of bloud; the things without life, as *flowre, oyle, wine*, and ſuch like, were caſt into the fire where the bloudie ſacrifices were burned; and ſo without bloud or fire no ſacrifice for ſinne is appointed in Moſes law. Since then the Scape-goat was neither ſlaine nor touched with fire, but ſent forth aliue into the wilderneſſe; what do thoſe examples of things vnbloudie, yet offered by fire, helpe you to proue, that the Scape-goat liuing was ſuch a ſinne offering as many are found in Moſes law?

[l] Defenc pag. 37. li. 28.

[m] *Can there be any thing in the world more full and ſtrong to proue that the Scape-goat alſo was a true ſinne-offering, or rather a true part of this whole* and entire *ſinne-offering conſiſting and being compleat in both theſe goats, the ſlaine and the Scape-goat? For as the ſlaine ſo the Scape-goat, we ſee, was* CONSECRATED *to the Lord, and here* OFFERED *(to make reconciliation by him) and ſeparated from men, and bare vpon him all the ſinnes of the people.*]

[m] Defenc. pa. 38. li. 13.

people.] You be come now from a ſinne-offering to a part of a ſinne offering; and that you proue, becauſe the Scape-goat was [a] CONSECRATED and OFFERED *to make reconciliation by him.* All theſe words are your owne adding to the text; and if you keepe that courſe, you may proue what you liſt, if not by the Scriptures, at leaſt by your commentaries vpon the Scriptures. The words of Moſes in that verſe, which you quote, are theſe: And *the goat* (on which the lot fell to be the Scape-goat) *ſhalbe* [b] *brought aliue before the Lord,* LECAPPER, *to pray ouer him* (or to carie away ſinne by him) *and to ſend him for the Scape-goat into the deſert.* You aske whoſe tranſlation this is. Theirs that had better skill in the Hebrue tongue than you or I. The ancient tranſlation of the Latine Church hath, *vt fundat preces ſuper eum*; to make prayers ouer him; which Iſychius, Nicolaus de Lyra, and Arias Montanus do follow. *Pagnine* ſayth, *ad emundandum per illum, to cleanſe,* or cary away *ſinne by him,* which *Vatablus* in his notes varieth by *adrogandum, to pray* ouer him. That the Scape-goat was conſecrated or *offered*, there are no ſuch wordes in Moſes text; except you meane, that the *bringing* of the goat before God was the *offering* of it, and the *praying* ouer it was the *conſecrating* of it; but theſe be ſillie coniectures to proue the *conſecration* and *oblation* of a Sacrifice. The Scape-goat therefore was not the halfe ſinne-offering of the people as you pretend; it was a ſenſible figure of the acceptance of the former Sacrifice, whoſe bloud was carried within the vaile, and made a full propitiation for all their ſinnes; as much as thoſe Sacrifices could effect. And in token thereof the Prieſt was willed before their faces by impoſing his hands and confeſsing their iniquities, to let them ſee, that the Lord remoued all their ſinnes out of his ſight, as that goat was caried away from the ſight of men into the wilderneſſe. So that the Scape-goat was nothing giuen to God for ſinne as you would haue it, but ſhewed rather a reiection and deteſtation of ſinne by his departure into the deſert, and was no ſanctified and accepted ſacrifice for ſinne, as the other was whoſe bloud did make the purgation of their ſinnes, and reconcile them to God by his figuring and their beleeuing in the true and eternall ſacrifice for ſinne.

[a] Pag vt ſupra li. 5.

[b] Leuitic. 16. verſ. 10.

The Scape-goat might in ſome ſort be a figure of Chriſt.

Was not the Scape-goat then a figure of Chriſt as well as the ſlaine goat?] Though certaine Fathers doe ſometimes reſemble the Scape-goat to the wicked and reprobate, which is not ſo wide a wandering from the trueth, as your wreſting it to ſignifie the ſufferings of Chriſtes ſoule; yet neither did I, nor doe I gainſay, but the Scape-goat might in ſome ſort be a figure of Chriſt, notwithſtanding all things in it can not be proportioned to Chriſt, for ſo no figure can match him: yet that doth not proue it to be ſacrifice for ſinne, much leſſe to foreſhew the ſufferings of Chriſtes ſoule. There were many figures of Chriſt, yea of Chriſtes death, as the Braſen Serpent, the Rocke in the deſert; Sampſon, Ionas, and many ſuch, which were no ſacrifices; and ſo might the Scape-goat prefigure either the cauſe or ſhame of his death or both, as the ſlaine goat did the maner and power of his death, and yet be no ſinne-offering. Iuſtine Martyr ſayth, The two goats [f] *deſigned the two commings of Chriſt; the firſt when the Elders of the people and Prieſts laying their hands on him and putting him to death,* SENT HIM AVVAY AS THE SCAPEGOAT. *The ſecond, when they ſhall acknowledge him, whom they diſhonoured, to be the ſacrifice for all repentant ſinners.* Tertullian is of the ſame minde: *One of the goats* [g] *arayed in redde ſcarlet, accurſed and ſpet on, beaten and punched by the people, was caſt out of the city into a place of perdition,* (thus) *marked with manifeſt ſignes of the Lords paſſion. The other offered for ſinne, and giuen for food to the Prieſts of the Temple, ſecundæ repreſentationis argumenta ſignabat, ſealed the effects of his ſecond appearing.* Theodoret referreth the two goats to the two natures of Chriſt; the [r] *ſlaine goat to repreſent the paſſible nature of his fleſh; the Scape-goat to ſhew the impaſſible nature of his Diuinitie.* [s] Iſychius doth the like. Caluine a man of ſharpe iudgement, and in ſome ſenſe a mainteiner of the ſufferings of Chriſtes ſoule, yet doth not applie the Scape-goat as you doe; but either to witneſſe the *reſurrection of Chriſt*, as the ſlaine goat did declare his death; or to ſhew that Chriſt was a *man deuoted* to beare *the ſhame* and puniſhment of ſinne for others. *There is heere ſet downe* (ſayth he) *a* [t] *doubble way*

[f] *Iuſtinus in Dialogo cum Tryphone.*
[g] *Tertul. contra Marcio. li. 3. & aduerſ. Judæos de 2. Chriſti aduentu.*
[r] *Theodoreti quæſt. in Leuit. & ſimil. Dialogo 3.*
[s] *Iſychius li. 5. in Leuit. 16.*
[t] *Caluinus Harmo. in 4. li. Moſis in 2 præcepto ex cap. 16 Leuitici.*

of

of cleanſing ſinne. For of the two goats, one was offered for a ſacrifice after the maner of the Law, the other was ſent forth (aliue) to be *ἀπόπομπα vel πρόπομπα*, as a thing deuoted to deſtruction for others, or an of-ſcouring of the people. The truth of either of theſe figures was *exhibited in Chriſt, becauſe he was the lambe of God, whoſe ſlaying aboliſhed the ſinnes of the world; and that he might be ἀπόπομπα*, (one deuoted or appointed to beare the plague for others;) *all beautie was quenched in him, and he reiected of men. There may be brought a more curious ſpeculation, that the ſending away of the* (Scape-goat) *was a figure of Chriſtes reſurrection*; but I embrace *that which is more ſimple and certaine, that the goat ſent away aliue and free was* VICE PIACVLI (as a thing deuoted to beare the brunt for others) *that by his departure and leading away, the people might be aſſured their ſinnes did vaniſh*, and were *caried farre out of ſight. So that though the Prieſt brought one goat aliue for a reconciliation, yet God was not pacified without bloud, quia vis expiationis a ſacrificio alterius Hirci pendebat, becauſe the force of cleanſing ſinne depended on the ſacrifice of the other (ſlaine) goat.* Thus haue we manie ſignifications of the Scape-goat referred euen to Chriſt by old and new writers, and euen by ſome whom you would ſeeme moſt to follow; and yet none of them applieth it to the ſufferings of Chriſtes ſoule. So that your aſſertion in that behalfe is but your meere imagination, farther from the words of Moſes, than their coniectures which you count wideſt off. But you will proue it by maine might, that ſhall remoue mountaines before it.

It [a] *muſt needs be then that the* (Scape-goate) *ſignified Chriſt, yea doubtleſſe Chriſt man. For the godhead could be no ſinne-offering neither did it make reconciliation for ſinne, neither did the Deitie beare our ſinnes vpon him properly; all which the Scape-goate did. If it were Chriſt man, it could not be his body, for his body was ſlaine bloudily, the Scape-goate was not ſlaine. It muſt then be of neceſſitie* (I thinke) *the humane* MORTAIL *Soule, which the Scape-goate ſignified.*] I know not whether you make the Soule of Chriſt mortall as your words here ſtand, becauſe he ſuffered the death of the ſoule as you imagine, or whether this were the ſcape of your Printer; but by ſuch demonſtrations as theſe are, ſupported with figures and fanſies of your owne making, you may prooue what you will. That the *Braſen Serpent* was a figure of Chriſts death, Chriſt himſelfe witneſſeth. Whence you may inferre after your manner, that Chriſt had no true *fleſh* nor felt *death*. For the *Braſen Serpent* had neither *fleſh* to *feele*, nor *life* to *looſe*. So the Lord expreſſeth, that [x] *Ionas* was a figure of his lying in the graue; and yet was Ionas aliue in the Whales belly. May it therefore be concluded that Chriſt was neuer dead, nor *buried*, becauſe Ionas indeede was neither? Figures haue a reſemblance to ſome things in Chriſt, not to all; as the braſen Serpent to his faſtning on the Croſſe, and ſauing all that beheld him in faith; Ionas to the time that he lay in his graue, and to the impoſsibilitie conceaued of his reſurrection. So the Scape-goate notwithſtanding your *muſt needs be, and could not be*, might ſignifie the impaſsible godhead of Chriſt, as Theodoret, and Iſychius affirme, ſince power to take away ſin and to cleanſe it, without any ſuffering for it, is proper to God. It might likewiſe reſemble the deteſtation and hatred the Iewes had of Chriſt when they cryed, [y] *away with him, away with him*, if the vſage of the people towards the Scape-goate were ſuch as Tertullian deſcribeth; which was to ſpit at him, punch him, and curſe him, as he was caried out of the Citie. And where he went away aliue for all their ſpites and wrongs, that might declare either his reſurrection into life eternall which they could not touch, or elſe the diſpoſition of his life here not left in the peoples hands, but reſerued to his owne power, till he did willingly offer it as a ſacrifice vnto God. Ambroſe ſaith of him. [z] *Quaſi arbiter exuendi ſuſcipiendique corporis, emiſit ſpiritum non amiſit. As hauing power in himſelfe to lay aſide and to take againe his body, he ſent foorth his ſoule, he loſt it not.* And likewiſe Euſebius. *When* [a] *no man had power ouer Chriſts ſoule he himſelfe of his owne accord laid it downe for man.* [b] *ὅπως, ἄρτι δὲ καὶ ἐλεύθερος, αὐτὸς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς ἐν τῷ σώματος ἀναχώρησιν ἐποιεῖτο. So (looſed from all force) and reſting free, himſelfe of himſelfe made the departure from his body.* This the Scape-goate I ſay might figure, as ſome ancient Fathers auouch, & your reaſons to the contrary are but ruſhes,

[a] Defenc. pa. 39. li. 4.

[x] Matth. 12.

[y] Iohn. 19.

[z] *Ambro. de incarn. dom. Sacramento. ca. 5.*

[a] *Euſebius demonſt. Euangel. li. 1. ca. 8.*

[b] *Ibidem li 3. cap. 6.*

vnfit to conclude ſuch a cauſe; conſidering that no figure agreeth in all things with the truth, for then it ſhould be no figure but the truth, and you collect ſome ſmall diſagreements betweene the figure and the truth..

Againe as you ſuppoſe for ſome petite difference the Scape-goat could not figure the deity, nor body of Chriſt: ſo I vpon ſtronger grounds collect, it could not ſignifie the proper ſufferings of Chriſts ſoule,& if your word were of any waight, your ſelfe auouch that which I entend. *Thoſe* [c] *beaſts ſacrifices* (ſay you) *could not prefigure the immortall and reaſonable ſoule of Chriſt.*] If that be true which is your owne auerment, how could the Scape-goat which I troe was a beaſt, as you ſay a ſacrifice, figure the ſufferings of Chriſts ſoule, which were *inward* and *inviſible*, as was his ſoule? Can you ſo cloſely conuey contradictions, as in your *treatiſe* to tell vs *the ſacrifices of beaſts could not prefigure the immortall ſoule of Chriſt*, and in your *defence* to aſſure vs it *muſt be of neceſſitie that the* Scape-goat *ſignified the humane ſoule of Chriſt?* Beſides if the Scape-goat ſignified Chriſts ſoule ſent away from his body, for the other goat was firſt ſlain; it muſt of force import Chriſts death; for without death, his ſoule was not ſeparated from his body. And ſo by your vrging that it could not ſignifie Chriſts death, you plainly confirme it did ſignifie Chriſtes death. Thirdly the place whither the Scape-goat was ſent, was the [d] *Wildernes and a land vnhabitable*. Now the ſoule of Chriſt ſeuered from his body, went to heauen as you hold or to Paradiſe. Is heauen or Paradiſe with you become a *wildernes & a land not inhabited?* Fourthly the Scape-goat after he was ſent away, did [e] beare vpon him all the ſinnes of the people. Dare you ſay that Chriſts ſoule departed from his body did beare or ſuffer the puniſhment of the peoples ſinnes? [*Your meaning is but to* [f] *ſhew what you thinke to be indeed moſt probable and likely, knowing that yet ſome ſuch matter, as you ayme at, they doe ſignifie without Queſtion.*] After *it muſt be of neceſſitie*, come you now with *probabilitie?* and is your *doubtles* ſo ſoone turned into *likelihood?* The Reader is well holpen vp to reſt on your word, and to beleeue SOME SVCH MATTER AS YOV AYME AT. But backe to the matter indeed, and then your Reader ſhall finde euen by your owne confeſsion, beſides my proofes, that you do but ayme at theſe things vpon the bare ſurmiſe of your own braine; and that you can ſhew no ſacrifices of the Iewes which did figure the proper ſufferings of Chriſts ſoule; much leſſe the death of his ſoule which is the matter that we differ about, howſoeuer you would now looſe your necke out of the coller.

[c] Treat. pa. 11. li. 24.

[d] Leuit. 16. verſ. 22.

[e] Ibidem.

[f] Defenc. pa 40. li. 2.

[g] Defenc. pa. 38 li. 21. *What ſalt, flower, oile, & wine, added to the Iewes ſacrifices might ſignifie.*

[g] *We reade of other ſacrifices conſiſting of ſacrifices of ſundry and diuers ſorts. The bloody ſacrifice had conioyned together with it, the vnbloody ſacrifice of the meate offering, and an other of the drinke offering. Which may very likely repreſent vnto vs the ſundry and diuers kinds of Chriſts meritorious ſufferings in his life time, and at his death.*] You coniecture ſtill ſo farre from truth, that few men will regard your coniecturall likelihoods. Why *Salt*, *Flower*, *Oyle* and *Wine*, were added to the carnall ſacrifices of the Iewes; much may be gheſſed, litle can be prooued. They might well ſerue to make the ſacrifice the *ſweeter*, and the *fuller*, and ſo reſemble the *fragrancie* and *ſufficiencie* of Chriſts death; but what reaſon you haue to make Chriſtes life to be thought his death; and his merits all one with his ſufferings; and things without ſenſe or life to figure the ſufferings of his ſoule, and you know not what beſides; I doe not ſee, but onely that your will is your beſt weapon, when you be put to the puſh of any proofe. Yea in the ſame ſide where you reiect the iudgement of Cyrill, Ambroſe, and Bede, as [h] *wide coniectures and palpable miſtakings*, you come in with your fooliſh ſuppoſals, and offer them to all the godly as matters of good moment, onely becauſe you fanſie them. But mocke not your Reader with *may, and muſt as you thinke*; your thoughts muſt be wiſer and neerer the truth before a meane man will regard them.

[h] Pag. 38.

[i] Pag. 38. li. vl.
[k] Pag. 39. li. 1.

[i] *Who but I* (you ſay) *would defend theſe palpable miſtakings of the auncients, and not ſee the* [k] *expreſſe text againſt them?*] Nay who but you would ſo peremptorily trample vpon the credits of ſuch men, with a proud preſumption of the text before you did better examine it? Is it ſo repugnant to the Scriptures as you pretend, to ſay the wicked are a Redemption or *propitiation* for the godly, which in Moſes the Scape-goate

is

is ſaid to be for the people? Salomon ſaith, [l] COPHER LAZADDIC RASHAA a *Redemption for the iuſt* (ſhall) *the wicked* (be,) *and the tranſgreſſour for the righteous*, Where not onely the ſame ſenſe, but the ſame word is found which Moſes vſeth, when he ſaith, *the Scape-goate ſhall be* [m] *preſented aliue before the Lord* LECAPPER AALAV, *to make (Redemption or reconciliation) by him.* So God by Eſay ſaid, [n] *I gaue Egypt* CAPHRECA *to be thy Redemption*; that is to be plagued for thee, that thou mighteſt ſcape. And ſo God often layeth the burden on the wicked, that ſhould fall on the righteous, and excuſeth the one by the puniſhment of the other, as he did typically on the Scape-goate & truely on Chriſt for all the ſinnes of the people. Wherefore it was no ſuch ouerſight in Cyrill, Ambroſe and Bede to reſemble the Scape-goate to the wicked, when they are puniſhed to ſpare the godly as you would make it, their coniectures are farre more conſiderate then yours; the Sauiour of the world was [o] *counted among the wicked*, and vſed in ſhew as the wicked are, when he bare our ſinnes in his body, and tooke our burden on him. That which Munſter reporteth out of all the Rabines, and eſpecially out of Rabi Salom: Kimchi, and Aben Ezra, that the *Scape-goate was* [p] *ſent to a ſtrong hill in the deſert, and there torne in peeces before he could touch the middle of the hill*; I leaue to each mans liking, becauſe the Scripture noteth no ſuch thing; Howbeit Tertullian ſaith, [q] *extra ciuitatem abijciebatur in perditionem*, the Scape-goate *was caſt out of the Citie into perdition*; And Iuſtine Martyr in his Dialogue with Triphon the Iew, ſaith, the Prieſts and Elders *ſent Chriſt away as the Scape-goate, laying their hands on him, and doing him to death.*

[l] Pro. 21. v. 18.

[m] Leuit. 16. verſ. 10.

[n] Eſa. 43. v. 30.

[o] Mark. 15.

[p] *Munſt. Annotat. in Leuitic. ca. 16.*

[q] *Tertull. contra Marcio. li. 3.*

The [r] *very like are your three reaſons brought to ſhew that the Holocauſt can not ſignifie the ſufferings of whole Chriſt, and therefore not of his ſoule any way.*] Whether the *Holocauſt* were a figure of Chriſtes ſacrifice, or did repreſent the ioynt ſufferings of the whole manhood of Chriſt, neither of theſe is in queſtion betwixt vs. You tooke vpon you to ſhew, that the Iewes by their ſacrifices were directed to beleeue the ſuffering of that which you call hell paines in the ſoule of Chriſt, when he offered himſelfe for our ſinnes. That was the point which I denied. The ſhedding of Chriſtes bloud vnto death, the Apoſtle in the ninth and tenth Chapters to the Hebrewes, doeth plainely deduce from thoſe bloudie ſacrifices of the Iewes; other ſufferings of Chriſt from their ſacrifices he doth not deriue. The *Holocauſt*, you replied, was [s] *euery whit chopt in peeces, and altogether put into the fire and burnt*. I anſwered this was done *after the death of the ſacrifice*, whoſe dead body was *wholly conſumed* to aſhes with one and the *ſelfe ſame fire*; and therefore this could not be referred to the proper ſufferings of Chriſts ſoule; which could not ſuffer any thing after the death of the body, much leſſe be wholly conſumed with any ſufferings common to the body, ſince the body of Chriſt it ſelfe neither was, nor could be conſumed with any corruption or affliction. Beſides that you your ſelf in the leafe before made a plaine reſolution, that thoſe [t] *Sacrifices of beaſts, could not prefigure the immortall and reaſonable ſoule of Chriſt*. How then could the dead bodies of thoſe beaſts cut in peeces and quite conſumed with fire, repreſent the inward and proper ſufferings of the ſoule?

[r] Defenc. pa. 40. li. 8. *What the Holocauſt did ſignifie.*

[s] Trea. pa. 13. li. 18.

[t] Trea. pa. 11. li. 24.

Is there [u] *any Similitude concurring in all points and circumſtances with the thing ſignified?*] If it did, it were the trueth it ſelfe, and not a figure thereof. And therefore all your illations that the Scape-goate, which in ſome things diſagreed from the Deitie and body of Chriſt, could ſignifie neither, were vaine and idle. It ſufficeth in figures warranted by the word of God, that one principall action or circumſtance bee common to both, in how many things ſo euer they bee otherwiſe different. But where is your warrant in the Scriptures, that the burning of ſacrifices when they were dead, ſignified the ſufferings of Chriſtes ſoule? Shew that, and then wee will ſoone diſpence with the reſt of your rules and my reaſons alſo. Figures expreſſed in the word of God had no doubt their ſimilitude to the trueth, though we perhaps ſee it not; and if any one point of reſemblance be ratified by Gods authoritie, that may and muſt content vs. But will you of your owne head make figures to fit your fanſies, and then claime the ſame prerogatiue, which God himſelfe hath? What if *many figures in the Law had*

[u] Defen. pa. 40. li. 13.

as great diſparagement as you call it, *To the things ſignified*, as the burning of the Holocauſt to the ſufferings of Chriſtes ſoule? Is that a preſident for you to deuiſe and eſtabliſh what figures pleaſe you, and thence to raiſe platformes for ſtrange and newe doctrine?

z Defenc. pa. 40. li. 20. *The* z *bodies of beaſtes firſt ſlaine were after caried out of the hoſt. Now theſe ſignified Chriſts going out of Ieruſalem to be ſlaine, but being yet aliue. The burning of the beaſts after they were dead, was a ſacrifice of a ſweete ſauour vnto God, which in trueth is Chriſts very death, and nothing done by him afterward, whereby Gods anger is fully pacified toward vs.*] In figuratiue and bloudie ſacrifices could you diſtinguiſh the ſuffering, which was proper to the liuing creature that was offered, from the offering which was peculiar to the Prieſt, and from the accepting which belonged onely vnto God, you would not thus iumble them together both in the figures ſignifying, and in the thing ſignified. That the bloud of the carnall ſacrifices ſlaine vnder the Lawe, did foreſhew the bloudſhedding and death of Chriſt Ieſus for the ſinnes of the world, the Apoſtle to the Hebrewes is very plaine, not onely calling him amongſt other things σκιὰν τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν, *The ſhadow of good things to come*, and a παραβολὴν εἰς τὸν καιρὸν τὸν ἐνεστηκότα, *a ſimilitude for the time preſent*, but alſo making diuers compariſons betwixt them and the bloud of Chriſt, and prooving by the firſt teſtament that the ſecond muſt be ratified with bloud and death. By which as by figures were ſufficiently teſtified, the ioynt ſufferings of the whole manhood of Chriſt euen vnto death. For the powers of life and ſenſe in thoſe creatures that had their bloud ſhed vnto death, naturally feeling and ſhewing in their kinde the paines and terrour of death, were fitteſt to witneſſe to all the beholders that the violent and bloudie death of the Meſsias, which hee would vndertake for the ranſome of their ſinnes, ſhould bee grieuous and painefull euen to his ſoule. And that being made ſo manifeſt to all mens eyes by the death of the liuing ſacrifices, what needed the burning of the ſame after it was dead and ſenſeleſſe, obſcurely to intimate if not falſely, that the fire of affliction as you would haue it, ſhould conſume the Meſsias? God had therefore another meaning, as I take it, in commanding ech ſacrifice after it was ſlaine, to be offered to him by fire. For where of all creatures ſubiect to mans ſight and ſenſe, fire was the fitteſt for the *light, heate, force*, and *motion* thereof to deſigne vnto the people, the *brightneſſe* of Gods glorie, the *zeale* of his holineſſe, the *grace* of his Spirit, and *ſeate* of his habitation in the heauens; God gaue the Iewes fire from heauen to burne perpetually on his Altar; which did teach them with what *cleanneſſe* of hands and *feruentneſſe* of heart, the things which hee required, ſhould bee offered vnto him; and did ſeparate the ſacrifices dedicated vnto God from all prophane abuſe and humane vſe; and made them aſcend towardes the place of his glorious preſence, that he might accept them with fauour, and be pleaſed with them. All which ſignifications of heauenly fire were moſt perfectly accompliſhed in the ſacrifice of Chriſt Ieſus. For neuer man nor Angel offered vnto God any ſeruice with like puritie and charitie, as the Lord Ieſus offered himſelfe to his Fathers will; and that his oblation did not onely cleanſe his body from all corruption of mortalitie and infirmitie, as appeared by his reſurrection; but pearced the heauens with admirable celeritie and *efficacie*, and preuailed in the preſence of God to bee a ſweete ſmelling ſauour for all the ſonnes of God.

y Hebr. 10.
a Heb. 9.

a Defen. pa. 42. li. 8. *What fire did ſignifie in ſacrifices.* Some of theſe things you ſeeme to acknowledge, As *fire to ſignifie the* a *Acceptation of Chriſts death*, in that it was *a ſacrifice of a ſweete ſauour* aſcending vp to God. What reaſon then haue you that fire ſhould note the wrath of God powred out on Chriſtes ſoule and body before he died? Shall one and the ſame fire in one and the ſame ſacrifice import both gracious acceptance with God, and terrible vengeance from God? Theſe be contraries in mine eyes, whatſoeuer they be in yours. That fire in ſacrifices did ſhew Gods fauour and not his anger, the ſacrifices of b *Gedeon*, c *Salomon*, and d *Elias*, doe plainly prooue, which God with fire from heauen conſumed, not in token of any diſpleaſure againſt them, or diſlike of their offerings, but in ſigne of very fauorable acceptations both of their perſons and ſacrifices. Euen ſo at the firſt of-

b Iudges 6.
c 2. Chron. 7.
d 2. Kings 18.

ferings

ferings of Aaron [e] *the glory of the Lord appeared to all the people and there came a fire from the Lord, and conſumed the burnt offering vpon the Altar*; which when *all the people ſaw, they gaue a ſhout for ioy and fell on their faces.* This fire deſcending from God and conſuming that ſacrifice, God commaunded to keepe [f] *burning for euer on his Altar*, and none might approch to him with any other fire in incenſe or offering: in ſo much that when Nadab and Abihu the ſonnes of Aaron tooke *ſtrange fire* to offer before the Lord, and not of that which alwaies burned on the Altar, God [g] *deſtroyed* them with fire. The fire then which conſumed the ſacrifices of the Iewes was miraculouſly deliuered them by God, and ioyfully receaued of all the people, and therefore did not argue to them any wrath or vengeance on their ſacrifices, but rather the fauour and good liking of God, which the Scripture noteth by the ſweete odour of the ſacrifice. As when Noah made *his* [h] *burnt offerings to aſcend* (*by fire*) the Scripture ſaith, *the Lord ſmelled a ſauour of reſt*, that is, he ſhewed himſelfe to be appeaſed, and his anger to reſt. So when Aaron and his ſonnes were to be conſecrated Prieſts, God ſaid to Moſes, [i] *Thou ſhalt make to ſmell*, (by fier) (that is, thou ſhalt burne) *the whole Ram*, as *a burnt offering*; it *ſhall be to the Lord a ſauour of reſt*: that is a pleaſing ſacrifice. And for that cauſe God willed the Iewes in their *peace offerings*, whereby they gaue thanks for their ſafetie and proſperitie, to vſe fire; and ſaith of it, [k] ISSHE, *this burning by fire*, (or this ſacrifice made by fire) *is a ſauour of reſt vnto the Lord.* And ſo in incenſe, which Saint Iohn reſembleth to *the* [l] *prayers of the Saints*, fire was likewiſe required, to teach them, that their prayers *went vp before God as the ſmoke of ſweete odours*, and were accepted of him. Then not affliction or indignation on the Sacrifice was declared by the fire which God commaunded to be vſed in all kinds of ſacrifices, but rather an aſcending vp to the preſence of God, and an accepting thereof in the ſight of God, which is farre from your ſuffering of hell paines in the ſoule of Chriſt, for which you bable ſo much in both your bookes.

[e] Leuit. 9.

[f] Leuit. 6. verſ. 12. 13.

[g] Leuit. 10.

[h] Geneſ. 8.

[i] Exod 29.

[k] Leuit. 3. v. 5.

[l] Reuel. 8.

But the Apoſtle ſayth, *as the bodies of beaſts were burnt without the campe, ſo Chriſt ſuffered without the gate.*] Were it granted, that fire in Sacrifices did ſignifie probation or affliction, which is no way proued; you are no whit the neerer to your ſuffering of hell paines in the ſoule of Chriſt. For *the bodies of beaſts*, ſayth the Apoſtle, *were burnt*, which can by no pretenſe of theſe wordes be ſtretched farder than the afflictions of Chriſtes bodie, when he was carried to be crucified *without the gate*. And the chopping of the *holocauſt* in pieces, that it might the more conueniently be layed on the wood to burne, maketh as ſlender proofe, that Chriſtes ſoule ſuffered the paines of hell, notwithſtanding your graue deuice, that Chriſtes ſoule was chopt in pieces, and not his bodie; which conceits of yours, declare your follie, but helpe not your cauſe. Thoſe Sacrifices whereof part was burnt by fire, and the reſt reſerued for the Prieſt, and ſometimes for the owner that brought them to feaſt before the Lord, had their bloud ſhed at the doore of the Tabernacle as well as the other, and ſo reſembled the death of Chriſt no leſſe than the other, though God would haue no part of the one to be eaten by the Prieſts or people, as the other were, but to be wholly conſumed by fire, becauſe they were wholly reſerued or dedicated vnto him. And this the Apoſtle reſpecteth in that compariſon which he maketh of *the bodies of beaſts burnt without the campe*, whereof the Prieſts that ſerued in the Tabernacle could not be partakers. They were conſumed by fire, becauſe the Prieſts ſhould not eat thereof; to foreſhew, as the Apoſtle noteth, that ſuch as were addicted to the ſeruice and ceremonies of the Law and the outward Temple, could not be partakers of the trueth, which is in Chriſt, except they did leaue thoſe elements of the Law, which ſeemed ſo glorious in their eyes; and followed Chriſt out of the gate, bearing his reproch; whoſe bloud was moſt holy and moſt ſufficient to ſanctifie the people, though hee were caſt out of the citie to ſuffer as a malefactour and wicked perſon. Neither were the dead bodies of thoſe beaſts conſumed by fire out of the campe, to make them ſacrifices vnto God; for then muſt they haue beene burnt *on the Altar*, which was at the doore of the Tabernacle of the Congregation within the citie, as the holocauſts

Chriſts ſuffering without the gate of the Citie.

were; but after they were slaine before the doore of that Tabernacle, and their bloud brought and sprinckled on the hornes of the Altar of incense, and before the vaile of the Sanctuarie, and their fat burned on the Altar of burnt offerings in the Court; then was the rest caried out of the campe to be consumed with fire, that no man might eat thereof. The *place* whither, and the *purpose* why the dead bodies of those beasts were carried forth from the vse of the Priests, are touched by the Apostle in the thirteenth to the Hebrues; but the maner of burning them after their bloud was sprinckled, and their fat offered vnto God vpon his Altar by sacred fire, he no way compareth with the sufferings of Christes bodie, much lesse of his soule, neither of which was consumed in Christes passion without the gate as their bodies were by fire without the campe. For the fire of probation and affliction by the witnesse of holy Scripture, consumeth only the wicked; which are as *drosse* and [m] *stubble* before it; it consumeth not the godly, but clenseth them, and maketh them pure as [n] *golde tried in the fornace*, yea [o] *much more precious than gold tried with fire.*

[m] Esa. 5. v. 24. Nah. 1. v. 10. 1. Corinth. 3. [n] Pro. 17. v. 3. Sap. 6. v. 3. Eccles. 2. v. 5. [o] 1. Pet. 1.

So that my first and second exceptions stand good for ought you haue proued to the contrarie. No Scripture doth warrant, that fire in Sacrifices did signifie the torments of Christs bodie, much lesse the proper sufferings of Christes soule, least of all the paines of the damned; but rather, as I haue shewed, the *perfection* and *puritie* of Christs sacrifice before God, and the *acceptation* thereof with God; which are things farre distant from your deuice. As also that Christes bodie or soule were wholly consumed by any affliction when he suffered for our sinnes; this hath neither ground in the word of God, nor trueth in it selfe. Which reason you cunningly skip, and say, *my* [p] *second exception is also nothing*. What mine exceptions were, my words are plaine. [q] *Why the burning of the holocaust should signifie Christs affliction on the crosse either in body or in soule, I see no proofe made by this Confuter; and why they should not resemble Christs afflictions before death, these two reasons moue me: First it was burnt after it was dead; next it was wholly consumed by fire: neither of which can accord with Christes sufferings on the crosse.* This was, as all men may see, my second exception, and not that which you subiect in place thereof. That indeed sheweth how carelelly you concluded against your selfe. For where you make such a stirre for the PROPER *sufferings of* the soule of Christ, when you come to exemplifie them but in a figure, you bring the burning of the bodie of the holocaust, which either wholly excludeth the sufferings of the soule, or admitteth none but those that were also common to the bodie of Christ, and so your PROPER sufferings of Christes soule are cleane without your owne example. But now you amend the matter, and plainly affirme, *that* [r] *one and the same torment afflicted Christes whole manhood by sympathie.*] Looke better to your words, Sir Trifler, another time. If it were *common* to the bodie, how was it *proper* to the soule? If it were *proper* to the soule, how was it *common* to the bodie?

[p] Def. pag. 41. [q] Conclus. pa. 236. li 30. [r] Defenc. pag. 40. li. 37.

You haue shifts enow to saue all this: for [s] *according to the proportion of the holocaust*, so WHOLE Christ, you say, *and then his verie soule* CHIEFLY *was* AS IT VVERE *chopt into pieces*, and AS IT VVERE *quite consumed in his firie sorrowes.*] A learned & wittie answere very like, *as it were*, to your selfe. To proue the *proper* sufferings of the soule, you proportion out the sufferings of the *whole* man, which are *common* to bodie and soule; and these because they are *chiefly* in the soule, you make *proper* vnto the soule. By that reason all the sufferings of the bodie are *proper* likewise to the soule; because the sense of them is *chiefly*, if not onely in the soule. But what will you not say, that speaking both monstrously and falsely in your firie humor, salue it all with *as it were*? The soule of Christ, you say, *was* AS IT VVERE *chopt in pieces, and as it were quite consumed*; and so in effect, when your words, which should be *proper* and *positiue* in points of faith, are absurd and senseless, you imagine they may be *as it were* like to be true. Did you professe to speake figuratiuely and not properly, as in positions of Religion you ought to do, many phrases might be borne withall which otherwise are intolerable: but when your assertions are out of all square and trueth; then to qualifie them with *as it were* (which is a shift, though verie shamefull, thorowout your

[s] Defenc. pa. 42. li. 1. *The Defenders vaine shifts.*

your booke in the greateſt matters in queſtion) and ſtill to defend them as principles of Chriſtian religion; this is fit for no man but for him that maketh a Maygame of pietie to ſupport the madneſſe of his fanſie.

With like learning you cure the contrarietie that you readily ranne into, whiles ouer egerly you purſued your owne purpoſes forgetting what fell from you in other places. For where in your Treatiſe for an aduantage you ſayd, [t] *thoſe ſacrifices (of beaſts) could not prefigure the immortall and reaſonable ſoule of Chriſt*; and in your Defence you reſolutely inferre, [u] *It muſt then be of neceſſitie (I thinke) the humane ſoule of Chriſt, which the Scape-goat ſignified, which was a true ſinne-offering:* This you can FVL EASILY reconcile, and that *without trifling. In the former place you meant generally and for the moſt part, but not alwayes, nor altogether: Againe, the Scape-goat and the holocauſt do not, in reſpect as they are bodily things, repreſent the ſoule of Chriſt or any matter pertaining to it; but the particular vſage and maner of action about them, doth liuely repreſent the ſufferings of Chriſtes ſoule.*] This indeed is not trifling, but plaine tumbling in the mire. Your words were: *thoſe ſacrifices (of beaſts) could not prefigure the immortall and reaſonable ſoule of Chriſt.* Your new correction is now, you meant they did not ALVVAIES nor ALTOGETHER repreſent meere bodily ſufferings. What is your new addition but a cleere confeſſion, that your former words were falſe? For if thoſe ſacrifices did not *alwayes* nor *altogether* repreſent Chriſts bodily ſufferings, then ſometimes they prefigured the ſufferings of his ſoule. But you ſayd, they were [x] ALTOGETHER VNFIT *for thoſe inward and inuiſible things,* NEITHER HAD THEY ANIE RESEMBLANCE TOGETHER. *Altogether* vnfit, and *not altogether* vnfit to repreſent the ſufferings of the ſoule; as alſo *not any reſemblance* and *ſome reſemblance* are contradictions in our countrey, whatſoeuer they be in yours.

[t] Trea. pa. 11.

[u] Defenc. pa. 39. li. 11.

[x] Trea. pa. 11. li. 9. & 12.

But ſince you can not alwayes nor *altogether* hit the trueth, you will now goe to it with reſpects. The *Scape-goat and the holocauſt*, you ſay, *doe not in that reſpect as they are bodily things, repreſent the ſoule of Chriſt, or any matter pertaining to it.*] In that reſpect as they are bodily things without any ſacred action or paſsion, they figure neither bodie nor ſoule of Chriſt, nor are indeed any figures at all. But you ſpeake of *ſacrifices of beaſts*, which can not beare that name in the Scriptures without ſome ſacred action and paſsion ordeined by God to præfigure the ſacrifice of his Sonne. And where euery thing which was appointed of God to foreſhew the comming and dying of his Sonne, was a figure of him, not in reſpect of any bodily matter or forme, (for ſo all things of that kinde ſhould naturally haue beene figures of Chriſt, and not by gods appointment, which is moſt abſurd and falſe:) but in regard of ſome *holie, rare, or beneficiall action, paſſion, or propertie* authorized by God to repreſent the power and vertue of Chriſt appearing in our fleſh; you like a deepe Diuine ſeuer from thoſe ſacrifices all ſacred actions and paſsions ordained by God, to make them both ſacrifices and figures, and then tell vs that in reſpect of their earthly and bodily ſubſtance they were no figures of Chriſtes ſoule. When you ſayd Sacrifices, you included thoſe ſacred actions and paſsions, which made them ſacrifices and figures of Chriſtes ſacrifice; and therefore to exclude them againe with an idle reſpect, is a ſilly and emptie refuge. If vnder bodily *things* you compriſe externall and ſenſible actions and paſsions; then is it euident, that by ſenſible ſignes in thoſe Sacrifices God did *alwayes* and *altogether* declare the ioynt ſufferings of Chriſt for the ſinnes of the world, but not the paines of hell nor the death of the ſoule, from which you alwayes and altogether ſlide, vnder pretence of my groſſe vttering it, though I vtter it in the ſelfe-ſame words and parts which the Scripture doth. But how conſiderate are you, when you vouch, that the [y] *Scape-goat repreſenteth not Chriſtes ſoule, vnleſſe onely in reſpect of the eſcaping of it, when the other goat died; & yet not the body of the holocauſt, but the vtter conſuming by fire of the whole, ſignifieth the ſufferings of whole Chriſt?* What agreement hath ESCAPING with VTTER CONSVMING? and yet you make both theſe actions to be figures of the ſufferings of Chriſtes ſoule. So that Chriſtes ſoule by your refined figures did *eſcape* free from death, and *not eſcape* free from death (for you

[y] Trea. pa. 41.

you defend that Chriſt died the death of the ſoule) and was *vtterly conſumed*, and could not be conſumed; but *as it were* eſcaped, and yet eſcaped not, and was at it were vtterly conſumed, and yet could no way be conſumed, but eſcaped free and vntouched as the Scape-goat did. Such is your ſettledneſſe, that *yea* and *no*, with you, are *as it were* all one.

[a] Defenc. pag. 42. li 9.

That fire did ſignifie *the* [2] *incorruption of Chriſtes fleſh after death, is very hard and farre fetcht. Sacrifices had their reſpect to Chriſtes death, not to any thing further or afterwards.*] All things are farre fetcht with you, that come not from the whirlepoole of your owne head. It is the iudgement of S. Auſten and other learned Fathers, which you ſo lightly eſteeme. [a] *The ſame ſubſtance of the bodie ſhall be changed into an heauenly qualitie; quod ignis in ſacrificio ſignificabat, velut abſorbens mortem in victoriam; which fire in ſacrifice ſignified, as it were ſwallowing vp death in victorie.* Whom Bede diſdaineth not to follow. [b] *Ignis in ſacrificio id ſignificabat, velut abſorbens mortem in victoriam. Fire in ſacrifice did ſignifie victorie euen ſwallowing vp death.* Cyril is of the ſame minde. [c] *Agreeably* (to the ſacrifices) *did heauenly fire conſume all things that were done by our Sauiour in the bodie, and reſtored them all neerer to the nature of his Diuinitie: for riſing from the dead, he aſcended to heauen: his paſſage to which place the nature of fire doth ſhew.* To farder ſufferings after Chriſtes death no ſacrifice had reſpect, becauſe there neither were any, nor needed any; but to the *efficacie* and *glorie* conſequent to Chriſtes death, the fire in ſacrifices had reſpect, as theſe Fathers affirme. Againſt whom though you euery where oppoſe the worm-eaten warrant of your owne words, I truſt you will ſomewhat relent to the Apoſtles authoritie; who telleth you, that the [d] *high Prieſts going into the moſt holy place with the blood of* the ſacrifice *once euery yeere*, ſignified Chriſtes [e] *entring the heauens with his owne blood*; which I hope was after both his death and his reſurrection.

[a] *Aug. contra Fauſt. Mani. li. 22. ca. 17.*

[b] *Beda. queſt. ſuper Leuit. cap. 3.*

[c] *Cyrill in Leuit. li. 1.*

[d] Hebr. 9. v. 7.

[e] Verſ. 8. 12. 24.

[f] Defenc. pag. 42. li. 12.

As for an [f] *other ſenſe out of Auſten, that it ſhould ſignifie our perfection and burning charitie, it can not be true: for the holocauſt-ſacrifice out of queſtion primarily ſignified the perſon of Chriſt, not ours. Alſo you both here do ſeeme to double, vnderſtanding by the holocauſt both incorruption after death, and a perfect burning loue in vs now in this life; which things are farre diſtant, and can not ſtand together.*] You are ſo giddie, that you diſlike euerie thing; and ſo haſtie, that you conceiue nothing right. S. Auſten ſayth indeed that *fire* in the holocauſt may note the *feruentneſſe* of charitie, and brightneſſe of immortalitie, which are all one with perfection and incorruption. What fault finde you with this? *The holocauſt*, you ſay, *ſignified primarily the perſon of Chriſt, not ours.* Doth S. Auſten denie that? It ſufficeth for the trueth of his wordes, that thoſe ſacrifices did principally point out Chriſtes *ſufferings*, *grace*, and *glorie*; and conſequently ours. For as we haue [g] fellowſhip *with his afflictions, and are conformed vnto his death*; ſo ſhall we be partakers of his *perfection* and *incorruption*, and be [h] *faſhioned to (his) image.* [h] εἰ γὰρ συμπάσχομεν, ἵνα καὶ συνδοξασθῶμεν; *If we ſuffer as he did* (ſayth Paul) that we *may be glorified as he was*; not preſuming an *equalitie* with him, but promiſing a *conformitie* to him. The Sacrifices then which (as you grant) primarily ſignified the perſon, paſſion and perfection of Chriſt, did ſecondly note and teach our dying to ſinne, our riſing againe in glorie and appearing before him in perfect holineſſe; which in this life we endeuour but can not attaine to the full, till by death we be freed from ſinne. The bearing of Chriſts Image is enough to iuſtifie Saint Auſtens ſpeech. For he neither ſaith, that the *holocauſt* did primarily ſignifie the members of Chriſt, nor that men could haue perfection of charitie in this life: but when Chriſt ſhall preſent vs righteous and glorious vnto his Father, then ſhall he offer vs as holocauſts vnto God. And yet in the meane while what hindereth Saint Auſten to exhort vs, that the Diuine fire of Gods wiſedome and *grace* may wholy inflame vs, and euen conſume vs? Who but a moth of your mould would giue Saint Auſten the lie twice in two lines for ſo ſpeaking, and in the third line after charge him with doubling, as if Chriſts puritie in this life and glorie after this life could not ſtand together? or the *perfection* of Gods Saints here (ſuch as it is, which the Scripture ſo [i] calleth) were not coherent with

[g] Phil. 3.

[h] Rom. 8.

[i] Mat. 5. v. 48. Col 4. v 12. Iam. 1. v. 4.

that

that incorruption, which they ſhall haue there? The one is not the other, but the one is ſo conſequent to the other, that without holines in earth no man ſhall euer enioy happineſſe in heauen. And to both doth the *imitation* of Chriſt, and *ſignification* of fire in the holocauſt direct vs.

Comming *to the next reaſon you* [k] reproued me *for ſaying, Sacraments are earthly Elements, they can not ſet out the ſpirituall and inuiſible effects in Chriſt.*] There was iuſt cauſe I ſhould tell you, that this your aſſertion did mainly croſſe the very nature and definition of a Sacrament. For Sacraments are viſible ſignes of inuiſible graces; that is, of the ſpirituall effects of Chriſts power and grace abiding in him, and yet working in vs. Wherein did I wrong you? you ment *they* [l] *vſually repreſent not ſpirituall and inuiſible effects or acts in Chriſt himſelfe, but onely the externall and viſible parts of his paſſion.*] The two Sacraments of the new Teſtament, Baptiſme and the Lords Supper; doe *they repreſent onely the externall and viſible parts of Chriſts paſſion?* Doth Baptiſme ſhew no more in Chriſt, but that actuall and ſubſtantiall water ranne out of his ſide after he was dead? Is this the whole ſignification and repreſentation that baptiſme offereth vnto vs? Surely you muſt leaue Catechiſing and learne to be catechiſed; if this be all your skill in Sacraments. The bread and wine on the Lords table, beſides the reference which they haue to the body of Chriſt broken and his blood ſhed, doe they not plainly ſhew the fleſh of Chriſt is meate, and his blood drinke nouriſhing our ſoules to euerlaſting life, as the elements ſupport and maintaine the life of the body? Water in Baptiſme doth it not declare the power of Chriſts death waſhing our ſoules, and of his ſpirit renuing our minds? Theſe you ſay *are* [m] *ſpirituall effects wrought in vs*, not in Chriſt. Power to *clenſe, quicken, nouriſh, and ſtrengthen* to eternall life, is that Chriſts or ours? We indeede are the perſons that are clenſed, quickened, nouriſhed and ſtrengthened; but the force and grace working theſe things in vs, is Chriſts and not ours. We receiue it as flowing from the fountaine, but it naturally ſpringeth in him, and from thence is deriued to vs. The Sacraments then teach vs, that the fulneſſe of power and grace dwelleth in Chriſt really and truely; which he is content ſhall worke in vs, but neuer leaue him. The water waſhing, the bread nouriſhing, the wine comforting, note no power in vs to do any of theſe things; it is euident impietie ſo to thinke or ſay; onely they aſſure vs, that as Chriſt the true owner of all theſe things, by his obedience vnto death, was made the onely diſpoſer of them; ſo he will performe the couenant with vs, which the Sacraments doe ſeale vnto vs; and that is the couenant of mercie and grace in this life, and of glorie in the next; which the Sacraments could not ſeale, except they did ſignifie thoſe gifts and effects to be actiuely and originally in the giuer; as they are paſsiuely in the Receiuers.

[n] VSVALLY Sacraments doe not repreſent *ſpirituall effects or actes in Chriſt.*] When text and trueth faile you, your faſhion is to flie to phraſes; and ſo ſtill to ſay ſomewhat, though it want both learning and vnderſtanding. For example, *Sacraments* (you ſay) *doe not* VSVALLY *repreſent ſpirituall effects or acts in Chriſt.* Did you ſpeake of nature, which often faileth; or of men, who change their minds, vſuall and vnuſuall might ſerue for ſome purpoſe; but what is this to Sacraments? they conſtantly and continually keepe the ſame order in their ſignifications and repreſentations; ſo that vſuall and vnuſuall in them are all one. The *nature* of the Element is ſtill the ſame; the *action* preſcribed may not be varied; the *promiſe* annexed neuer faileth on Gods part. So that what any Sacrament once reſembleth or ſignifieth, it alwayes expreſſeth and obſerueth the ſame. Will you diuert your wordes to diuers Sacraments, and make that vſuall to one, which is vnuſuall to another? This which you vſually exclude from Sacraments, is common to both the Sacraments of the New Teſtament of which we reaſon; and being common to them both, as I haue ſhewed, to *ſignifie ſpirituall effects or acts in Chriſt himſelfe*, with what trueth ſay you now, THEY *do it not vſually*, ſpeaking of both; whereas both do it apparently and perpetually? [o]

It is [o] *your ſelfe indeede that denieth the very definition of a Sacrament: for your maine aſſertion*

[k] Defenc. pag. 42.

[l] Defenc. pag. 43. li. 1.

[m] Defenc. pag. 42. li. 37.

[n] Defenc. pag. 42. li. 38. *Sacraments doe conſtantly and continually ſignifie and repreſent the ſame.*

[o] Defenc. pa. 42. li. 29.

assertion is that neither the Iewish sacrifices, nor Christian Sacraments, doe signifie any more then the bodily and bloudy death of Christ, which I hope was a visible, and no inuisible thing.] Your Reader will shortly take you so often tardie with foule-lies, that hee will skant beleeue you, when you speake a trueth. Is it any position of mine that the Iewish sacrifices, and Christian Sacraments *doe not signifie any more* then the bodily and bloudie death of Christ? Indeede I affirmed they signified none *other death of Christ*, but only that which was bodily and bloudie, which I grant was visibly, but as for other effects of Christs power & grace, by which we are [r] *grafted into Christ, and quickned and nourished vnto life euerlasting*, I referred them to the Sacraments of the new Testament as vnto *Seales* confirming the couenant of *mercie*, *grace*, and *glorie* made to vs *by the death of Christ*, in the same words that I now speake it. And so conclude of them, as I doe now; [q] *These propose vnto vs no inuisible paines of hell, but the body of Christ wounded, and his bloud shed for the remitting of our sinnes, and vniting vs vnto Christ.* Therefore your turning *no inuisible paines of hell*, which are my words, into *no more then a bodily death*, which are yours; and vnder pretence of those words, excluding from the Sacraments all other significations and representations of Christs inuisible power and grace proposed by them, sheweth your accustomed vain of misconstering and altering my words, when you cannot otherwise impugne them.

r Serm. pa. 63. li. 22.

q Ibid. li. 23.

[s] *You make me to crosse the institution of the Lords table, because I said the Ceremonie of breaking the bread, cannot properly belong to Christs body. But euen here doe I not expresselysay, that it sheweth forth how Christs body was broken for vs?*] Where by Christs institution the bread was BROKEN, to note vnto vs the *breaking* of his body for our sinnes; and Paul expresseth that similitude of the bread broken to Christes body, in saying, *The bread, which wee breake, is it not the communion of the body of Christ*; and to verifie that resemblance, reporteth the words of Christs institution in effect to be these, *This is my body which is broken for you*: you to make a fiely shew that the Sacraments declare Christs suffering of Hell paines, auouch that the [t] *breaking of the bread cannot properly belong to the body, but to the soule, and to the body by Sympathie with the soule.* Wherein you first denie the *Similitude* betwixt the bread and the body of Christ, to be true in deedes but onely in words; because you doe not acknowledge the violence offered to Christs body by his persecutors, to bee any kind of breaking properly and truely. For howsoeuer with bigge words you talke of the *anguish of Christes soule bruising his body ioyntly also*; yet when you come to expresse your selfe plainely, you say, [y] *This grieuous passion was in his soule immediatly and properly, seeing then his body was not touched with any smart.* And since all sense of paine is in the soule; if by breaking you vnderstand not the violence offered to Christes body, in vaine come you in with your Sympathie, which may shew it selfe in the body, but not bee felt of the body, by reason the powers of sense are in the soule; and so you controle the Apostles words as voide of all trueth, whiles you referre them truely and properly to the soule, and not to the body but onely by Sympathie.

s Defenc. pa. 43. li. 3.

1. Cor. 10.

1. Cor. 11.

t Trea. pa. 14. li. 12.

x Defenc. pa. 21. li. 4.

y Trea. pa. 5. li. 27.

The grounds, whereon you denie this *Analogie* betwixt the bread and the body of Christ, are as absurd and false, as the Conclusion, which you build on them; and are in number foure. 1. That *Klômenon* (in Greeke) *is* BROKEN TO PEECES *properly*. 2. That MEDVCCA *in the Prophet (Esay) is also broken to peeces, properly, or crushed and beaten to* POVVDER. 3. That *Christes body was not properly broken.* 4. *That the breaking of the bread into many peeces, doeth first and immediatly set out the breaking of his soule.* In all which you violently follow your owne fansies, as your maner is, against all diuine and humane testimonie. For first κλώμενον doth not by his proper signification import that only, which is broken in *peeces*, as you meane peeces wholly parted the one from the other. Looke backe to your Lexicons, to which you appeale, and namely to that of Budæus, Tusanus, and Constantinus which Crispine Printed, Anno *Domini* 1562. or to that which was a fresh Corrected and enlarged by Gesnerus, Iunius, Xylander, Cellarius, Honygerus and others, and Printed at Basill 1584. and see whether *Klân* whence *Klômenon* commeth, bee not there expressed by

z Defenc. pa. 43.

frango

frango, flecto and *luxo*, and κλάσις by τομή; which are to *breake, bow, vnioynt, bruise, or cut*. And though Robert Steuen in his *Thesaurus*, set downe none other signification to the verbe *Klân*, but *frango to breake*; yet hee doth not thereby meane onely breaking of bones, or making of peeces as you ful wisely intend; but to breake generally, whatsoeuer or howsoeuer. And so *Klân* is to breake the *straitnesse* of any thing by *wrying* or bowing it, and the *coherence* of any thing by *straining*, *tearing* or *cutting* it, and the roundnesse or fulnesse of any thing by *bruising* it. Aristotle in his Problemes sayth, that as we clime vp the hill [a] τὰ γόνατα κλᾶται εἰς τοὔπισθεν, *the knees are bent* (or strained) *backward*; as we goe *downe the hill*, οἱ μηροὶ εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν κλῶνται, *the thighes are bent* (or strained) *forward*: as also κέκλασαι with Hippocrates is *the straining of a ioynt*, where he saith; that in holding the hand forth right, [b] ἡ ἀνάκλασις τῦ ἄρθρου κέκλασαι, the bowing of *the ioynt* (at elbowe) *is strained*. For so doth Galen expound him; τὸ γὰρ ἐκτεταμένης τῆς χειρὸς σχῆμα, κεκλασμένον φησὶν ἔχει τὸ ἄρθρον τὸ κατ' ἀγκῶνα. *The offer to stretch out the arme directly straineth the ioynt at elbow*, πρὸς τοὐκτὸς δηλονότι, *to the out side*. And Lucian describing the iesture of a Tragicall person, sayth; ἑαυτὸν ἀνακλῶν καὶ κατακλῶν, *Bowing and straining himselfe*. In all which *Klân* doeth not import any breaking of bones nor making of any peeces, but the straining of the ioynts, by which the body or the parts thereof may be bowed.

[a] *Arist proble. sectio. 5. numero. 19.*

[b] *Hippocr. li. 1. περὶ ἀγμῶν.*

[c] *Galenus in eundem librum.*

Hesychius sayth *klân* is likewise to cut, expressing it by [d] τέμνειν ἀμπέλους, to cut vines, which *Theophrastus* calleth [e] κλάσις ἀμπέλων, the cutting of vines, with whom *Suidas*, *Phauorinus*, & the Greek [f] *Scholiast* vpon *Aristophanes* agree, deriuing the metaphoricall signification of κλάσεις, ἀπὸ τῶν τεμνομένων κλημάτων, from cutting the *tender branches* (*of vines*, and other trees) which are properly called κλῶνες, because they wil turne and bowe euery way; and the hooke that serueth to cut them, is named κλαστήριον. Yea the very breaking of bread in Christes institution, (to which the Apostle resembleth the violence offered to Christes bodie) the Greeke church neuer so vnderstood, that it was not or might not be done with kniues. For besides that the ancient leiturgie vnder the name of Chrysostome, mentioneth a sacred knife in forme of a lance, wherewith the bread was cut, which is there expressed by [h] ἀνατόμων, and ἐν ἐνάτῃ ἀναπῶν; *Germanus* Bishop of Constantinople reporting the vse of the Greeke Church in his time continued frō former ages, saith, the Lords body [i] διατέμνεται σιδήρῳ τινὶ, ὅπερ καὶ λόγχην λέγουσι, *is cut with a knife, which they call a launce, out of the bread*; and though that be diuided, yet Christ remaineth whole and vnparted ἐφ' ἑνὶ ἑκάστῳ μέρει τῶν τεμνομένων, *in euery piece of the bread so cut*.

[d] *Hesychij Lexicon in* κλᾶν.

[e] *Theophrastus de causis plantarum lib. 3. cap. 19.*

[f] *In verbo* κλασίστεις.

[g] *Aristopha.* ἱππεῖς.

[h] *Chrysostomi Leiturgia Græcè.*

[i] *Germani historia Ecclesiastica.*

That *klân* is also vsed to signifie the tearing or bruising of fleshie parts, where no bones at all are broken, Hippocrates the father of all learned Physicke, speaking in his owne Art most skilfully and truly, doth cleerely witnesse: ἀσινέστερα πάντα τὰ κατεαγυμένα τῶν ὀστέων ὄντι, ἢ ὅπου τὰ μὲν ὀστέα ἃ κατάγνυται, φλέβες δὲ καὶ νεῦρα ἐπιμήκεα ἀμφικλᾶται: *Lesse dangerous are any of the bones broken, than where the bones are not broken, but the vaines and sinewes adioyning are on euerie side bruized*. If the vaines and sinewes of mans bodie are properly sayd κλᾶσθαι, when they are bruized or torne with any violence; the flesh of man, which is full of vaines and sinewes to bring bloud and sense to euery part of the bodie, can not be bruized with staues, or torne with whippes and thornes as Christes was, but those vaines and sinewes spreading themselues thorowout the flesh, must likewise be bruized and broken, which Hippocrates calleth κλᾶσθαι, though the danger be the lesse, because the veines and sinewes seruing to that vse, the more outward they come, the smaller they are. And lest you should still dreame as you doe, that there is no breaking of any thing in mans bodie but of bones, and that when the pieces be wholly seuered one from the other; Galen, a man past exception in his faculties, telleth you, that in violent hurts of the hands or feet, by leaping, falling or straining, οἱ συνδεσμοι τῶν ὀστῶν μᾶλλον, ἤπερ αὐτὰ κατάγνυται, *the knitting of the bones rather* breaketh than the bones themselues. Where the word κατάγνυται is put to signifie the *losing and tearing of the ioynts* when the bones are not broken, which Galene auoucheth is the properest word that the Greeke tongue hath for breaking of bones,

[k] *Hippocrates περὶ ἀγμῶν. li. 3. ad finem.*

[l] *Galenus in 2. lib. Hippocra. περὶ ἀγμῶν.*

bones, and *vsed almost of euerie man that is acquainted with the Greeke tongue.* Of breaking he likewise saith: [a] *μέρος κατάγνυται τῆς συνεχείας φυλαττομένης · a part (may be) broken, the rest being yet coherent.* Euen as Hippocrates sayd before him: [b] *ἢν ὁ καταγῇ ἡ κάτω γνάθος, ἢν μὴ ἀποκλιθῇ παντάπασιν, ἀλλὰ κατέχεται τὸ ὀστέον: when the lower iaw is broken, if it be not cleane forced a sunder, but that the bone is in some part coherent.* By which it is euident that as well *ioynts* as *bones* may be BROKEN, and that either in *part* or in *whole.*

[a] *Galenus de meth. medendi lib. 6.*
[b] *Galenus in 2. lib. Hippocra. περὶ ἄρθρων.*
[c] *Hippocrates in 2 lib. περὶ ἄρθρων.*

Klân then, whence *klômenon* is deriued, importeth not necessarily the breaking of bones in mans body, as by your new Diuinitie you haue lately deuised, to make way for your hell paines in the soule of Christ; but it signifieth generally to *breake*, as our English word doth, and *frango* with the Latines likewise; whether it be by *bowing* or *straining* that which is *straight*; by *losing* that which is *fast*; by *bruizing* that which is *sound*; or by *cutting and seuering* in part or in whole that which is *coherent.* And so much our English word BROKEN expresseth. We say the *necke* or *backe* is *broken*, when neither bone nor skinne is broken, but the fastning of the ioynts is losed. Likewise the *head* the *face*, the *shinnes* are *broken*, when the skin or flesh of these parts is by some violence razed or torne. Yea the veynes are broken with a rupture, and children are broken out when their flesh doth exulcerate. And since the *diuiding of that which was coherent*, (which the Phisitians call [d] *ἡ ὥστεως καὶ συνεχείας λύσιν, the solution of vnitie or continuitie,*) whether it be *straying*, *cutting*, *razing*, *tearing*, *or bruizing* the *bones* or *flesh* of mans body in part or in whole, is contained in the English word *breaking*, and in the Greeke word *Klômenon*; the Apostle spake properly enough when he said that Christs body was broken, for so much as all the *ioynts* of it were [g] *losed* in sunder, the *vaines* and *sinewes torne* with piercing and grating of Iron spikes, the *flesh* and the *skinne cut and rent* with thornes, whips, and speare, and bruized with staues; though the bones were not broken, which is your ignorant exception against the Apostles words.

[d] *Galenus de Methodo medendi li. 6.*
[g] *Psal. 22. vers. 15.*

But MEDVCCA *in the Prophet is broken in peeces properly, or crushed and broken to powder; as these Scriptures doe vse the word likewise, and all Lexicons doe confirme.*] Your resolutions are so rash, that no man will trust your report for the proper signification of words. DACHA indeede is properly *to bruize* whether it be with *hand* or *foote*, but not to *peeces* nor to *powder*, without some other word added to expresse so much. For your Lexicons, to which you so confidently appeale, consult that of *Pagnine* perused and augmented by *Mercere*, *Ceuallere*, and *Bertrame*, and Printed at *Lyons* in Fraunce *Anno* 1575. or *Forsters* Printed at *Basile Anno* 1564. and see whether they do not plainly reproue your folly. [f] *Forstere* expresseth the *theme*, whence MEDVCCA commeth, by *oppressione seu depressione contusus est, to be bruized by oppression or depression*; neither doth he so much as mention the signification of *frangere to breake* in all the examples of that *theme.* [t] Pagnine declareth the force of that *theme* by *conterere*, *frangere*, *contundere*, *to beate*, *breake*, *or bruize*, but *Mercere* addeth as *Forstere* did, *oppressione vel depressione*, by *oppressing and depressing.* And against your *beating to powder*, Pagnine taketh speciall exception out of the Rabbins in the very same place of Numbers, whence you would inferre it. For vpon the words Numbers 11. verse 8. *the people gathered Manna*, and BEATE IT *in morters, and made cakes of it.* He saith, *differt a* SHACHAK *secundum Hebreorum Doctores, quod* SHACHAK *est minutatim contundere & terere.* The word here vsed *differreth from* SHACHAK *according to the opinion of the Hebrew Doctors, because* SHACHAK *signifieth to beat a thing small or to powder*, which cõsequently this doth not. And though they had dissembled so much, yet the Scripture it selfe doth conuince, that your obseruation out of that place, as out of all the rest which you quote for that word is starke false. For Manna by the description of Moses, was *a small round thing*, [y] *small as the hore frost on the earth, and* [z] *fell in the night with the dew, and* [a] *melted* (away) *when the heate of the sonne came.* Now Manna being so moist, that it would melt with the heate of the Sunne, was not beaten in morters to bring it to powder, as you boldly suppose, since it would rather

[f] *Forsteri Dictionarium Hebraicum in theмate Dacha. 298.*
[t] *Pagnini thesaurus linguæ sanctæ.*
[a] *Num. 11. v 8.*
[z] *Pagnin. in themate Doc. pag. 457.*
[y] *Exod. 16. vers. 14.*
[z] *Num. 11. vers. 9.*
[a] *Exod. 16. vers. 21.*

rather cleaue together then come to powder; but by bruizing it betweene two stones, which was their kind of Mill in the Wildernes, or in a morter with some water they did worke it to *batter* or *dough*, thereof to make wafers or cakes. But were it so, that Manna would come to powder, which yet the text doth not inferre; will you conclude, because beating in a morter bringeth dry things to powder, that therefore beating doth generally and necessarily signifie beating to powder?

And as that place is mistaken by you, which only seemed to make for you; so not one of the rest, which you quote in your margin doth conuince either beating to powder, or breaking in peeces properly, to which you so violently wrest the words of Esay. For where the Prophet saith, the [b] *Nettes* of Egypt *shall be torne*, that is farre from beating *to powder*, except you haue lately deuised the powder of Nettes to make a plaister of. And if we should say they were torne to pieces, what necessitie is there, that either this *tearing* should be *properly breaking*, which you admit not but in things that be stiffe and hard as bones and such like; or that those pieces should be diuided from the whole, and not rather be ruptures in the whole, as we see in torne nettes, which are not alwaies rent cleane a sunder? The next and last place which you quote for the proper vse of this word, is as wide from your purpose, as West from East. [c] *None wounded* (sayth Moses) *with any contusion or abscission of his secret parts, shall enter into the congregation of the Lord.* Can those parts of man be *properly broken* in pieces, or *beaten to powder*? They may be bruized or wounded, as other fleshy parts may be, but *breaking* to pieces properly, or *beating* to *powder*, were very strange in that case. That bruizing was vsed as well as cutting, to make men Eunuches, appeareth by Paulus Ægineta; where he sayth: [d] *Huius rei modus duplex est, vnus collisione, alter excisione absoluitur: The way to do this is double, one by bruising, the other by cutting.* And since Moses compriseth both these wayes in his words, it is euident that DACCA is a bruize, and consequently the word may be properly applied to Christes bodie, which was sorely bruized as well with the *beating of staues* and whips, as with piercing and grating of iron spikes.

[b] Esa.19.v.10.

[c] Deu.23.v.1.

[d] Paulus Aeginet a.lib.6. cap.68.

These are the grounds on which you gather, the Prophet could not by that word meane the wounding and bruizing of Christes bodie; but because *powder* and *pieces*, as you *dreame*, are properly compriseđ in that theme, therefore it must be referred to the soule of Christ. As if *pieces* and *powder* came neerer in soules to the right signification of bruizing, than the mangling, tearing, and contusing of Christs body, which he suffered from the violent rage of the Iewes. Your other word of the *very same nature*, keepe to your selfe. When your proofs faile you in this, you may not be suffered to roue at your pleasure, and to reach after other words, & out of your own vnlearned skill to vouch, they are of the very same nature. Wherefore there is no cause why the coherence of Esaies wordes should be cut in sunder by your vnhandsome deuice of the *peeces* and *powder of soules*; but as the first words in that sentence, [e] *he was wounded for our transgressions*, and the last, *with his stripes we are healed*, are plainly referred to the punishments of Christes bodie; so the middest, he *was bruized for our iniquities*, should haue the same relation and intention, especially the Prophet foretelling the people, what they should *see in their Messias*, and how they should *misiudge of him.* [f] *We* (sayth Esay) *did iudge him as plagued and smitten of God*, but *he was wounded for our transgressions, and bruized for our iniquities, and with his stripes are we healed.*

[e] Esa.53.v.5.

[f] Ibid. v.4.

Neither is it any strange thing in the Scriptures to ioyne this very word which you talke so much of with wounding as with a word of the same nature and force. For besides that Moses sayth, [g] *None wounded with any bruizing or cutting of his secret parts, shall enter into the Lords congregation*; Dauid saith to God, *Thou hast bruized Rahab, as one that is wounded.* Where wounding & bruizing are more properly lincked together as words of like force and effect, than your breaking of soules into pieces, or beating them to powder. The verie same word is also vsed in the Scriptures, to note the bruizing of mans bodie by sickenesse, or of his estate by wrong and oppression. Dauid in a grieuous sickenesse complaining that he felt *nothing sound in his flesh*, nor *any rest in his*

[g] Deut.23.

bones;

[b] Pſal.38.v.8. *bones*; addeth: [b] *I am weakned and bruized very much. Bruize not the poore in the gate,* ſayth Salomon; that is, *oppreſſe not the poore in iudgement.* The children of the fooliſh
[i] Iob.5.v.4. ſhall be [i] *bruized* (that is, oppreſſed) *in the gate, and none ſhall deliuer them.* And when it is applied to the ſoule, it may note that to be either *wounded* with ſorrow, *oppreſſed* with wrong, or *humbled* with obedience; but as for *powder* and *pieces*, from which you would pull a iuſt proportion, which nothing can anſwere but the paines of hell, it is a ſicke conceit of your owne braine; it hath no deriuation either from the Prophets or Apoſtles words.

[k] Defenc. pa. 44. li. 18. & 29. You did not meane, that [k] *the ſoule might be properly broken in pieces, but that thus it is neerer and better applied to the ſoule than to the bodie; which was only pierced and boared thorow.*] Then was your former oppoſition out of the Scripture very licentious, and your concluſion as friuolous. In that *a bone of Chriſtes was not broken*, you inferred
[l] Trea. pa. 10. li. 16. that Eſaies words, *He was broken for our ſinnes,* [l] *could not be properly meant of Chriſtes bodie, fleſh, and bones*: as if there were no breaking of ioynts, veines, ſinewes, fleſh, or skinne; but only of bones. And yet as if the ſoule of Chriſt, which is by nature altogether indiuiſible, might properly be broken in pieces, you conclude the *breaking of the bread can not properly belong to the bodie of Chriſt*, BVT TO THE SOVLE. Had you denied the breaking of the bread properly to belong to either, your words muſt haue beene; It can belong properly neither to the bodie, nor to the ſoule; but you denie the one, and auouch the other; *It can not belong properly to the body, but to the ſoule.* Whether thoſe words of yours doe not expreſly import, that the breaking of bread doth *properly belong to the ſoule of Chriſt*, as to the trueth wherein they muſt be verified, I leaue it to the iudgement of the diſcreet Reader. [Howbeit, you denie not,
[m] Defenc. pa. 44. li. 26. but [m] *broken applied to the ſoule* (of Chriſt) *is figuratiue.*] And ſo you grant there was no cauſe you ſhould take ſuch exceptions as you did to the Apoſtles wordes, *This is my bodie which is broken for you.* For ſince it can not be verified of the ſoule, but figuratiuely as you now confeſſe; it may ſo be moſt iuſtly verified of Chriſtes bodie, without any ſenſe of hell paines ſuffered in the ſoule of Chriſt. And if the conſent of the Engliſh, Latine, and Greeke tongues may be truſted for the vſe of a word; breaking may properly be affirmed of Chriſtes bodie, which can not be of his ſoule; for ſo much as his *ioynts, veines, ſinewes, fleſh and skinne* were *broken* and *torne* in ſunder, though his bones were not.

Chriſts body truely broken by the iudgement of new and old writers.

And but that your faſhion is to follow no man farder than your fanſie leadeth you, you might haue ſeene with what reuerence and conſcience Maſter Beza, that otherwiſe vpholdeth the ſufferings of Chriſtes ſoule, referreth this word KLOMENON to the *tearings* and *torments* of Chriſtes bodie, being hereto led by the Apoſtles aſſertion. By the word [n] *broken* (in Pauls wordes) *is deſigned the kinde of* (Chriſtes) *death; becauſe, beſides that the Lords bodie was torne, bruized, and euen broken with moſt bitter torments, though his legges were not broken as the theeues were, Chriſt breathing out his ſoule with a moſt violent death, was as it were rent in two parts according to his humane Nature. This word then hath a* MARVELLOVS EXPRESSE SIGNIFICATION, *that the figure ſhould fullie agree with the thing it ſelfe; to wit, that the breaking of the bread ſhould repreſent to our minds the verie death of Chriſt.* Peter Martyr hauing made your obiection, that a bone of Chriſt was not broken, reſolueth: *But* [o] *heereof I will not greatly contend, forſomuch as this breaking is by many Fathers referred to the body of Chriſt. With whom the wordes following doe make*, (broken) *for you*; *which indeed leadeth me to conſent vnto them, and to acknowledge a double breaking*, (one in the bread, another in the bodie of Chriſt.) Bullinger ſayth, [p] *The bread is properlie ſayd to be broken, the bodie of man to be ſlaine; howbeit, in the Hebrue tongue to breake, is to waſte, to kill and deſtroy. And ſo the viſible bread, which in our ſight is broken with our hands, doth certeinly ſet before our eyes that bodie* (of Chriſt) *which was broken or done to death by vs or for vs.* So Haymo: [q] *Chriſt himſelfe brake the bread, which he deliuered to his Diſciples, to ſhew that the breaking and ſuffering of his bodie came not but of his owne accord.* Which wordes he tooke out of Beda vpon the Goſpels of Marke and [r] Luke. Before whom, Proſper: [s] *When*

[n] *Beze Annot. in epiſt. ad Cor. 1. ca. 11. v. 24.*

[o] *Petr. Martyr in 1. epiſt. ad Corint. ca. 11.*

[p] *Bulling. in 1. epiſt. ad Corint. cap. 11.*

[q] *Haymo in 1. epiſt ad Corint. ca. 11.*

[r] *Beda in Marci cap. 14. & in Luce ca. 22.*

[s] *De conſecratione diſt. 2. Et cum hoſtia.*

the

the hoſt is broken, and the bloud is powred out into the mouthes of the faithfull, what other thing is deſigned than the doing to death of the Lords bodie on the croſſe, and the ſhedding of the bloud out of his ſide? And likewiſe Auſten: [t] *The table of thy ſpouſe* (ſayth he to the Church) *hath bread* that is whole, *quem fractum & comminutum vidimus in Paſſione, which wee ſaw broken and bruized in his Paſſion. Of this bread the Lord himſelfe ſayd; The bread which I will giue, is my fleſh.* And indeed whoſoeuer ſhall duely conſider the violence done to euerie part of Chriſtes bodie before and on the croſſe, ſhall find a farre ſharper and ſorer kind of breaking, than if his legges had beene knapt in ſunder as the theeues were; and ſee iuſt cauſe why Paul compared the breaking of Chriſtes bodie to the breaking of the bread, though you idlely or falſely ſay it was ONELIE PIERCED *or boared thorow.* For if by *piercing* you meane *all kinde* of violence, that impreſſed any paine in the bodie; then is piercing farre larger and grieuouſer than your kinde of breaking, which is of bones; and more than ſuch piercing, Chriſtes bodie needed not, to anſwer the ſimilitude of breaking the bread. But if by *piercing* you meane *boaring thorow*, as you ſeeme to *expound it*; then did Chriſtes bodie ſuffer manie violences, as *buffeting, ſtriking, whipping, piercing with thornes*, and ſuch like, which were no borings thorow. And ſo there is either no weight or no truth in your words, that Chriſtes bodie was *only pierced and boared thorow.*

[t] *Auguſt. de feria 4. ca. 6. tom. 9.*

[u] *Vainly you charge me, I know not how often, againſt my expreſſe words, that I call hell, heauen, and deſcending, aſcending; but here it is no wrong to charge you with ſuch an abſurditie indeed, who expreſly do make that, which you ſay is* FIGVRATIVE, *to be a proper denomination.*] If I charge you falſlie, when you come to the place conceale it not; in the meane time, if there were any inconuenience in this, as there is none, it was the tracing of you in your owne termes. For you argued, that Chriſtes bodie could not be ſayd properly to be broken, becauſe no bone of his was broken; and conſequentlie it is your collection, that if a bone (which is but a part of Chriſtes bodie) had beene broken, the bodie of Chriſt (which is the whole) might be ſayd to haue beene properly broken. Mine anſwer was, that ſince Chriſts bodie had other parts beſides his bones, which by his owne words are conteined vnder the name of his fleſh, if any parts of his fleſh were truelie broken, the whole body might be ſayd to be properlie broken, as well in reſpect of his fleſh, as of his bones. What abſurditie find you in this, that firſt proceeded not from your ſelfe? But, *were the words mine owne*, when I ſpeake as a Diuine of the proprietie of ſignification, calling that *proper* which is not *metaphoricall*; and affirme, that as the ſenſe of the *word* BROKEN was proper in a part of Chriſtes bodie, ſo muſt it likewiſe be proper and not metaphoricall in the whole, becauſe the whole, which taketh his denomination from a part, muſt retaine the ſame ſignification of the word, which was verified in that part; what boyes play is it in you to come from metaphors to other kinds of figures, and to trifle with termes of proper and *figuratiue* (when I oppoſed proper to metaphoricall) and childiſhlie to charge me, that I ſpeake contraries with a breath? As if one and the ſame ſpeech might not be figuratiue in expreſsing the whole for a part, which is Synecdoche, and yet reteine his proper ſignification, and be no metaphor. Except therefore your Grammar be ſo great, that euerie Synecdoche muſt needs be a metaphor; and your Logicke ſo little, that you can not diſtinguiſh a ſubiect from a predicate; I ſee no cauſe but one and the ſame ſpeech or propoſition may be figuratiue in the ſubiect, by vnderſtanding the whole for a part; and yet proper in the predicate, by reaſon the ſenſe thereof is not metaphoricall. For theſe be *figuræ dictionum*, not *orationum*; *figures of words*, not *of ſentences*. As in our caſe *whether Chriſtes bodie were properly broken*, or no: if the bodie, which is the ſubiect in that propoſition, by Synecdoche be taken for a part; then broken, which is the predicate, muſt the rather be properlie and not metaphoricallie affirmed of that part, which was truelie broken: howbeit, as I thinke, ſince the proper ſenſe of breaking was verified of all or the moſt parts of Chriſtes bodie, it muſt likewiſe be verified of the whole bodie.

[u] Defenc. pa. 43. li. 37. *Proper oppoſed to metaphoricall.*

But omit theſe Grammaticall and Logicall points, wherewith manie Readers are

not acquainted, and come to the verie pitch of my words. I doe not affirme, that the whole for a part is a proper ſpeech, as you conceiue me; but that the *whole from a part* may properly (and not metaphorically) take his denomination. That a man *ſpeaketh, writeth, heareth; ſeeth, taſteth, ſmelleth*, and ſuch like, are they proper or figuratiue ſpeeches in your cenſure? Proper I thinke; and yet no part in mans bodie is the inſtrument of ſpeech beſides the tongue, of writing beſides the hand, of hearing beſides the eare, of ſeeing beſides the eye, of taſting beſides the mouth, of ſmelling beſides the noſe. Infinite are the actions of the bodie naturallie executed by certaine parts, as *eating, drinking, ſleeping, ſpetting, coughing, weeping*, and other ſuch, which no man in his right wits will affirme to be figuratiue actions or ſpeeches in man; and yet in them all, a part doth denominate the whole. In the vertues and vices of the mind, as for men to be *wiſe, ſober, diligent, patient, liberall, learned, mindfull, watchfull*, and ſuch like, or the contrarie; ſhall we ſay, that men be figuratiuely and not properly and truely ſuch, becauſe theſe are gifts of the minde, and not of the bodie? The verie eſſentiall parts of man, as *vnderſtanding, will, reaſon, ſenſe, and appetite*; ſhall they likewiſe make figuratiue ſpeeches in men, becauſe none of them are common to all the parts and powers of bodie and ſoule, but in euerie of them a part doth denominate the whole? It may be you will not greatlie ſticke to turne *Porphyries predicables* and *Ariſtotles predicaments* into *Moſellanes tropes*, and make figures of them all; what ſay you then to the branches of Chriſtian faith and trueth? are they alſo figuratiue and improper ſpeeches? That Chriſt is the *ſonne* of God, and the *ſonne* of Dauid; that he was *borne* of a virgine, and circumciſed in the eight day; that he *faſted, hungred*, and was *tempted*; that he *eat* and *ſlept, wept*, and waxed *weary*; that he was *buffeted, whipped*, and *crucifyed*; that he *died* for our ſinnes, and *roſe* for our righteouſneſſe; that he *aſcended* into heauen, and thence ſhall *come* to iudge the quicke and the dead; and an infinite number of the like: are all theſe figuratiue ſpeeches in your conceit? I hope you be not ſo faſtened to figures, that you will make vs a figuratiue faith, and a figuratiue Sauiour; and yet in all theſe, a part doth denominate the whole. Your eyes therefore were ſomewhat cloſe, or your wits wandering, when you could not ſee the difference betwixt taking the whole for a part, and denominating the whole by a part; which is ſo common and conſtant both in Diuinitie and Philoſophie, that in all naturall and neceſſarie actions, paſsions, and proprieties, the whole receiueth his attribute from a part. And ſo my words reſt ſound and true, both in humane reaſon and in holie Scripture, notwithſtanding your vaine proclamation of ſo cleere and expreſſe an abſurditie in them. But you muſt be borne with, your humor is ſo ſharpe, and your head ſo ſhallow, that your left hand knoweth not what your right ſcribleth.

Your deſpiſing the Eccleſiaſticall hiſtorie as a fable, is a ſparke of your pride, from which few ancient writers are free; howbeit the Scriptures are plaine enough for my purpoſe, to proue that Chriſts body was truely broken. They witneſſe that the Iewes [x] *buffeted him with their fiſtes, and ſmote him with their Sericants ſtaues*; thar Pilate [y] *ſcourged* him, that the ſouldiers [z] platted *a crowne of thornes on his head*, and then did [a] *beate him on the head with reedes and* [b] *roddes*; that his crucifiers [c] *digged his hands and feete*, and *pulled* [d] *all his bones out of ioynt*; and that in this plight the waight of his body hung on the croſſe three houres by the wounds of his hands & feete; and when he was dead, his [e] *ſide was pearced with a ſpeare*, beſides the *mockes, wrongs and taunts* that were offered him on euery ſide: and yet all this you ſay is [f] *not in any ſenſe proportionable to the proprietie of the word* KLO'MENON and MEDVCCA. You prate of PROPRIETIES and *proportions* to no end, but to colour your abſurdities and preſumptions. What Chriſtian Reader will endure you to ſay, that the Apoſtle in applying the word KLO'MENON to the body of Chriſt, had neither proprietie nor proportion to the right ſenſe of the word? If he did not ſpeake properly in thoſe words, (*which is broken for you*) as I thinke he did, yet at leaſt he muſt ſpeake metaphorically and figuratiuely, and ſo keepe a *reſemblance* and *proportion* to the originall ſenſe of the word; except your wiſedome will auouch that the holy Ghoſt ignorantly

[x] Mark. 14. verſ. 16.
[y] Matth. 27. verſ. 26.
[z] 29.
[a] 30.
[b] Ioh. 19. v. 3.
[c] Pſal. 22. verſ. 16.
[d] Verſ. 14.
[e] Iohn 19. verſ. 34.
[f] Defenc. pa. 44. li. 21.

rantly and vnaduisedly *abuseth* the word. Which if you confesse of your selfe, I will easily beleeue, becausе you neither know what you affirme, nor what you deny. For where afore you said in plaine words, [g] *the breaking of the bread* CAN NOT PROPERLY BELONG BVT TO THE SOVLE (of Christ,) Now you graunt it properly belongeth neither to body nor to soule; onely from powder and peeces you take a iust and full proportion in the soule *to the proper sense* of those words. You haue me in iealousie that [h] *I thinke you to be a senslesse foole*; indeed I thinke you to be more conceited then learned, and a great deale more shifting then sound, though in this booke you haue sought the helpe of all your friends to maintaine the most of your matters with *as it were*; but if you reiect the Apostles words as wanting both *proprietie* and *proportion*, except your hell paines be admitted; and make out iust and full proportions from powder and peeces vnto the soule of Christ, I doubt your Reader will thinke these be sensless and fooliſh Toyes.

[g] Treat. pa. 14.

[h] Defenc. pa. 44. li. 16.

If I would play with proportions as you doe, I neede not depart from the words of the holy Ghost to find a fairer resemblance to the proper sense of those words in the body of Christ crucified, then you make any. [i] *All my bones are sundered*, saith Dauid in the person of Christ, and [k] *thou hast brought me into the dust of death*. Of which and all that went before, Eusebius saith, [l] *what else doe all these signifie but the condition of* (Christs) *dead body? Wherefore he presently addeth, and into the dust of death thou hast brought me.* Here in expresse words is the dust of death to which Christs body was *brought*, and besides, *all his bones* were *sundered*. Now to be *sundered* is euidently to be *diuided*, and that must be with parts or peeces; the naturall coherence wherewith the bones were formerly ioyned, being losed and dissolued, though one part be not seuered from the other. Whether therefore the word *broken* be properly or figuratiuely taken, I see no cause why the Apostles words may not in either sense be fully true. For if the *Ioynts, vaines, sinewes, flesh, and skinne* of Christs body from head to foote were properly *strained, rent and torne*, besides the seuering of his soule from his body; then was his body truely broken. If by breaking we figuratiuely meane, as others doe, the affliction and anguish of Christs body; then as no part was free from it, so no increase of bodily paine in this life could be added to his sufferings: and so in either respect your hell paines haue their pasport, till you find some fitter place and better proofe for them then either KLO'MENON or MEDVCCA.

[i] Psal. 22. v. 14. [k] & 15.

[l] *Eusebius demonstra. Euangel. li.* 10. *ca.* 8.

The next point you vndertake is whether the *blood* of Christ be the full Redemption as well of our bodies, as of our Soules in this life. Wherein, becausе the word *Redemption* is diuerſly taken in the Scriptures, as for deliuerance sometimes from sinne, sometimes from death, sometimes from the power and feare of either; and all the promises of God we haue now in *hope*, though not some of them *indeed* till the generall resurrection: you shew your selfe cunning in carping at words, which you labour to turne and wind euery way. But before you come to it, you make a short and swift answere to all the places of Scripture, which I produce touching the force and effects of Christs blood; least you should haue [m] *any neede to trouble your selfe hereafter about any of them.* Where, as your manner is throughout your booke, you first chaunge the question with adding your witlesse and sensleſſe termes of *meere, single, and simple* to my words, and then without any more adoe, [n] *Your aduised and resolute answere to all is this*; [o] *there is not one text any where that hath any meaning of my strange conceite.* It were reason, a man would thinke, you tooke the paines to impugne my words, and not to presume you know my meaning against my words, and so to frame it after your fashion with your new found phrases, which I abhor as much as I doe your new found faith.

The Defender aludeth the Scriptures with his termes of single & meere.

[m] Defenc. pa. 45. li. 12.

[n] Ibidem li. 7. [o] & 11.

[p] *You will proue the blood of our Sauiour is the true price of our Redemption, and that as well of our soules as of our bodies. Who denieth this as your words runne?*] It is happie yet that my words runne well, whatsoeuer my conceite be. Now if I meane no more then I speake, and the sacred Scriptures fully concurre with that which I speake; then haue I both the word of God to warrant that I teach, and besides your owne confession

[p] Defenc. pa. 44. li. 32.

q Defenc. pa 44.li.35. that as I ſpeake it, it is truth. q *But you know I meane, that no more but the ſhedding of Chriſts blood* ONLY AND MEERELY, *is the iuſt and full ſatisfaction of all our ſinnes.*] What my meaning is you cannot be ignorant, I haue often declared it, not here only, but in my Sermons and concluſion alſo, as I haue formerly ſhewed, and you haue plainely confeſſed. I will once more repeate your owne words and hereafter by your leaue tell you it is a plaine lye and a meere ſhift, if you father your termes of Chriſts *meere blood, and ſingle bodie* vpon me, as any part of the Queſtion which I mooued, or Doctrine which I defend. Wherefore I pray thee Chriſtian Reader once more to take notice, that I be not driuen in euery page to proue one and the ſame thing againſt the Diſcourſers vnſauery, childiſh, and Idle phraſes, with which he would faine elude the Scriptures, and delude the world. Your confeſsion both of my Sermons and con-

r Defenc. pa. 36. li.9. cluſion (Sir Deſcourſer) is this; r *Sundry times you teach, that Chriſt did ſuffer peculiarly and ſeuerally ſome proper puniſhments in his ſoule, beſides his bodily ſufferings: yea that this was a part of his croſſe, and the effect of Gods wrath on his ſoule, as well as the ſuffering in his body.* Againſt my words ſo often witneſſed in my writings, and ſo openly confeſſed by your ſelfe, you take vpon you (by ſome ſecret reuelation belike) to

s Defenc. pa. 45.li.3. know my meaning, *that* s *no more but the ſhedding of Chriſts blood* MEERELY *is the full ſatisfaction of all our ſinnes; which* MEERE BLOOD *of Chriſt the Scriptures meane not, nor onely his body* SINGLY and SIMPLY *conſidered.*] The MEERE *blood*, and SINGLE and SIMPLE *body* of Chriſt, with ſuch like couerts of your cauſe, are termes fit for ſuch a teacher as you are, to which if you could once conuert the Queſtion, we muſt haue as many Lexicons to bring vs out of theſe Laberinthes, as there be leaues in your booke. Keepe them therefore as whelps of your owne litture, the faith of Chriſt and the word of God hath ſtood without them theſe ſixteene hundered yeeres.

What I meane by the body and blood of Chriſt, giuen, and ſhed for our Redemption, and the remiſsion of our ſinne; I haue meetly well expreſſed; I muſt not in euery ſection fall to freſh repetitions. When I ſpeake as the Scripture ſpeaketh, I meane as the Scripture meaneth. They know not your new termes of the MEERE *blood*, nor of the *ſingle* and *ſimple body* of Chriſt; but by his *blood* and *death* they meane that manner of ſhedding his blood, and that kind and courſe of death ſuffered in the body of his fleſh, which the Goſpell deſcribeth; no way excluding from Chriſt, when he preſented himſelfe before God to vndertake mans cauſe, the due conſideration of mans infirmitie and iniquitie abounding, or of Gods iuſtice therewith diſpleaſed; nor his humble and voluntary ſubmiſsion to the mightie hand and righteous will of his heauenly Father, to excuſe vs from the heauie iudgement that otherwiſe did hang ouer our heads. So much as the Scriptures mention in declaring the manner of his death and bloodſhedding, ſo much they containe in the name of his *Croſſe*, *blood* and *death*. For as the deſcription, which the holy Ghoſt maketh, is in no point idle; ſo the comprehenſion of all vnder one word excludeth nothing formerly deſcribed. This I take to be a ſound and ſure way to expound the Scriptures by their owne direction and intention. For ſince the manner and order of Chriſts death was ſo carefully regeſtred by the ſpirite of God, that we ſhould not be ignorant of it; whenſoeuer the Scriptures ſpeake of Chriſts *Croſſe*, *blood*, and *death*, they referre vs to all that, which either by the Prophets was foretold, or in the Goſpell

t 1.Cor. 15. verſ.3. is expreſſed touching the order and manner of his death. And ſo *Chriſt* t *died for our ſinnes according to the Scriptures* (as Paul addeth.) Then to take any thing from it, which is mentioned in the Scriptures; or to adde any thing to it, which is not there expreſly recorded; is to depart from the word of trueth, and to diſhonor and deface the death and bloud of Chriſt with our inuentions.

This being my meaning euen from the beginning, as my words declare, I mooued theſe two generall queſtions: The firſt, Whether in the croſſe and death of Chriſt deſcribed in the Scriptures, the death of the ſoule, or the death of the damned, were by any good warrant of the ſayd Scriptures compriſed: Secondly, Whether the

croſſe

croſſe and *death* of Chriſt, as the Scriptures deſcribe them, be not the full and perfect price of our redemption from ſinne, and reconciliation to God by the teſtimonie of the ſame Scriptures, without the death of the ſoule, or paines of the damned. The Diſcourſer finding himſelfe incloſed with theſe queſtions, ſpeaketh directlie to neither, and prooueth nothing in either; but declining the enuie of theſe ſpeeches, *the death of the ſoule, and the paines of the damned*, which indeed are the points milliked and reiected, he changeth the firſt queſtion into the generall termes of *ſuffering Gods wrath*, and *the ſoules proper ſuffering*, which may import manie things beſides thoſe two; and in the ſecond, he euery where beareth the Reader in hand, that by the death and bloud of Chriſt, I meane the MEERE *bodily ſufferings of Chriſt*, without anie ſenſe or ſorrow of the ſoule in her ſpirituall powers. And leſt the Scripture ſhould ſtand in his way, he caſteth them all behinde him, that any way witneſſe the force and merit of Chriſtes death and bloudſhedding, as figuratiue ſpeeches; becauſe they name not the MEERE *bloud of Chriſt*, nor *only his body* SINGLY *conſidered*. But Sir, all this while you forget, that you haue proued nothing, but onely ſuppoſed and auouched what pleaſed you; and that in matters of faith you may not adde to the word of God without manifeſt apoſtaſie. The things queſtioned by me, were the [a] *death of the ſoule, and the verie paines of the damned*, as appeareth euidently by my words, when I firſt mooued the queſtion. Of theſe you ſay nothing all this while; which yet you muſt ſoundly & fully proue before you may adde them to the words of the Holy ghoſt teſtifying the power & vertue of Chriſtes bloud and death. Therefore howſoeuer you ſeeme to ſhift off the Scriptures as figuratiue ſpeeches with your MEERE and SINGLE termes, they will ſticke faſter by you than ſo. For as there can be no doubt of my meaning, compriſing all in the death and bloud of Chriſt, which the Scriptures report of the order and maner of his ſufferings, when he yeelded himſelfe to die for the ſinnes of the world according to the counſell of his Fathers wil; ſo you may not preſume any thing to be conteined in the death or croſſe of Chriſt, as requiſite for our redemption, which is not cleerely witneſſed by the Scriptures. Proue therefore by the Scriptures, that Chriſt died the death of the ſoule, or the death of the damned, which are the true paines of hell; and then adde it to the croſſe of Chriſt when you will. Till ſo you do, the Scriptures which I haue produced, ſtand in their full ſtrength againſt you. For as they bind all Chriſtian men ſtedfaſtly to beleeue that which is written touching their redemption by the death and bloud of Chriſt; ſo do they ſtraitly prohibit all and euery, be they men or Angels, to adde any other deuice to the doctrine of our ſaluation, than what is euidently reuealed, and directly witneſſed in the Scriptures.

[a] Sermo. pa. 8. li 23. & pa. 9. li. 14.

The Scriptures teach no redemption, but by the bloud and death of Chriſt.

[x] *Whether it be of Chriſt* (ſayth Auſten) *or of any other thing whatſoeuer touching the faith; I ſay not, if we, who are no way comparable to him that ſo ſpake, but that which followeth, if an Angell from heauen teach you* BESIDES *that which you haue receiued in the Scriptures, of the Law and the Goſpell, holde him accurſed.* [y] *It is a manifeſt fall from the faith* (ſayth Baſil) *either to abrogate any thing that is written, or to bring in any thing that is not written. For* [z] *when once we beleeue* (the Goſpel, ſayth Tertullian) *this we firſt beleeue, that there is nothing beſides, which we ought to beleeue.* So that the *meere bloud and ſingle bodie* of Chriſt are but ſleights of yours, with vnknowen phraſes to draw your Reader from asking or eying your prooſes for the death of Chriſtes ſoule, and the paines of the damned to be ſuffered by him, before wee could be redeemed. The Scriptures are maine and manifeſt for that which I beleeue and teach, and which the whole Church of Chriſt before mee, taught and beleeued theſe fifteene hundred yeeres, afore your conceit of hell paines in the ſoule of Chriſt was either hatcht or heard of. The ſufferings of the ſoule and the wrath of God, which things you now catch holde on to make ſome introduction to your ſecret and priuate fanſies, are too generall to inferre either the death of the ſoule or the paines of the damned, except to the reſt of your abſurdities you will adde theſe, that the ſoule neuer ſuffereth but

[x] *Auguſt. contra literas Petil. li. 3. & ca. 6.*
[y] *Baſil. in ſerm. de fide.*
[z] *Tertul. adverſ. hæreticos. cap. 8.*

it

it dieth the death of ſpirits; and that Gods anger in this life hath none other effects, but damnation.

[a] Defenc. pa. 45. li. 13. [a] *Here you vrge a reaſon againſt vs: if then our ſoules be not redeemed by the blood of Chriſt, our bodies haue no benefite of Redemption from death.*] You hunt ſo headily after aduantages of words by ſome ambiguitie in them, that you neither remember what the Scriptures teach, nor what your ſelfe defend, nor when I vſe a word in the ſame ſenſe that the Apoſtle doth. It is not my deuiſe, but the Apoſtles doing, to take REDEMPTION of the *body* for the *incorruption* of the ſame. [b] *We ſigh in our ſelues,* [b] Rom. 8. 23. ſaith Paul, *waying for the Redemption of our body.* And againe, *you are* [c] *ſealed by the holy ſpirit of God vnto the day of Redemption.* When that day ſhall be, our Sauiour tel- [c] Ephes. 4. 30. leth vs in theſe words. When *the* [d] *powers of heauen ſhall be ſhaken, and you ſee the ſonne of man come in a cloud with power and great glory, then lift vp your heads; for your Redemption draweth neere;* In all which places *Redemption* is taken for none of thoſe mercies [d] Luk. 21. 28. or graces, which are beſtowed on Gods children in this life, but for that glorie and immortalitie, which ſhall be reueiled on them, when Chriſt ſhall come to iudge the world; and namely the Redemption of the body for that incorruption, wherewith [e] *our vile bodies ſhall bee changed* and *made like to his glorious body.* Take then the Re- [e] Philip 3. 21. demption of the body for the incorruption of the ſame, as the Apoſtle plainely doth and I did; and ſee what abſurditie or obſcuritie there is in my reaſon, which you ſo much wrangle with, and wonder at, as though it paſſed all vnderſtanding. *The Redemption, which we haue in this life by the bloud of Chriſt, muſt needes bee either of body or of ſoule*; we haue no more parts to be redeemed by Chriſt. But the Redemption of our bodies we haue not in this world, we muſt *waite* for it, till [f] *this corruptible put on* [f] 1. Cor. 15. 53, 54. *incorruption.* The Redemption therefore which we haue in this life, or ſhal haue before the laſt day, is the Redemption of our ſoules. And ſo the words of Peter, [g] *You were* [g] 1. Pet. 1. 19. *Redeemed with the precious bloud of Chriſt*, and of the Saints in heauen, ſaying to the Lambe, [h] *Thou haſt redeemed vs to God by thy bloud,* pertaine expreſly to the Redemp- [h] Reue. 5. 9. tion of their ſoules, becauſe their bodies then did, and yet do lie in corruption. What ſo ſtrange monſters or marueiles, doeth your Logicall head finde in this reaſon, that you ſhould make ſuch wonderizations at it, and proteſtations againſt it? Is it not open and eaſie to all, that be meanely witted or ſoberly minded?

[i] Defenc. pag. 45. li. 17. But *you haue* [i] *three things to note* (in my words which you alleage:) 1. *The Propoſition is vaine and Illogicall, hauing no conſequence in it at all.*] It is a ſpeciall point of Art memoratiue in you to note three things, and vtterly to forget two of them. For in this whole Section, you doe not ſo much as mention any ſecond or third thing to bee noted in thoſe words which you cite. The firſt and al, which you note, is that my *propoſition is vaine, Illogicall, and vncoherent.*] Your idle and vntheologicall head hath ouer buſied it ſelfe with many mad multiplications, and *what ifs* vpon this propoſition; and yet you come nothing neere the ſenſe or coherence of it. The Propoſition hath two parts, whereof the ſecond is either an *illation* out of the Apoſtles words, vpon the firſt being a ſuppoſition of yours, if we limit it to the time of this life; or if wee ſpeake without reſtraint of time as you doe, it is a neceſſarie conſequent to the former, being the condition and cauſe of the latter. *That our ſoules are not redeemed by the bloud of Chriſt*, but by his ſoule, is a reſolution of yours; wherewith you giue a freſh on-ſet in the next Section, as the Reader ſhall there perceiue, though here in ſhew you ſomwhat relent after your inconſtant maner. That being a poſition of yours; I added by the Apoſtles warrant, that *our bodies haue not their Redemption in this life*, but muſt ſtay for it till the day of Redemption, or generall reſurrection. And ſo the rea- [k] Conclu. pa. 240 l. 24. ſon ſtandeth: [k] *If our ſoules be not* (here) *redeemed by the bloud of Chriſt*, (which is your Aſſertion) *our bodies* (*by the* Apoſtles doctrine) *haue no Redemption in this life.* But [l] Ibidem 241. li. 6. et [m] 8. this, *That wee ſhould* [l] *preſently haue no Redemption* (in body or ſoule) *by the bloud of Chriſt is quite* [m] *contrarie to the words of Peter*, who ſayth, *Yee are redeemed by the bloud of Chriſt*, (not yee ſhall be;) and of the ſoules in heauen that ſay to Chriſt, *thou haſt redeemed*

redeemed vs by thy bloud, when *their bodies were rotten in the earth.* Since therefore either body or ſoule muſt haue Redemption in this life, and the body as Paul aſſureth vs, hath not Redemption in this life; [n] *Ergo the Redemption which we haue in this life by the bloud of Chriſt, muſt bee referred to our ſoules; and our bodies muſt expect the generall day of Redemption in the end of the world*, before they ſhall haue it. If the ſober and wiſe Reader vnderſtand not this reaſon, or can diſlike the ſequence of it, I am content he ſhall condemne it as darke and obſcure; but if it be open to all mens eyes ſaue yours; then is your dull conceite or eger ſtomacke rather betrayed by your fooliſh rolling to ſo many *what ifs*, then my reaſon any way refuted. [I alter, you will ſay, the order of it.] Though I ſpake then more ſhortly then now I doe, becauſe I had no leaſure to ſtand ſo long thereon, yet he that will Reade but the third part of that Section whence you take this, ſhall finde the very ſame parts and words, that now I vſe, there contained and expreſſed.

[n] *Vt ſupra. pa. 240. li. 31.*

But I afterward defend the propoſition with the condition annexed to bee ſimplie true.] When I ſaw your humour was ſo franticke, that not vnderſtanding my words, you would preſently pronounce them in the view of the whole Realme to be a notorious *Paradoxe and impietie*, I bid you take your vttermoſt aduantage of my words; and as they ſtoode, though that were not my firſt intent, they were *ſound* and *good*, and your impugning them was *prophane* and *falſe*. I yet auouch the ſame. For where the Scriptures teach no Redemption but by the death and bloud of Chriſt, your other deuiſed Redemptions by the death of the ſoule, and paines of Hell, I account no better then *falſe and prophane*. And therefore if our ſoules be not that way redeemed, which the Scriptures reueile, which is by the death and bloud of Chriſt; they are not redeemed at all. And being not at all redeemed, I would faine know by the beſt of your skill, what benefit of Redemption our bodies ſhall or can haue, more then the bodies of Infidels. Yea ſet that redemption aſide, which the Scriptures attribute to the death and bloud of Chriſt, and neither bodie nor ſoule can be ſaued, but infidelity and the wages therof, I meane damnation both of ſoule and bodie, preuaile in all men. So that you were not well in your wits, when with ſuch an heat and huffe you cried out [o] *What a Pradoxe is it, yea what impietie?* [But I *muſt chuſe whether I will ſpeake this ſophiſtically or abſurdly*, you ſay.] Is it any ſophiſtrie or abſurditie to ſpeake as the Spirit of God ſpeaketh in the Scriptures? Your MEERE *bloud* of Chriſt is indeed abſurd Sophiſtrie: for you imagine by that word, that Chriſt ſhed his bloud for our ſinnes without any meritorious action or paſsion of the ſoule concurring, which in the Redeemer of the world was ſo impoſsible, as nothing more. If I ſpeake otherwiſe than the Scriptures ſpeake, take your pleaſure at it, ſo you bring reaſon for it; but whē I keepe my ſelfe within the compaſſe of their ſpeech, your auouching that I ſpeake *Sophiſticallie* or *abſurdlie*, reprocheth the Scriptures, whom I follow. In either of thoſe points which you impugne, as *that our ſoules are redeemed by the bloud of Chriſt*, and that *our bodies haue not redemption in this life*, I haue the Scriptures plainly precedent before me, and therefore except they ſpeake ſophiſtically or abſurdly, I in retaining their ſpeech and ſenſe can do neither.

[o] Trea. pa. 23. li. 13.

The difference betwixt the deaths of the faithfull and infidels, is a thing well known to me, and approoued by me; yet muſt the Apoſtles words ſtand true, that in this life we haue not the Redemption of our bodies, but we muſt *waite* for it [p] *till the time that all things be reſtored.* That Chriſt hath already purchaſed and obtained it for vs by his death and paſsion, I make no doubt, as alſo that we reſt in hope aſſured of it; *but* [q] *hope which is ſeene, is not hope:* and though the ſoules of the Saints retaine a firme faith and full expectance of Gods promiſe for the raiſing and Redeeming of their bodies from corruption, and in the meane time diſcerne and feele as well the comfort that is in the death of Gods elect, as the great bleſsings and benefites that follow their death; yet their bodies lying in duſt haue no ſhew nor ſenſe thereof, much leſſe haue they that which Paul calleth the [r] *Redemption of the body.* From which words Saint Auſten collecteth very truely, [s] *Si Redemptio corporis noſtri ſecundum*

The bodyhath not his redemption before the laſt day.

[p] Acts 3. 21.

[q] Rom. 8. 24.

[r] Rom. 8. v. 23.

[s] *Aug. de nuptiis & concupiſcentia li. 1. c. 18*

ſecundum Apoſtolum expectatur, profecto quod expectatur adhuc ſperatur, nondum tenetur. If the Redemption of our body by the Apoſtles doctrine muſt be wayted for, that which is expected is ſtill hoped for, but not yet obtained. Take then the *Redemption* of the body for the *incorruption* of the ſame, as Paul doth, whom in that point I followed, and tell me what *benefite* of incorruption (which is the word you ſo much ſtorme at) the bodies of the faithfull haue more then the bodies of infidels. You range aſide as your manner is, to the *ceaſing of ſinne* in the godly, and their *reſting from labours*, as alſo the *entrance of their ſoules into heauen*; as if the bodies of the wicked did ſinne in their graues, or were toſſed with troubles when they were dead and rotten, or in the Saints your ſight did not ſerue you to diſtinguiſh their ſoules from their bodies. For when I ſay as Paul ſayth, their bodies haue not yet redemption; you replie, their ſoules after death haue an entrance into heauen. Euen ſo, when I ſay, that the death of the bodie to the ſaints is a part of that *wrath, curſe, and puniſhment* which God inflicted on all mankinde for their ſinne in Adam, as ſhall after (God willing) more largely appeare; you oppoſe the benefits which God of his peculiar goodneſſe towards his children, hath reſerued for them, after they haue obediently and patiently ſubmitted themſelues to his diuine pleaſure, in bringing their bodies to corruption for the ſinne that dwelleth in them. And thus by your mangling of matters you confound in the godlie their ſoules with their bodies, and in God himſelfe his iuſtice againſt ſinne with his mercy towards his owne. You might haue learned of S. Auſten rightly to ſeuer them as he doth, though you croſſe him in this, as in moſt of the things that are in queſtion betwixt vs. [t] *Quamuis bonis conferatur per mortem plurimum boni (vnde nonnulli etiam de bono mortis congruenter diſputaverunt) tamen & hinc quæ prædicanda eſt niſi miſericordia Dei, quòd in bonos vſus conuertitur pœna peccati? Though much good come to the godlie by death; (whereupon ſome haue accordingly written of the benefits of death) yet what els in this muſt we acknowledge but the mercie of God, that the puniſhment of ſinne is turned to good vſes?* And ſo that ancient writer of the booke *Hypognoſticôn* amongſt S. Auſtens works: [u] *Vt moriantur homines pœna peccati eſt, vt reuertantur ad vitam Domini miſerantis eſt: That men die is the puniſhment of (their) ſinne, that they returne to life againe is the Lords mercie.*

[t] *Aug. contra duas epiſtolas Pelagianor. li. 4. ca. 4.*

[u] *Hypognoſti. li. 1. ca. 3.*

[x] Defenc. pag. 47. li. 1. *Both body and ſoule muſt ſuffer in Chriſt.*

[x] *Before you depart from this point, that not the bloud of Chriſt nor his fleſh without reſpect to the merit of his whole ſoule, was the full price of redemption, you will ſhew how ſundrie of the ancient Fathers doe agree with you ſufficiently in this matter, though afterwards in my booke I ſeeme to bring them againſt you.*] If you had Fathers to witneſſe your fanſies of Chriſtes ſuffering the death of the ſoule and paines of hell, you would ſoone recken them and more regard them, than now you doe, when they directly gainſay your late deuice of a new kinde of redemption, which the Scriptures neuer ſpecifie. Theſe Fathers I brought not againſt you, as you imagine, not perceiuing what maketh with you nor what againſt you. In ſhew theſe places ſeemed to make againſt me, and to diſclaime that aſſertion which I concluded out of the Scriptures, that the bloud of Chriſt redeemed and ſanctified both our bodies and ſoules. Leſt therefore the ſimple ſhould ſtumble at any ſuch ſayings of the Fathers, not knowing their meanings, I brought them to expound them, and to let the Reader ſee that indeed I diſſented not from them: but confeſſed, as they intended, that in Chriſtes ſuffering for ſinne the whole man, that is, bodie and ſoule, muſt be ioyned together. And if any part of Chriſts humane nature were wholy freed and exempted from ſuffering, that part in vs was not fully ranſomed. By which they neuer ment that Chriſts ſoule muſt haue ſeuerall ſufferings for our ſoules, and his body likewiſe for our bodies; but as Adam ſinned in both ioyntly, ſo the puniſhment of ſinne, which Chriſt vndertooke for vs, muſt be felt ioyntly in both, and if either part in Chriſtes ſufferings were vntouched, ſome part in vs was vnreſtored. This to be the true meaning of thoſe Fathers, and all that their words muſt inferre, if they will ſpeake trueth, and agree with themſelues, as no doubt they doe, your ſelfe is a witneſſe ſufficient againſt your ſelfe. In defence of your doctrine you ſay: [y] *It is moſt falſe, that we preciſely ſay, that Chriſts body ſatisfied for*

[y] Treat. pag. 22. li. 21.

our

our bodies, and his ſoule for our ſoules, yea ech of them in a ſeuerall and diſtinct kinde of ſatisfying: which thing we neuer meant, but acknowledge the ſufferings of the whole man Chriſt do ſatisfie for vs wholly, without any ſuch preciſe partition.] What you dare not affirme, becauſe it is falſe and repugnant to the Scriptures, I hope you will not impoſe on the Fathers, ſo long as their words conclude no ſuch thing. They ſay preciſely *Chriſt* [z] *gaue his fleſh (to be a redemption) for our fleſh, and his ſoule likewiſe (to be a redemption) for our ſoules,* Whereby they meane no diſtinct ſufferings of Chriſtes ſoule for our ſoule, nor of his bodie for our bodies; but a ioynt ſuffering of both for both, which you call the ſufferings of *the whole man Chriſt for vs wholly.* So farre we agree; you acknowledging mine expoſition of the Fathers to be ſuch as you doe not, nor dare not impugne: for otherwiſe you muſt make them contradict both the Scriptures, and themſelues which they neuer ment, if they ſhould ſay that our ſoules are not *clenſed, redeemed, and ſanctified* by the bloud of Chriſt: What now inferre you farder out of their wordes?

[z] *Irenæus. li. 5. cap. 1.*
[z] *Cyril. de fide ad Theodoſium.*

[a] *Marke well how theſe Fathers do not ſay that Chriſt gaue his life for a ranſome only (as you would conſtrue it) but euen his verie ſoule for our ſoules.*] You are a worthie Clerke if you vnderſtand not, that nothing but the very ſoule of man is the life of his bodie, and therefore Chriſt in giuing his life for vs, muſt needs giue his verie ſoule for vs. The one of them doth not exclude the other, as you vainly collect, but implieth the other, as by the vſuall ſpeeches of the Scriptures, and generall conſent of all Interpreters olde and new may ſoone appeare. [b] *They are dead* (ſayth the Angell to Ioſeph) *that ſought the childes ſoule*; meaning Herod that went about to deſtroy Chriſt in his cradle. [c] *Be not penſiue for your ſoule* (ſayth our Sauiour) *what ye ſhall eat or what ye ſhall drinke. Is not your ſoule of more value then meate?* Meate and drinke maintaine life, and ſo continue the ſoule in the body, otherwiſe they are no way needfull for the ſoule. [d] *He that loſeth his ſoule for my ſake,* (ſaith Chriſt) *ſhall ſaue it.* How can a man loſe his ſoule for Chriſt, but by laying downe his life for Chriſt? There *ſhall be no loſſe of any mans ſoule among you,* but of the ſhip, ſaid Paul to them that ſayled with him; which was performed in that they [f] *came all ſafe to land.* So of Epaphroditus Paul ſaith; *for the worke of Chriſt he was neere vnto death, not regarding his Soule.* Nothing is more often in the Scriptures then for life to vſe the name of Soule, which is the cauſe of life; and by the ſoule to expreſſe life, which is a neceſſary conſequent of the Soule remaining in the body, as death is of the Soule departing from the body. This kind of ſpeech ſo familiar with the Hebrewes, and ſo frequent in the olde and new Teſtament, our Sauiour keepeth, when he ſpeaketh of his owne death. [g] *The good ſheepeheard* (ſaith Chriſt) *layeth downe his ſoule for his ſheepe. I am the good ſheepeheard, and* [h] *lay downe my ſoule for (the) ſheepe.* [i] *Therefore the Father loueth me, becauſe I lay downe my Soule to take it againe.* [k] *No man taketh it from me, but I lay it downe of my ſelfe.* As alſo when he ſaid; [l] *the Sonne of man came to ſerue, and to giue his ſoule for the ranſom of many*; he intended no more then when he ſaid, *I lay downe my ſoule for* ‖ *the* ‖ *ſheepe,* which muſt needs be for the ranſome of the ſheepe. So the Prophet foretold that Chriſt ſhould [m] *power out his ſoule vnto death, and make it an offering for ſinne*; which [n] *loue of God we know by this,* (ſaith Iohn) *that he layed downe his ſoule for vs.*

[a] Defenc pag. 47. li. 27.
[b] Matt. 2. v 20
[c] Matt. 6. v. 25
[d] Matth. 10. verſ. 39.
[f] Acts 27. verſ. 22. Ibidem v 44. Philip. 2 30.
[g] Iohn. 10. verſ. 11.
[h] Verſ. 15.
[i] Verſ. 17.
[k] Verſ. 18.
[l] Matth. 20.
[m] Eſay. 53.
[n] 1. Ioh. 3.

If auncient Fathers and learned expoſitors may be heard concurring with the Scriptures, and obſeruing this in the Scriptures, we want neither old nor new, all confeſſing it to be a caſe moſt cleere, that by dying for vs Chriſt laid downe his Soule, and gaue it for vs. Chriſt [o] *bowing his head* (ſaith Athanaſius) and yeelding vp *the ſpirite which was within his body, that is his ſoule, declared whereof he ſpake* (this,) *I lay downe* (my ſoule) *for my ſheepe.* Auſten; [p] *the Soule is put for the life, as where it is ſaid, he that hateth not his ſoule, can not be my Diſciple. And likewiſe is not the ſoule more worth then meate? that is, this life, for which meate is needfull. And (ſo) that which Chriſt ſaith, he will lay downe his ſoule for his ſheepe, by which he meaneth his life, when he pronounceth that he will die for vs,* Ambroſe; [q] *Chriſt tooke vpon him the perſon of a ſheepeheard, and ſaid; a good ſheepeheard layeth downe his ſoule for his ſheepe. Ideóque pro rationali grege ſeipſum paſſioni*

[o] *Athanaſ. de incarnat. Chriſti contra Apollinarium.*
[p] *Auguſt. de ſermone Domini in monte. li. 1. cap. 15.*
[q] *Ambroſ. in Pſal. 118. ſermo. 20.*

passioni corporis non negauit, and therefore for his reasonable flocke he yeelded himselfe to the passion, (or death) of his body. Cyrill. When Christ [r] might haue declined the rage of the Iewes, and the gibbet of the crosse, he so loued his, that he refused not to die for the life of all. And that this is most perfect charitie, [r] I will cite our Sauiour himselfe for a witnesse (where he saith;) greater loue hath no man, then to lay downe his soule for his friends. By all this Christ teacheth his Disciples to be so farre from shunning daungers and troubles for the saluation of men, that the death of the flesh must not be refused; for euen to that doth charitie stretch. Fulgentius an other of the Fathers, on whom you would faine fasten your error of Christs redeeming our soules by the death of his soule, and our bodies by the death of his body; not only noteth when and how Christ laid downe his soule for vs, but why that phrase is applyed to Christs death, and to all theirs, that die willingly for loue, not necessarily vpon constraint. [t] *The whole man (Christ) laid downe his soule, when his soule departed, his flesh dying on the crosse.* And so againe, [t] *Christ dying in the flesh, laid downe his Soule*; and shewing the difference betwixt *deliuering the body to death and giuing or laying downe the soule*, He saith [t] *Where loue is not, the body is said to be deliuered, but not the soule to be laid downe; as the vessell of election plainly testifieth, If I giue my body to be burnt, and haue no loue, it auayleth me nothing.* (Here Paule) *declareth, that without loue the body may be yeelded, but not the soule laid downe. For where he purposeth to signifie the pureness of his loue, he thus writeth to the Thessalonians. Our good will was to bestow on you not onely the Gospell of God, but euen our owne soules; and to proue this an effect of his loue he addeth, because yee were deare vnto vs. So that it is proued by manifest witnesse of Scripture, that there wanteth loue, where the body onely is layed downe to death, but there is charitie, where the soule is laid downe together with the body. Beda.* [u] *Ponere ergo animam, mori est. Sic & Apostolus Petrus Domino dixit, animam pro te ponam, id est, pro te moriar carne. To lay downe the Soule is to die. So the Apostle Peter said to Christ, I will lay downe my Soule for thee, that is, I will die in the flesh for thee.* [x] *A good sheepeheard (saith Christ) layeth downe his soule for his sheepe. He did, that he taught; he performed, that he commaunded, he laid downe his Soule for his sheepe; and shewed vs a way to contemne death, which we must follow, and a paterne after which we must be Printed, which is first to extend our outward works of mercie towards his sheepe; then if neede be to offer our death for them.*

[r] *Cyril. in Ioh. li. 9. ca. 2.*
[r] *Idem in Iohannem li. 10. ca. 22.*
[t] *Fulgent. ad Thrasimundum li. 3.*
[t] *Ibidem.*
[t] *Ibidem.*
[u] *Beda in Euangelium Iohan. cap. 10.*
[u] *Ibidem.*

The later writers are all of the same mind, and expound those words of our Sauiour, the Sonne of man came *to serue, and to giue his soule a ransome for many*; *and I lay downe my soule for my sheepe*; to haue none other sense, then that he would die for vs, as the Fathers before them did expound the same. Erasmus in his paraphrase expressing our Sauiours meaning in both places saith in the person of Christ; [y] *Therefore I came euen to serue the welfare of all, in so much that I thinke it no burden to giue my life; by the losse of one soule to redeeme many.* And againe; [z] *Therefore my Father loueth me singularly as his Sonne, because of mine owne accord I bestowed my life for the safetie of my Fathers flocke.* Bullinger likewise in the person of our Sauiour; [a] *I came to serue the good of all, and that which is farre greater, I came into this world to giue my life for sinners.* And so, [b] *I yeeld my selfe to death, and euen to the death of the crosse, that my sheepe beleeuing in me, may liue by my death.* And alleadging and relying on Saint Austens words on the same place, he addeth out of Austen. *To lay downe the soule is to die. So Peter the Apostle said to his Master; I will lay downe my soule for thee, that is I will die for thee. Attribute this to the flesh, for when the soule goeth out of the flesh, and the flesh remaineth without a soule, then is a man said to lay downe his soule. What saith the Euangelist? Christ bowing his head gaue vp the Ghost; this is, to lay downe the soule.* Musculus; Christ declareth what his [c] *ministerie is; euen to redeeme mortall men, and the chiefest degree of this ministerie is; that he would giue his soule (for them.) Then are we redeemed by the onely begotten Sonne of God, and that dearely, euen with his owne death. For the Lord of heauen and earth humbled himselfe vnto death, and that vnto a most shamefull death. What was more vile or more abiect in the world, then the death of the crosse?* And in the person of Christ; [d] *Therefore my Father loueth me because I lay downe my soule; that is, because I die for*

[y] *Eras. paraphra. in Matth. cap. 20.*
[z] *Idem in Ioh. hannis cap. 10.*
[a] *Bullingerus in Mat. ca. 20.*
[b] *Idem in Ioh. cap. 10.*
[c] *Musc. in Matth. ca. 20.*
[d] *Idem in Ioh. cap. 10.*

(my)

(*my*) *sheepe*. Caluine vpon those words of Christ, *I came to giue my soule a Redemption for many*: [e] *Therefore Christ mentioneth his death, that he might withdraw his Disciples from a peruerse imagination of an earthly kingdome. In the meane time the force and fruite of his death is aptly and rightly expressed, whiles he affirmeth his life to be the price of our Redemption. Whence it followeth that the price of our reconciliation with God, is no where found but in the death of Christ*; and so; It is no maruaile that *Christ* [f] *affirmeth himselfe to be therefore loued* (of his Father,) *because he esteemeth our saluation dearer then his owne life.* [g] *He would by this arme his Disciples, least seeing him soone after to be caried to death, they should faint in hart, as if he were oppressed by his enimies, but rather acknowledge it to be the wonderfull prouidence of God, that he should die to redeeme the flocke.* Gualter; [h] *Christ* (saith he) *came to giue his soule to be the price of Redemption for many. This passeth all offices, that men may yeeld one to another. For as himselfe saith, no man hath greater loue then this, to giue his soule for his friends. But he vouchsafeth to die for his enimies. And dying for vs he bestowed life on vs, because his death was a ransome sufficient for the sinnes of the world.* And so; *A good sheepeheard* (saith Christ) *layeth downe his soule for his sheepe.* [i] *As if he should haue said, who can deny him to be a good sheepeheard, that so much loueth his sheepe, as not to refuse to redeeme their safetie with the losse of his owne life?* [k] *And because the Sonne of God hath exposed* (or yeelded) *his life for vs, who can doubt, but he hath satisfied abundantly for vs?* Vitus Theodorus. [k] *Christ saith the sonne of man came to minister, and to giue his life for the Redemption of all. That surely is the chiefest and truest loue and seruice, when a man serueth his enimies with body and life.* And likewise in the person of Christ. [l] *I alone am the good sheepeheard and lay downe my soule for my sheepe; that is, by my death men are deliuered from eternall death.*

[e] *Caluin. in Matth. ca. 20.*
[f] *Idem in Ioh. cap. 10.*
[g] *Ibid.*
[h] *Gualtherus in Matth. cap. 20.*
[i] *Idem in Ioh. cap. 10. homilia. 97.*
[k] *Ibidem.*
[k] *Vitus Theodorus in Mat. cap. 20.*
[l] *Idem in Ioh. cap. 10.*

I aske now the Christian Reader whether he thinke it a shift of mine, when Christ *gaue his soule* for vs, or *our soules*, for me to say, that he gaue it by the losse of his life, in such sort as the Euangelists describe; or whether the Scriptures and Fathers together with the later writers doe not consent with me in the same exposition of Christs words. This conclusion then that Christ gaue his soule for our soules, doth not inferre that he had distinct *times, places, or manners*, of suffering or dying for our soules and then for our bodies; (that is erroneous & iniurious to the death of Christ, and openly disclaimed euen by the Discourser himselfe) but that in suffering death on the crosse, by which his soule was separated from his body after long and sharpe torments first endured in his body; his soule was the chiefe or rather the onely patient, that discerned and sustained the bitternesse of the paines, and perceiued the cause for which, and the counsell of God from whence, all that affliction was ordained and decreed. For as we sinned in body and soule, but chiefly in soule, so Christs death for our Redemption must grieue both body and soule, but chiefly the soule, which was ioyned with the body in suffering death; that both soule and body might be redeemed: and the paine thereof proportioned to the soule, as the pleasure of sinne chiefly delighted the soule. More then this, no Father euer ment, and this is no way denied by me. You would faine wring in a conceite of your owne into their words, which is mainly & directly against their words and resolutions in all other places, and therefore which of vs two deserueth best the name of a shifter, let the Reader iudge.

Christs Soule suffered, but died not for vs.

The Fathers [m] *striue to expresse an exact proportion, so farre as was possible betweene Christ and vs; first in the parts that suffered in Christ, and are saued in vs:* [n] *Next in that which Christ suffered for vs, and which we are saued from thereby.*] They iustly conclude, that no parts of our nature are saued in vs, but such as Christ assumed into the vnitie of his person; and therefore in Christs sufferings there must be body and soule, before they could be humane sufferings or auailable for vs. *As* * *by man came death, so by man came the resurrection of the dead.* But that they doe or would affirme, that we are saued from no more then Christ suffered for vs, or that we are wholy freed from all those kinds of paines, which he suffered for our sakes, this is a false and fantasticall proportion of your owne inuenting, it is no part of their meaning. Sundry things should we haue suffered for sinne, as the death of the soule, and the death of the damned, besides

[m] Defenc. pa. 47. li. 30.
[n] Ibid pa. 48. li. 3.
* 1. Cor. 15.

reiection from all grace and bliſſe, confuſion, malediction, and many other terrors and torments of conſcience, which by no meanes theſe Fathers apply to Chriſt; but in euident and vehement words auouch the contrarie. Chriſt likewiſe ſuffered wrong, reproch, ſhame, paine, and death of the body, from which we are not freed; yea rather we muſt haue fellowſhip with his *afflictions*, and be [o] *conformed vnto his death*, before we ſhall be partakers of the comforts that are in him, or of his reſurrection. So that your running to proportions of your owne compounding, when you ſhould bring ſound probations for that you defend, is mad Muſicke, though beſt becomming the diſcords of your doctrine.

o Philip.3.10.

p Defenc.pag. 47.l.32. [p] *As we are ſaued not in our bodies onely, nor onely in the externall ſenſitiue part of our ſoules (wherein ſtandeth that ſuffering with and by our bodies) but we are ſaued, redeemed, and ſanctified in our whole ſpirit and vnderſtanding alſo*; euen ſo (*by their verdict*) *Chriſt ſuffered for vs not the bodily and outward ſufferings by Sympathie onely, but he ſuffered for vs euen in his minde alſo. Now this is directly againſt your preſent aſſertion.*] A man can not readily tell, whether your aſſertion in this place be more falſe, abſurd, or idle. The Scripture teacheth vs, that a man hath but two ſubſtances, of which he conſiſteth, a mortall and viſible, which is his bodie; an immortall and inuiſible, which is his ſoule. Our Sauiour, who beſt knew what man had, ſaith as much: [q] *Feare not them, which kill the bodie, but can not kill the ſoule; feare him rather, that can deſtroy ſoule and bodie in hell.* The names of theſe parts are ſometimes varied, and ſometimes diuided into ſundrie powers and faculties, but the partes themſelues cannot be increaſed. Salomon ſpeaking of mans death, ſayth: [r] *Duſt goeth to the earth as it was*, (meaning the bodie) *and the Spirit returneth to God that gaue it*, (meaning the Soule.) Of a Virgin Paul ſayth, [ſ] *ſhe careth for the things of the Lord, that ſhe may be holy both in bodie and ſpirit; that is, in bodie and ſoule.* And writing to the Theſſalonians the ſame Apoſtle ſaith that their [t] *whole Spirit, and Soule, and Bodie may be kept blameleſſe vnto the comming of the Lord Ieſus Chriſt.* Of this place diuerſe haue diuerſly thought: [u] *Chryſoſtome, Theodoret, Ambroſe, Ierome, Oecumenius*, and *Theophylact*, commenting on theſe words, take the *ſpirit* for the grace of Gods ſpirit, wherewith our mindes are lightned and renewed; and indeede ſometimes Paul vſeth the word ſpirit, for the gifts of the ſpirit, as where he ſaith, [x] *Quench not the ſpirit*; and calleth them our ſpirits, as the [y] *Spirits of the Prophets are ſubiect to the Prophets.* Howbeit [z] Athanaſius, [a] Tertullian, [b] Epiphanius, [c] Gregorie Nyſſene, [d] Auguſtine, [e] Bede, and others, take here the ſpirit for the vnderſtanding and minde of man; as alſo [f] Caluine, [g] Zanchius and [h] Beza doe; who referre the ſoule here ſpoken of, to the will and affections of man; not that any of them maketh two ſoules in man, which were moſt abſurd, but that by thoſe names they note two different faculties or functions in one and the ſame ſubſtance of mans ſoule.

q Matt.10.

r Eccleſ.12.

ſ 1.Corin.7.

t 1.Theſſ.5. verſ.23.

u In 1.Theſſ. 5.verſ.23.

x 1.Theſſ.5.

y 1.Cor.14.

z *Athanaſius de communi eſſentia patris filij & ſpir. ſancti.*

a *Tertullian de reſurrectione carnis.*

b *Epiphan. in Anchorato.*

c *Nyſſenus de opificio hominis. cap.8.*

d *Auguſt de origine animæ ad Vincentium. l.4.cap.22.*

e In 1. Theſſ. c.5 v.23.

f *Nazianz. epiſtola 1. ad Cledonium.*

Come now to your words and ſee how handſomely you proportion them, either to your Authors, or to the trueth, or to your purpoſe. Not one of the Fathers which you cite, nameth the minde of Chriſt, but onely his *ſoule and his bodie*, ſaue Nazianzene; who ſpeaketh not of Chriſts ſuffering in the minde, but of his ſanctifying the ſame, by aſſuming it in his incarnation. Let himſelfe explane his owne wordes in the very ſame place. [i] *Our mind (ſome ſay) is condemned. And what our fleſh? is not that alſo condemned? then either caſt away mans fleſh (from Chriſt) for ſinne, or admit mans mind, that it may be ſaued. For if Chriſt take the worſe part* (of man) *to ſanctifie it by his incarnation, ſhall he not take the better part, that it may be ſanctified, διὰ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως, by his aſſuming of mans nature?* I ſpeake not this, as if it might not ſafely be granted, that Chriſts ſoule ſuffered as well by his *minde*, as *by his ſenſe*, and you nothing the neerer to your purpoſe of his ſuffering hell paines in mind from the immediate hand of God; but to let the Reader ſee how you catch at Fathers for an aduantage without any ſhew of their words, and when they make againſt you, you reiect with diſdaine the whole aray of them.

g *Zanchius de operibus Dei. l.3.c.3.*

h *Beza in 1.Theſſ. 5.*

i *Nazianz. epiſtola 1. ad Cledonium.*

Your diuiding of man into his parts, and your reſolutions thereupon, are more abſurd,

ſurd, and haue neither trueth, learning, nor common vnderſtanding in them. Of man (to ſhew your exactneſſe) you make theſe partes, *the bodie, the externall ſenſitiue part of the ſoule, the whole ſpirit, and vnderſtanding* alſo. You name here the *bodie*, the *ſoule*, and the *ſpirit*, but ſo vntowardly, that neither your ſelfe, nor any man els can tell how to make them agree. Hath the ſoule, if you will needes diſtinguiſh it from the ſpirit, no moe parts or powers to ſuffer or to be ſaued, but the externall ſenſitiue part? will you take the ſoule to be all one with the ſpirit, and ſo make the whole ſpirit, as much as the whole ſoule? But the Apoſtle reckoneth the [g] *whole ſpirit, the ſoule and the bodie,* (whoſe words you would ſeeme to follow) and ſo ſeuereth the ſoule from the ſpirit. But not by the externall ſenſitiue part as you doe. Againe, why adde you the *vnderſtanding alſo* after the *whole ſpirit?* As if it were no part thereof, but a different thing from the ſpirit? But this is your skill, when you come to any matter of importance, to wrap it in ambiguous and confuſed termes, that it ſhall be more maſterie to vnderſtand you, then to refute you. And how commeth it about by your Philoſophie, that the ſufferings of the ſoule by and from the body pierce no farder, then into the externall ſenſes of the ſoule? Doe the ſufferings of the body offend and afflict the powers onely, or the ſubſtance alſo of the ſoule? Is not the very ſubſtance of the Soule paſsible and puniſhable as well by the powers of ſenſe, as by the affections, and vnderſtanding? The actions, paſsions, powers, and faculties of the ſoule, are they not all grounded on and ſeated in the ſubſtance of the ſoule, ſo that from thence all the actions thereof muſt proceed, therein all the paſsions thereof muſt be receiued, and thereon all the faculties thereof depend? Are you ſo learned in logick, that you will bring vs paſsions without a ſubiect, or powers and faculties without a ſubſtance? Whether it be therefore by the *vnderſtanding, will, affections, or ſenſe,* that the ſoule ſuffereth; the ſubſtance thereof ſuffereth by thoſe powers and meanes, and not any part thereof; for ſo much as the ſubſtance of the ſoule is not diuiſible into parts as being a ſpirit, though the powers and faculties thereof may be diſtinguiſhed, and called parts. Then is it a ſtrange poſition of yours that the ſenſitiue part ſuffereth, or that the vnderſtanding ſuffereth, and not the ſoule by either of them, when indeed the ſubſtance of the ſoule ſuffereth by or from her power or faculties of *ſenſe, vnderſtanding, and will,* which are the meanes that God hath made to impreſſe paine on the ſoule. For the vnderſtanding, which you call the mind, is no more a ſeuerall ſubſtance in the ſoule, then the power of ſenſe is: and the ſoule not onely diſcerneth particular things by her facultie of ſenſe, as ſhe doth conſequent and generall things by hir facultie of reaſon, but by the eares and eyes ſhe heareth the word, and beholdeth the works of God, whence commeth information of faith and truth.

[g] 1. Theſſ. 5.

Of the *vnderſtanding* Epiphanius ſaith. [h] ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν νοῦν ἡμέτερον ἐχ ὑπόστασιν ἡγοῦμαι οὐδὲ τις τῶν ὧν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀλλὰ ἐνέργειαν τινα &c. *I thinke not our mind to be any ſubſtance of it ſelfe, neither hath any of the children of the Church ſo thought; but to be an effectuall power or operation giuen of God, and abiding in vs.* Of the *ſenſe* Tertullian ſaith. [i] *Anima perinde per corpus corporalia ſentit, quemadmodum per animam incorporalia intelligit. The ſoule perceiueth corporall things by the ſenſe, euen as ſhe doth vnderſtand incorporall things by the mind.* And ſhewing how both thoſe powers depend on the ſoule, he addeth. *Sit nunc & potior ſenſu intellectus, dummodo & ipſe propria vis animæ quod & ſenſus. Let the vnderſtanding excell the ſenſe, ſo that it be a proper facultie of the Soule, as the ſenſe is.* Of the *paſſions* of Chriſts Soule Fulgentius writeth; [k] *Nunc oſtendendum nobis eſt paſſionem triſtitiæ, mœroris, tædij & timoris, ad animæ ſubſtantiam propriè pertinere.* Now muſt we ſhew *that the paſſion of ſorrow, heauineſſe, and loathing of hart, and feare* (which our Sauiour felt) *pertaine properly to the ſubſtance of the ſoule.* And at the length concluding that [l] *the fleſh of it ſelfe can neither haue life, nor ſenſe, nor ſorrow, nor deſire, nor feare, nor mourning,* he ſaith; [l] *Hæc ergo cuncta in anima, quam ſuſceperat, pertulit Chriſtus, vt veram totamq; in ſe cum ſuis infirmitatibus hominis demonſtraret accepti ſubſtantiam. All theſe (paſſions) Chriſt endured in his ſoule which he tooke, that he might ſhew in himſelfe* THE TRVE AND VVHOLE SVBSTANCE *of a man with his infirmities.*

[h] *Epiphanius contra Hereſim. 77.*

[i] *Tertullian de anima, cap. 8.*

[k] *Fulgentius ad Traſimundum cap. 3.*

[l] *Ibidem.*

Christs Soule suffered by all her powers but not the death of the Soule.

The purpose for which you pretend so many Fathers is as idle, as all the rest: for the Soule of Christ might suffer by her *senses*, by her *affections*, by her *vnderstanding and will*, and yet not suffer the paines of hell, nor the death of the soule, which is your doctrine. Though therefore the Fathers doe say that the soule of Christ suffered in his death and passion, which is a thing I neuer doubted of, much lesse called in question; yet neither auouch they, it suffered your hell paines, neither from the immediate hand of God, as your deuice leadeth; which things are as strange to them, as those they neuer heard of.

[m] Defenc. pa. 48. li. 23. [m] *By the Fathers, Christ suffered exactly all and whatsoeuer sorrowes and paines, which we should haue suffered, as well spirituall as corporall, as well in all the powers of the soule subiect to suffering, as in that which suffered alwaies with and from the body.*] This if you would proue by the Fathers themselues, and not by your false translating and misapplying their words, which otherwise haue no such thing, you said somewhat. You [n] Sermo. pa. 25. haue raked together some places alleaged [n] formerly by me, or formerly refuted by me, and out of them you would make fresh shewes, if you could tell how. There is onely one place of Cyrill, taken out of my Sermons by you, (as you doe the rest of your authorities) which hath generall termes apt to be wrested by you, and forced against the Authors minde, which you forget not to straine to the vttermost: the rest are miserably racked, without cause or colour, from the Fathers mindes and wordes.

[o] Cyrillus Thesaur. li. 10. cap. 3. Cyrill saith, [o] *Omnia Christus perpessus est, vt nos ab omnibus liberaret. Christ suffered all things, that he might free vs from all*; where the word ALL is found, which you make the ground of all your descant: but thereby it plainly appeareth you take not the paines to reade the Fathers words in the places where they are written, but rashly catch at them to serue your turne, without all respect to the antecedents or consequents, which would declare the writers meaning. In that Chapter whence these words are taken, Cyrill treateth not of the punishments which Christ suffered for our sinnes, but of the passions and infirmities of our nature; ALL VVHICH Christ receaued, and suffered to rise in himselfe, that they might be represt by him, and our nature reformed. And therefore in those words, *Christ suffered all to free vs from all*; Cyrill euidently meaneth *all the naturall infirmities and passions* of our flesh. And those

[p] Cyrill. Thesauri. li. 10. cap. 3. are his expresse words twice or thrice in that Chapter. [p] *When thou hearest*, (saith he) *that Christ wept, feared, and sorrowed, acknowledge him to be a true man, and ascribe these things to the nature of man. For Christ tooke a mortall bodie subiect to all the passions of our*

[q] Cyrillus ibid. *nature, sinne alwaies excepted.* And againe. [q] *How commeth it to passe, that these men know not, that all these things must be applied to mans nature (in Christ) which he truely tooke vnto him with all the passions thereof, but still without sinne.* And the very recollection of the words which you stand on, conuinceth Cyrill spake of the naturall passions and infirmities of our flesh. For when he had exemplified his generall wordes, *Christ suffered all to free vs from all, by death, feare, and sorrow*, which are naturall to

[r] Ibidem. our corrupt condition; he concludeth, [r] *& ita singulas passiones carnis fuisse in Christo absque peccato commotas inuenies, vt commotæ vincerentur, & natura nostra reformaretur ad melius.* AND LIKEVVISE ALL THE PASSIONS (or affections) *of our flesh shalt thou finde mooued in Christ, but without sinne, that being mooued they might be represt, and our nature reformed to the better.* What is this to hell paines, which I trow are no naturall infirmities or affections in man, or to the proper sufferings of the soule, which you would hence establish; since heere is no mention but of the naturall infirmities and affections of the flesh, which Cyrill calleth the passions therof, as both Diuines and Philosophers doe?

[s] Defenc. pa. 48. li. 12. [s] *Thus I take Bernards meaning to be* (when he saith) *Christ spared not himselfe, who knoweth how to spare his.*] Your taking may soone shew you to be a wilfull mistaker, but it concludeth nothing for your cause. Doth Bernard say that Christ suffered hell paines, and therein spared not himselfe? you would faine haue him say so, but he is as farre from it, as you are neere it. Bernard in that Chapter which you cite, but neuer saw; (for you went no farder for all your authorities, then my sermons,) speaketh of the

the sixt and seuenth time Christ shedde his blood for vs; and when he commeth to the piercing of Christs hands and his feete with spikes of iron to fasten him to the crosse; wondering at Christes patience and loue towards vs, that endured such things for vs, he saith; *God which either* [t] *shortneth, lightneth, or taketh from his seruants the force of their torments, did in nothing ease vnto himselfe the wine-presse of his passion: he spared not himselfe, that knoweth how to spare his.* Doth this conclude that Christ suffered the paines of hell? or that he shedde his blood vnto death for vs, not *sparing himselfe*, (from that, or, in that, which he suffered) though it were painfull and greeuous to him? But, I my selfe confesse *that Christ* [u] *suffered and endured all to the vttermost with exact obedience and patience.*] Euen as Bernard fauoured your vntoward fansies, and said nothing for them, so doe I: but doe either Bernards words or mine import, that Christ suffered all, *which else we should haue suffered*, as you enterlace Cyrils words to make them sound somewhat to your purpose? are you so seely that you can not, or so slie that you will not see the plaine seames of humane speech? If a man should saie you affirme all things boldly, you prooue all things weakely, you translate al thinges corruptly: Doe his words imply, that you translate Euclide and Aristotle? that you prooue the roundnesse of the earth, and the bignesse of the Sunne? or that you affirme the sea burneth, and the Moone melteth? Is it not the vsuall course of al speech and speakers, when they expresse how things are done, to restraine the word *all* with a relation to the same person and action, whereof they spake? as you affirme *all* things (which you affirme) boldly, you prooue *all*, (that you prooue) weakely; and you translate *all* (whatsoeuer you translate) corruptly. Doth not the Scripture obserue the like? The people said of Christ, [x] *he hath done all things well.* Will you interre, that Christ made ships, built Towers, cast Lead, and did whatsoeuer, because he *did all things well?* or did they intend, that whatsoeuer he did, he did it well? [y] *The true light* saith Saint Iohn *lightneth euerie man, that commeth into the world.* Where if you take all men without exception, you plant a palpable error vpon Saint Iohns words; if you restraine them to *all (that are lightned)* his speech is a manifest trueth in Christ, and an excellent honour to Christ. So said I of Christ, that *he suffered all*, (that he suffered) *with exact obedience and patience*; not expressing there what he suffered, but how he suffered, to wit obediently and patiently. Which wordes of mine giue you no great cause of aduantage, if you looke well vnto them, and abuse them not after your idle maner. But such poore shifts you are forced to seeke to set some colour on your cause; which otherwise would bewray it selfe to want all good groundes and proofes.

[t] *Bernard. de passione Domini. cap. 41.*

[u] *Serm. pa. 7.*

[x] Mark. 7.

[y] Iohn. 1.

As you deale with me, so you doe with *Tertullian, Ambrose, Ierom, Cyprian, and Cyrill*, whose words partly you mistranslate, partly you misconster, and build vpon them what best pleaseth your selfe without any precedence or sequence of their text. Tertullian saith; [z] *sic reliquit, dum non parcit. So God left his Sonne, whiles he spared him not.* If this make for you, why quote you not the Apostle Paul as one of your partners, who spake the word before Tertullian, and whom Tertullian citeth by name for that word? God [a] *spared not his owne Sonne*, saith Paul, *but deliuered him for vs all.* This place you baulked; because it expoundeth Gods *not sparing* his Sonne by *deliuering him*; (for God spared not his Sonne, but deliuered him; that is, God did not spare him from deliuering;) and also for that it excludeth your imagination of Gods immediate hand tormenting the soule of his Sonne, with the substance of hell paines. For if God deliuered his Sonne for vs all, he deliuered him to others, and not to himselfe; and consequently your dreame of Gods immediate hand inflicting hell paines on the soule of his Sonne, is against the Apostles words, *God deliuered his Sonne.* Which Christ himselfe expoundeth very often in the Gospel, saying; [b] *The Sonne of man shalbe deliuered into the hands of men, and they shall kill him.* And againe, [c] *The Sonne of man shall be deliuered to be crucified*; and immediately before his apprehension; [d] *Behold the houre is come, the Sonne of man is deliuered into the hands of sinners. This deliuering* of Christ into the hands of men to be crucified, was the *not sparing him*, which

[z] *Tertul. aduers. Praxeam cap. 30.*

[a] Rom. 8.

[b] Matth. 17.

[c] Matth. 26. vers. 2.

[d] Matth. 26. vers. 45.

which the Apostle meant; and was that *forsaking*, which Christ testified on the Crosse, as Tertullian thinketh. [e] *Filium dereliquit, dum hominem eius tradit in mortem. Hoc & Apostolus sensit, scribens, si pater Filio non pepercit. Sic reliquit, dum non parcit; sic reliquit, dum tradit. Ceterum non reliquit pater filium, in cuius manibus Filius spiritum suum posuit. Deniq; posuit, & statim obijt. Spiritu enim manente in carne, caro omnino mori non potest. Ita relinqui á patre, mori fuit filio.* God left (or forsooke his Sonne (as Christ complained on the Crosse) *whiles he deliuered his humane nature vnto death. This the Apostle meant when he wrote, if God spared not his Sonne. So God left him, whiles he spared him not; so God left him, whiles he deliuered him. Otherwise the Father forsooke not the Sonne, into whose hands the Sonne commended his spirit. He laide it downe and presently died. For while the spirit abideth in the flesh, the flesh can not die at all. Then to bee left of the Father, was as much in the Sonne, as to die.* Here are Tertullians words in order as they stand. Where first he maketh the Sonne to die, when hee laide downe his soule into his Fathers hands. *This death*, by which the soule of Christ departed from his body, was that *deliuering*, that *not sparing*, which Paul meant; and that *forsaking* which Christ spake of on the crosse. What finde you here for the paines of Hell, or for the proper sufferings of the soule? You may peruert any mans words, if you will, but of them selues these are very coherent and euident.

[e] *Tertul. aduers. Praxeam. cap. 30.*

[f] Defenc. pag. 48. li. 17.

In Ambrose you finde more hold. He saith: *Minus contulerat mihi, nisi meum suscepisset affectum. Christ had done lesse for me if hee had not beene (altogether) affected, as I should haue beene.*] Though you be no good concluder, yet are you a notable translatour. For you can turne the English not onely cleane from, but quite against the Latine. Where Ambrose saith, Christ *had done lesse for mee*, (if taking my nature vnto him) hee had not also taken my (naturall) affection vnto him) as feare, sorrow, and such like; you misconster affection for *punishment*, and *mine*, that is naturally mine, for that which I should haue suffered in hell; and adding the word (*altogether*) of your owne, you make Ambrose say; that Christ was *altogether* affected (that is punished in soule) *as I should haue beene*, (in hell) if I had not bene redeemed. But by what Grammar doth *affectus* signifie hell paines? *Feare, griefe, and sorrow*, are naturall affections in all men, and passions of the soule; they signifie not in their owne nature the torments of the damned. How shall we know this to bee Ambrose meaning? Hee that hath but halfe an eye, may see by that whole Chapter the *roote* of this sorrow, to bee the infirmitie of our nature in Christ, and the *cause* thereof to be his compassion and pitie had of vs, and for vs. The next words to those which you bring, are. [g] *Ergo pro me doluit, qui pro se nihil habuit quod doleret.* And presently, *tædio meæ infirmitatis afficitur. Christ therefore sorrowed for me, who had nothing in him selfe for which he should sorrow; he is affected with the tediousnesse of my infirmitie. The tediousnesse of our infirmitie affected him*, not the torments of hell suffered in his owne soule. [h] *Nec; speciem incarnationis suscepit, sed veritatem. Debuit ergo & dolorem suscipere, vt vinceret tristitiam, non excluderet.* Christ *tooke vpon him not the shew, but the trueth of our flesh. Hee was therefore to feele griefe*, (as a consequent to our nature) *that he might ouercome sorrow*, and *not exclude it.* [i] *Tristis est non ipse, sed anima. Suscepit enim animam meam, suscepit corpus meum. Anima obnoxia passionibus. Christ was sorrowfull not in person, but in soule. For he tooke vnto him my soule, and my body. Now the soule it is, that is subiect to passions.* Is hell with you of late become a naturall infirmitie and affection, that whersoeuer you reade either of these words, you streight inferre the paines of hell? The causes of Christes sorrow will put all out of doubt, and are plainely recited by Ambrose in the ende of this Chapter, though stifly reiected by you, because they sort not with your conceits. [k] *Tristis videbatur, & tristis erat, non pro sua passione, sed pro nostra dispersione. Christ seemed sorrowfull, and indeede was sorrowfull, not for his owne suffering, but for our dispersing.* You say Christs sorrow was for the suffering of hell paines in his soule; Ambrose saith in expresse words; *Christ sorrowed not for his owne suffering*: which of you twaine shall wee thinke best vnderstoode Ambrose meaning? him selfe, or you? Christ, *sorowed*, saith Ambrose, [l] *for our dispersion; he sorrowed because he left vs orphanes,*

[g] *Ambros. in Luc. li. 10. de tristitia & dolore Christi.*

[h] *Ibidem.*

[i] *Ibidem.*

[k] *Ibid.*

[l] *Ambros. ibid.*

he

he ſorrowed for his perſecutors. All theſe occaſions of ſorrow in Chriſt at the time of his paſsion mentioned by Ambroſe you vtterly diſauerre, and in ſpite of Ambroſe teeth, you will haue the infirmitie and affection of mans nature in Chriſt to ſignifie hell.

Yet Ierom ſhall helpe at a neede, who ſaith; [m] *That which we ſhould haue borne for our ſinnes, the ſame (Chriſt) ſuffered for vs.*] You might haue done well to haue put *quicquid* for *quod*, as one of your fellowes hath done alleaging this place, that where Ierom would not ſay, *Chriſt ſuffered for vs, what ſoeuer we ſhould haue ſuffered*, your ſelues may ſpeake it in his name. Neither is it ſo ſtrange a thing with you to tranſlate *all* for *ſome*. In the very next Page before, citing Ambroſe words, *hoc in ſe obtulit Chriſtus, quod induit*; *Chriſt offered that in him ſelfe, which he tooke (of vs;)* you render it, *Chriſt offered in ſacrifice* [n] ALL *that which he aſſumed*; which tranſlation is euidently falſe, whatſoeuer the illation be. This place of Ierom I haue already anſwered in the [o] concluſion of my Sermons; and but that the booke happely will not alwaies be at hand, I would ſpend no moe words therein. The particular can not hurt me, if it be ſimply graunted; and the generall is not affirmed by Ierom. Howbeit Ierom in plaine ſpeech preſently expreſſeth what he ment Chriſt ſuffered for vs. By this (ſaith he) [p] *it is manifeſt, that as Chriſts body whipt and torne bare the printes of the ſtripes and wrongs, ſo his ſoule truely ſorrowed for vs.* What neede we any other expoſition then his owne, that Chriſt ſuffered for vs ſmart of body and griefe of minde, which were due to vs in this world where Chriſt ſuffered for vs, beſides the torments of the next world, where Chriſt neither did, nor could ſuffer any thing?

[m] Defenc. pa. 44. li. 20.

[n] Defenc. pa. 47. li. 17.

[o] Pag. 350.

[p] *Hiero. in Eſa. cap. 53.*

Cyprians words are far weaker for your purpoſe, & wider frō your matter. He ſaith, Chriſt was *called ſinne, and a curſe*; [q] *pro ſimilitudine pœnæ, non culpæ*; *for the likeneſſe of puniſhment, not of fault:* LIKE *is* farre leſſe then the *ſame*. If therefore Chriſts puniſhment were but *like*, there is no neceſsitie it ſhould be the *ſame*. Againe, when Cyprian nameth the *likeneſſe of our puniſhment* ſuffered by Chriſt on the croſſe; he meaneth the puniſhment of ſinne, that God inflicted on Adam, and all his of-ſpring in this life, where Chriſt ſuffered for vs, as ſorrow, ſhame, reproch, paine, and death which were the puniſhments that God laid on Adams tranſgreſsion in this life. The death of the Soule Adam pulled on him ſelfe by ſinning; that Chriſt ſuffered not: the other God inflicted with his owne mouth, and by them accurſed and puniſhed ſinne in this world, reſeruing his terrible and eternall iudgements, which are the paines of hell, to an other time and place, when the bodies of the wicked ſhould be altered and abled to endure thoſe intolerable and euerlaſting torments, threatned, but not executed in this world. The firſt kind of puniſhment due to all men in this life for ſinne, Cyprian ſaw and knew full well, and by the Scriptures found that to be in Chriſt on the Croſſe; the paines of hell Cyprian knew not, much leſſe could he be ſure that Chriſt ſuffered them, ſince no ſuch thing is mentioned in the Scriptures. Let then the Reader iudge, whether Cyprian were likely to ſpeake of that, which he knew and read, or raſhly to pronounce that to be like, which he neither knew nor read. But if Cyprian bee the fitteſt man to declare his owne meaning, Cyprian euen in that place ſpeaketh directly againſt your ſuppoſed paines of hell, ſuffered in the ſoule of Chriſt on the Croſſe. *Admiror te cruci inter damnatos affixum, iam nec triſtem, nec pauidum, ſed ſuppliciorum victorem eleuatis manibus triumphantem de Amelec.* *I admire thee, ô Lord, being once faſtned to the Croſſe amidſt the condemned* (theeues) *to bee now neither ſorrowfull, nor fearefull, but deſpiſing the puniſhments* (laid on thee) *with thine hands lifted vp to triumph ouer Amelec,* (the enemies of Gods people.) If Chriſt once faſtned to the Croſſe had neither ſorrow nor feare, but a neglect of his paines, and a ioyfull triumph ouer all his foes, I truſt hee felt not the paines of hell; which were very eaſie, if they brought with them neither ſorrow, nor feare, but rather contempt and triumph.

[q] *Cypria. de paſſione Chriſti.*

[r] *Cypria. ibid.*

Chriſt feared before in the garden, you will ſay, and for feare or paine did ſweate bloud.] That Cyprian remembreth and explaineth, wherein you ſhall ſee the difference betwixt his iudgement and yours of Chriſts ſufferings. [s] *Thou diddeſt Lord* (ſaith he) *profeſſe before thine Apoſtles thy ſelfe to be ſorrowfull vnto death, and for exceeding griefe*

[s] *Cypria. ibid.*

griefe didst power foorth a bloudie sweate. *Hearing this* (in the gospel) *I was vtterly abashed. For who will not feare, if he feare whom all things feare?* His answere I wil set downe in Latine, though it will be the longer, as well to let the Reader heare Cyprians resolution in his owne words, which many will desire, and to discharge my selfe from all quarels of mistranslating, whiles I sometimes seeke to make that plaine to the simple, which in the text is more darke and obscure; as for diuers other respects, which I will after mention, when Cyprians minde is fully knowen. His words are, [t] *Sed metus ille infirmitatis humanæ communem exprimebat affectum, & generalitatem omnium in carne viuentium hoc dolore vrgeri, & dissolutionem corporeæ spiritualisq; naturæ hac molestia non posse carere, & hanc pœnam vniuersæ successioni Adam sine exceptione impositam, vt difficultas extremi transitus timeretur. Hanc nemo anxietatem euasit, & nemo egrediente anima sine amaritudine expirauit. But that feare* (of thine ô Lord) *did expresse the common affection of mans infirmitie, and the generall state of all liuing in the flesh to be pressed with this sorrow; and that the separation of body and soule can not be free from this griefe, but this punishment is laide on all Adams posteritie without exception, that the difficultie of departing this life should be feared: this wofulnesse no man euer escaped, neither did euer any man breath out his soule without bitternesse.*

[t] Cypria. de passione in initio.

Here you may learne; first, whence Ambrose, who was a great follower of Cyprian, tooke his words of *humane infirmitie and affection*, and what hee meant by them. Secondly, that this is a punishment (which you denie) laide by God himselfe on all mankinde, to feare and feele death separating the soule from the body. Thirdly, from this was no man euer exempted, but euen Christ himselfe, though he were free from that necessitie, yet would hee be partaker of this our infirmitie. Fourthly, that where on the crosse Christ neither *feared* nor *sorrowed*, but shewed him selfe terrible to his persecutors, and a conquerour of all their malice, and a triumpher ouer all their iniuries, yet to his Disciples in the garden hee opened his affection incident to our nature, thereby to confirme himselfe to bee a true man by his taking as well our infirmities, as our flesh. Lastly out of Cyprian in that Sermon you may learne, that to Christ *the* [u] *sight of (God) his Father could not bee formidable, that it was his Fathers will the sacrifice of his flesh should begin with feare and sorrow*, that hee *sorrowed to heale our weakenesse, and feared to make vs secure*, by repressing those infirmities in his owne person, to cure them in vs for euer after. All these and many moe good lessons you cleane ouerslip in Cyprian, and broching a new doctrine quite contrarie to his, you lay violent hands on one poore word in that whole treatie, which yet maketh nothing for you; and as though you had performed a worthy worke, grossely to mistake the *like* for the *same*, you muster Cyprian as a maintainer of your new made hell.

[u] Cypria. ibid.

[x] Say as Fulgentius saith, and wee aske no more. *Quicquid fuit infirmitatis animæ, sine peccato suscepit & pertulit. Christ tooke vpon him and suffered whatsoeuer infirmitie may bee in the soule without sinne.*] I hope you will your selfe accept the condition, which you offer to others, and I require no more. But what is there in these words on which you so stoutly stand, and so confidently crake, that helpeth your deuice forward? Grant them absolutely, and what conclude you? The *griefe of hell paines* suffered from the immediate hand of God, is an *infirmitie* of the soule, you must say; if you will say any thing towards the matter you haue in hand. But who euer said so, that knew his left hand from his right? What passing dulnesse and surpassing drowsinesse is this, to make the suffering of hell paines from the immediate hand of God an infirmitie of the soule? As if it were weaknesse in man, not to be stronger then God; or imbecilitie, not to be able to resist his power? [*Feare and sorrow are infirmities; and Fulgentius sayth whatsoeuer infirmitie, that is whatsoeuer feare, or sorow may be in the soule, the same Christ tooke and suffered.*] These must be your collections, if you open your mouth to make any; and these bee so grosse, that no boy would engage himselfe with them. For the name of *Infirmitie* doth naturally note the speciall kindes thereof, by which they differ from other things that are not infirmities; it doth not import either degrees, to which they may grow; or the causes, from whence they may rise. Is it then any conse-

[x] Defene pag. 47. li. 24.

quent,

quent, that if Chriſt tooke vpon him all kinds of infirmities, and paſsions of the ſoule, he muſt therefore vndergoe all degrees, and all the cauſes of feare and ſorrow, that may be in the ſoule? Chriſt did feare, and Chriſt did ſorow; for thoſe without queſtion were infirmities of his humane ſoule. Will it thence follow that Chriſt ſuffered all theſe dangers, loſſes, harmes, which men in this life doe, and may feare? If theſe will no way follow vpon Fulgentius words, how will the paines of hell be thence deriued, which I vtterly denie to be any infirmitie in mans ſoule, ſince no creature is ſo ſtrong, though he were an Angell, as to decline, or reſiſt the hand of God in puniſhing? Fulgentius wordes therefore, that Chriſt tooke *vnto him euery infirmitie of the ſoule*, doe not inferre that Chriſt ſuffered euery degree, or euery obiect of feare and ſorrow, but onely that he feared and ſorowed, which maketh as much for your hell paines, as feathers doe to reare a fortreſſe.

The wordes of Fulgentius at your beſt aduantage doe you little good; his true meaning doth you farre leſſe. For going onward to debate this matter more at large, he addeth two conditions to the infirmities and affections of Chriſts ſoule: the one that they were *naturall*, that is neceſſarily conſequent to the nature of man; the other that they were *voluntarie* in Chriſt, though in vs they be neceſſarie. Theſe limitations are very often in that Booke expreſſed, whence your words are taken. [y] *Animæ triſtitiam & perturbationem, quam voluntariam in anima Dei filius habuit ſic habuiſſe credatur, vt etiam ipſas humanæ animæ paſſiones, & voluntate veras, & in veritate voluntarias non negemus. The ſorrow and trouble of ſoule which the Sonne of God had voluntarily in his ſoule, he muſt be beleeued ſo to haue had, that we denie them not to be true, becauſe they were voluntarie; nor to be voluntarie, becauſe they were true.* This hee maketh common to bodie and ſoule. [z] *Quia verum hominem ſuſcepit, ideo cunctas humanæ naturæ infirmitates veras quidem, ſed voluntarias in eadem veritate naturæ duntaxat humanæ ſuſtinuit. Becauſe Chriſt tooke vpon him to be a true man, therefore he ſuſtained* ALL *the true infirmities of mans nature, but yet voluntarie in the trueth of the ſame nature onely.* If you know not what *naturall* and *voluntarie* paſsions in Chriſtes manhood doe meane, you may learne of Damaſcene, whom an adherent of yours much eſteemeth, and often alleageth, though Damaſcene make nothing for his or your purpoſes. *Wee confeſſe*, ſayth Damaſcene, *that Chriſt tooke vnto him* [a] ALL NATVRALL AND BLAMELESSE *paſſions. For he aſſumed the whole man, and all that pertained to man, ſaue ſinne. Naturall and blameleſſe paſſions are thoſe, which are not in our power, and whatſoeuer entred into mans life, through the condemnation of* (Adams) *ſinne, as hunger, thirſt, weakeneſſe, labour, weeping, corruption, ſhunning of death, feare, agonie, whence (came) ſweat and drops of blood. Theſe things are in all men by nature. Chriſt therefore tooke all theſe vnto him, that he might ſanctifie them all. Howbeit our naturall paſſions were in Chriſt according to nature, and aboue nature. According to nature they were ſtirred vp in Chriſt, when he permitted his fleſh to endure that which was proper vnto it. Aboue nature* (they were in Chriſt) *becauſe nature in him did neuer goe before his will. For there was nothing forced in him, but all things voluntarie. When he would he hungred, when he would he thirſted, when he would he feared; when he would he died.* The naturall infirmities and paſsions then, which Chriſt tooke vnto him, as Damaſcene teacheth, were common to all men by nature, and ſo are not the paines of hell; they were in this life, ſo are not the other; they were ſanctified, ſo cannot the torments of hell be; they were voluntarie, that is, they mooued not in Chriſt, but at his owne will. Wherefore by Damaſcenes iudgement, Chriſt did not ſuffer your helliſh torture from the immediate hand of God, by which he was wholy amazed and ouerwhelmed, as you ſay, with the waight and anguiſh of them, which could not be with his will.

I haue ſtood to Fulgentius words, more then which you did not aske; will you now likewiſe be tried by Fulgentius teſtimonie, whether you teach an errour exiled from all Chriſtian hearts in his age? Or if you will not, your Reader will ſoone perceaue, that what was then reiected for an abſurditie and falſitie, (I will ſpare heauier termes till I come to fuller proofes) can not now be profeſſed as pietie. Touching Chriſts

[y] *Fulgentius de paſſione Domini ad Traſimundũ lib. 3.*

[z] *Ibidem.*

[a] *Damaſcenus orthodox. fidei lib. 3. cap. 20.*

Christs death by which wee are redeemed, that it had in it neither the *death of the soule*, nor *the paines of hell*, Fulgentius is very plaine euen in the same booke, where you would haue him so much forget himselfe, as to speake the contrary. [b] *Quis ignoret Christum nec diuinitate, sed in solo corpore mortuum & sepultum? Who can be ignorant* (if he be a Christian) *that Christ died and was buried not in his diuinitie, but onely in bodie?* and againe, [c] *In morte solius carnis immortalis fuit. Christ was immortall, nothing dying in him but his flesh.* And so [d] *Cum sola caro moreretur & resuscitaretur in Christo, filius Dei dicitur mortuus. When onely the flesh died and was raised againe in Christ, yet the Sonne of God is said to haue died.* And as though no repeating were sufficient; [e] *In tota (humanitate) traditus idem Christus, secundum solam carnem mortuus, secundum solam carnem de sepulcho resurrexit. The same Christ deliuered in his whole* (humanitie) *died in his flesh onely, and rose againe onely in his flesh.* And least you should wrench aside, as you afterward doe, that the name of Christs flesh containeth soule and bodie; besides that the word bodie directly excludeth the soule, which can not be the bodie; and so doeth the buriall and resurrection of Christ, for so much as the soule of Christ neither was, neither could be buried nor raised from the graue; Fulgentius in full and faire words exempteth not only the deitie, but the soule of Christ as well as the deitie from death. [f] *Moriente carne non solum deitas, sed nec anima Christi potest ostendi commortua. When Christ died in the flesh, neither can the godhead, nor the soule of Christ be shewed to haue bene also dead.* And of hell paines he saith, [g] *Dignum fuit, vt animam dolor non contigisset inferni, quam seruitus nequiuit tenere peccati. It was a meete* (and right) *thing that the paines of hell should not touch that soule, whom the seruitude of sinne could not fasten on.*

[b] *Fulgentius ad Trasimundum lib. 3.*

[c] *Ibidem.*

[d] *Ibidem.*

[e] *Ibidem.*

[f] *Fulgentius eodem libro.*

[g] *Ibidem.*

[h] Defenc. pag. 48. li. 35. Yet *Cyrill in the place aboue cited* [h] SEEMETH *to acknowledge* A KIND OF DEATH EVEN OF THE SOVLE, *from which Christ reuiued againe. But of that in due place hereafter.*] Is the death of Christs soule so slender a matter, that you may collect it by a *seeming, and a kind of death*, without any mention, or occasion of any such thing compriſed in Cyrils words? The Reader may there obserue what your maine intent is, and whereon you fasten your eyes all this while, euen on the death of Christs soule to be requisite for our Redemption, though you finde no such thing in Scripture or Father; but miserably and childishly slide it in at last with a *seeming*. Now if there be no such thing in Cyrils words, nor any such seeming, how wel deserue you to be hissed out with hands, if not to be hurled out by the heeles, for a seeming sleeper, if not for a waking dreamer? what are those words of Cyrill, that seeme to acknowledge the death of Christs soule? *Christ bestowed his flesh as a ransome for our flesh, and made his soule likewise the price of redemption for our soules, although he liued againe, being by nature life it selfe.* It is lawfull for you to further euery place you bring, with a mayned and forced translation. Cyrils true words stand thus: [i] ἐπαναγκάζοντος γὰρ ἀδήλως τέθεικεν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἰδίαν ψυχὴν ἀντὶ ἡμῶν, ἵνα καὶ νεκρῶν καὶ ζώντων κυριεύσῃ. σάρκα μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἰδίαν τὰ ἁπάντων σαρκὸς ἀντιπαπτουσ ἀληθῶς δώρου ἀντάξιον. ψυχὴν δὲ ψυχῆς ἀντίλυτρον τὰ ἁπάντων ποιούμενος· εἶτα καὶ ἀνέξεται πάλιν ζωὴ κατὰ φύσιν ὑπάρχων ὡς θεός. *Without constraint of any, Christ of himselfe layde downe his owne soule for vs, that he might be Lord of dead and quicke: yeelding his flesh in recompence, as a gift fully worth it, for the flesh of all, and making his soule (or life) a ransome for the soule (or life) of all, though he reuiued againe, being life by nature, in that he was God.* The words which you would cite, are heere no perfect sentence, as hauing no principall verbe in them, and therefore must be ioyned with the former and depend vpon the verbe τέθεικεν (*Christ layd downe his soule*) which gouerneth the whole; as appeareth also by the two participles ἀντιπαπτουσ, *yeelding in recompence*, and ποιούμενος, *making*, which must be directed by the same nominatiue case that τέθεικεν is, and likewise by the opposition of the verbe ἀνέξεται, *he reuiued*. Of what death Cyrill here speaketh, is more then manifest by the words of our Sauiour here vsed and deriued from the Gospell, where he said, [k] *None taketh my soule from me*, or constraineth me to die, *I lay it downe of my selfe*; and likewise, [l] *the Sonne of man came to giue his soule* (or life) *a ransome for many*. What kind of death those words of Christ imported, I made it appeare but a little before by the full consent of Scriptures and interpreters

[i] *Cyril. aduersus Theodosium de recta fide.*

[k] Iohn 10.

[l] Matth. 20.

interpreters old and new, and of Cyrill himselfe, who all with one accord referre both those sayings to the death of Christs bodie, and the losse of his life on the Crosse, when his soule departed from him. Set that downe in Cyrils first words for the death which Christ died by the constant assertion of *Scriptures, Fathers, New writers*, and of *Cyrill himselfe*; and then the words which you alleage shew plainely the force of his corporall death to be auaileable for the bodies and soules of all men, in that his flesh yeelded to death was a recompence or exchange for all mens flesh; and his soule laide downe without constraint of any, was the ransome of all mens soules; and he notwithstanding rose againe the third day to life by his owne power, as being God and life it selfe, against whom death could preuaile no farder, nor longer, then hee him selfe would.

Where are the words that acknowledge the death of Christs Soule, or that so much as *seeme* to acknowledge *a kind* of death in the soule of Christ? Here are the cleane contrarie. For if the death of Christs bodie, by which he laid aside his soule for vs, be sufficient to redeeme the bodies and soules of all men, then superfluous and needlesse euen by these words was the death of Christs soule, the whole being fully perfourmed without it. *But he gaue his flesh to be a ransome for our flesh, and his soule for our soules*, you say, *and yet liued againe.*] Cyrill doth not say by seuerall deaths, but by one and the same death, which was the laying down of his soule or life for vs, as Christ himselfe in the Gospel said he would. If those wordes inferre the death of Christes soule, why bring you not the words of Christ himselfe, saying; [m] *The Sonne of man came to giue his soule a ransome for many.* You saw the Scriptures themselues and the whole Church of Christ, first and last, I meane all old and new writers, translators and expositors would condemne your folly therin, in most exact words taking soule there for life, which must needes import the death of Christs bodie. And therefore you thought it more safetie to catch at the same words in some Father, for whose meaning there could not be brought so many, and so sound deponents. But all in vaine. For if Christ had no meaning in those wordes to point out the death of his owne soule, then Cyrill alleaging and obseruing the words of Christ, can haue no such purpose as to crosse the Scriptures, himselfe, and all the Fathers of Christs Church in a matter so dangerous and desperate, as the death of Christs soule amounteth vnto. In the meane while his words conclude no such thing, neither in saying nor in seeming; and so your embracing them to that end, argueth your good will to seeke, but your euill lucke to finde any such thing as the death of Christs soule in all the Fathers.

[m] Matth. 20.

Cyrill doth not say Christ rose againe, which properly belongeth to the body, but he reuiued or liued againe which seemeth to be spoken of the Soule.] Then Saint Paul maketh more for you, then Cyrill doth: for he affirmeth both of Christ; *to this end* (saith he) *Christ died, and rose againe, and reuiued, that he might be Lord of dead and liuing.* And indeed *resurrection* properly noteth from whence Christ arose, to wit from the graue; *Reuiuing* expresseth the blessed and glorious life which he enioyed, after he was risen from the dead. Christ himselfe saith of his, *they shall come forth* (of their graues) [n] *vnto the resurrection of life*, to separate them from the wicked who shall come likewise forth *vnto the resurrection, but of iudgement and condemnation.* Notwithstanding in Christ there is either no difference betwixt them, the one euer implying the other; or if we make any, Christs *reuiuing* alwaies presupposeth his *Resurrection* as antecedent, since he possessed not that immortall and heauenly life, which now he hath, but vpon his arising from the dead. And so the Apostle placeth them, *Christ died, and rose againe, and reuiued* (into such power and glory, that he was) *made Lord ouer dead and quicke.* And Cyrill who often times vseth this word (*he reuiued*) of Christ, meaneth the third day after Christs death, when the Scriptures affirme he rose from the graue. So Cyrill and the Synode of Alexandria that ioyned with him in writing vnto Nestorius say of Christ. [o] τεθνηκεν ὃ ἀνεζίω, σκυλεύσας τὸν ἅδην, *he reuiued the third day hauing spoyled hell*; and so in his second confession of the true faith to the religious Queenes, [p] σκυλεύσας τὸν θάνατον, ἀνεζίω τεθνηκεν. *Christ spoyling death reuiued the third day.* And

[n] Ioh. 5. v. 29.

[o] *Epist. Cyrilli & Synodi Alex. ad Nestorium.*

[p] *Cyrill de fide ad Reginas li. 2.*

And in his Epiſtle to thoſe of Egypt. *Chriſt is ſaid* (in the Scriptures) *firſt to haue died as a man,* [q] ἀναβιῶναι ὃ ἐξ τοῦτο, *and after that to haue returned to life, by that which he was by Nature. If then he died not in the fleſh according to the Scriptures, he was not quickned by the Spirit,* τετέλεσται ἐκ ἀνέβιω, *that is he reuiued not againe.* So that Cyrill hath not any ſeeming words for the death of Chriſts Soule; but ſaith as Chriſt ſaid in effect before, that the Sonne of man *gaue his* (ſoule or) *life to be a ranſome for the life of all,* and not for the Soule of all, which in the ſingular number is neither good Engliſh, nor good Diuinitie, though to ſmooth it, you put the plurall and ſay, *for our ſoules,* which is not in Cyrill.

[q] *Cyrill epiſt. ad Presbyt. & monach. Aegypt.*

The words of Ambroſe will prooue that Chriſt offered his Soule for vs; [r] *hoc in ſe obtulit Chriſtus quod induit. Chriſt offered in Sacrifice all that which he aſſumed.*] Beſides that you falſifie Ambroſe by adding ALL to his words, which haue no ſuch thing in them, you wreſt Ambroſes words againſt Ambroſes meaning. For though it may well be graunted, that Chriſt offered body and ſoule as a *Sacrifice* of *holineſſe and obedience vnto God*; and that Chriſts Soule likewiſe was laid downe vnto the death of his body to feele the ſmart thereof, and to be ſeuered by the force thereof; in which reſpect Eſay ſaith, that Chriſt *powred forth his Soule vnto death:* Yet Ambroſe ſpeaking of Chriſts ſacrifice for the ſinnes of the people, meaneth (as the reſt of the Fathers doe) that part of the Sacrifice, which was ſlaine; which was by his and their confeſsion, Chriſts body, and not Chriſts Soule. Heare Ambroſe him ſelfe [r] *In quo niſi in corpore, expiauit populi peccata? In quo paſſus eſt niſi in corpore? Wherein did Chriſt ſacrifice for the ſinnes of the people, but in his body? wherein did he ſuffer* (death) *but in his body?* And ſo Theodoret: *Chriſt was* [t] *called a Prieſt in his humane nature,* προσενήνοχε ὃ ἐκ ἄλλων τινὰ θυσίαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ σῶμα ἑαυτῦ, *and offered none other Sacrifice but his owne body.* Athanaſius nameth what Chriſt put on, and what he offered. [u] *The word of God that made all things, was afterward made an hie Prieſt,* ἐνδυσάμενος σῶμα τὸ γενητὸν καὶ ποιητὸν. *Putting on a body that was borne and made, which he might offer for vs.* Nazianzene ſaith to Chriſt. [x] *Thou art a ſheepe, becauſe thou waſt a Sacrifice; thou art an hie Prieſt, becauſe thou offeredſt thy body.* Auguſtine alſo, *Sacerdos propter victimam, quam pro nobis offerret, a nobis acceptam. Chriſt is a Prieſt, for the Sacrifice, he tooke of vs, that he might offer it for vs.* What that Sacrifice was he ſheweth ſaying: [z] *Aſſumpſit a nobis, quod offerret Domino; ipſas diximus ſanctas primitias carnis ex vtero virginis: Chriſt tooke of vs that he might offer to the Lord, we meane the holy firſt fruits of his fleſh* (taken) from *the wombe of the Virgine.* Theophylact; [a] *A Prieſt may by no meanes be without a Sacrifice. It was then neceſſarie that* (Chriſt) *ſhould haue ſomewhat to offer. Quod autem offerretur, praeter eius corpus nil quidpiam erat; neceſſariò ergo & mortuus eſt. Now there was vtterly nothing that he might offer, beſides his body; it was needfull then he ſhould die.*

[r] *Defenc. pa. 47. li. 17.*

[t] *Theodoret. Dialogo. 1.*

[u] *Athanaſius contra Arianos oratio. 3.*

[x] *Nazianzen. in illud Euangelij, Cum conſummaſſet Ieſus hos ſermones.*

[z] *Auguſt. in Pſal. 109.*

[a] *Idem in Pſal. 64.*

[a] *Theophylact in cap. 8 epiſt. ad Hebraeos.*

This that Chriſt tooke a body to offer, is moſt agreeable to Ambroſes mind as well in the booke which you cite, as in other parts of his writings. [b] *Ex ſe generauit Maria, Marie conceiued of her ſelfe,* (to wit, of her owne body) *that what was conceiued of her, might be the true nature of a body.* And alleadging Saint Pauls words; that *Chriſt was made of the ſeede of Dauid according to the fleſh,* Rom. 1. and *made of a woman,* Galat. 4. He concludeth; [c] *Ergo ex nobis accepit, quod proprium offerret pro nobis, vt nos redimeret ex noſtro. Then Chriſt tooke of vs, that which hee might offer as his owne for vs,* to the ende *he might redeeme vs by that which was ours.* And declaring what he meant euen by the words, which you bring, *Chriſt offered that in himſelfe which hee put on*; Ambroſe addeth: [d] *Non igitur diuinitatem induit, ſed carnem aſſumpſit, vt ſpolium carnis exueret, Chriſt put not on the nature of his Diuinitie, but he tooke fleſh that he might put off the ſpoyle of his fleſh* (when he ſhould die.) Now *if the fleſh of Chriſt were ſubiect to all iniuries, how ſay you, that Chriſts fleſh is of the ſame ſubſtance with his Godhead? What elſe doe you in ſo ſaying, but compare Adams ſlime and our earth to the Diuine ſubſtance?* Here Ambroſe plainely confeſſeth, what hee meant, *Chriſt tooke vnto him, and offered for vs*; euen Adams ſlime and our earth, whereof his body was made. Which elſewhere hee preciſely

[b] *Ambroſ. de incarnat. Domin. ſacramento. ca. 6.*

[c] *Ibidem.*

[d] *Ibid.*

ciſely auoucheth, ſaying. [e] *Corpus ſuſcepit noſtræ mortalitatis, vt pro nobis haberet quid offerret. Christ assumed our mortall body, that he might haue what to offer for vs.*

[e] *Ambroſ in Epiſt. ad Heb. cap.10.*

And leaſt you ſhould after your trifling maner, aske whether we exclude an humane ſoule from the body, which Chriſt tooke of the ſubſtance of his mother, and which hee offered for vs to death on the Croſſe, I anſwere with Ambroſe. [f] *Cum ſuſceperit carnem hominis, conſequens eſt vt perfectionem incarnationis plenitudinemq; ſuſceperit. Nihil enim in Chriſto imperfectum. Where as Christ tooke vnto him the fleſh of a man, it is conſequent that hee tooke vnto him the perfection and fulneſſe of incarnation; for there is nothing imperfect in Christ. And what neede was there, hee ſhould take fleſh without a Soule, when as an inſenſible fleſh, and an vnreaſonable ſoule was neither ſubiect to ſinne, nor capable of reward?* An humane ſoule was a neceſſarie ſequell to Chriſts body, which he tooke of the ſeede of Dauid and ſubſtance of his mother, as it is to all ours before we can be men: but the ſoule is not compriſed in the name of the body, much leſſe doeth it receiue the ſame conditions and properties which the body doth. Though then I make no doubt, but Chriſt at his birth and at his death, as all his life long, had both a body and a perfect reaſonable and humane ſoule, indued with all the powers, affections and infirmities of mans nature, ſaue ſinne and the corruption of ſinne; yet is it no conſequent with Ambroſe, that Chriſts ſoule was made of a woman as his fleſh was, nor that Chriſt died the death of the ſoule, when his body died on the Croſſe. Let them doubt (ſaith Ambroſe) [g] *of that which the Prophet ſaith* (my ſoule hateth your new Moones and Sabboths;) *This that is teſtified in the Goſpel* (therefore the Father loueth me becauſe I lay downe my ſoule to take it againe) *they can not refuſe to bee ſpoken of the proprietie of the ſoule, when as it is ſpoken of the Lords death and reſurrection.* The bodie of Chriſt could not die, but by laying downe his ſoule, as alſo it could not riſe to life, but by taking it againe. So that both Chriſtes death and his reſurrection doe cleerely prooue, that he had a true ſoule as Ambroſe noteth, which by his death was ſeuered from his body, and by his reſurrection was aſſumed againe into his body. And yet that death was proper to Chriſts body and not to his ſoule; though the ſoule felt the ſmart and ſting thereof as well before, as when it departed from his body.

[f] *Ambroſ. de incarnat. Domin. Sacram. cap.7.*

[g] *Ambroſ. de incarnat. Domin. Sacram. cap.7.*

[h] *Corpus eſt quod amittit animam, & amittendo ſit mortuum; ita mortui vocabulum corpori competit. Porro ſi reſurrectio mortui eſt, mortuum autem non aliud eſt quàm corpus, corporis erit reſurrectio. It is the body* (ſaith Tertullian) *that looſeth the ſoule, and by looſing it dieth, ſo that the word, dead, agreeth to the body. Now if the reſurrection be of that which was dead, and nothing can be dead beſides the body, Reſurrection muſt likewiſe pertaine to the body.* This death and this reſurrection, I meane of the body, was found in Chriſt, yours is very ſtrange to Ambroſe and to all the Fathers. [i] *Per quam niſi per corporis mortem, mortis vincula diſſoluit? By what other death* (ſaith Ambroſe) *then by the death of the body, did Chriſt breake the bands of death?*

[h] *Tertull. contra Marcionem. li. 5. cap. 9.*

[i] *Ambro. de fide li. 3. cap. 5.*

Thus haue you ſpent your great ſtore of Fathers with ſmall ſucceſſe; and though you diſſemble where you borrowed them, yet you diſſemble not your exceſsiue bragging of them, as if they were [k] *cleane againſt me, and for you in the chiefeſt point of this queſtion:* where indeede you doe but reach after a word in them here and there, and that not rightly conceaued, or not rightly tranſlated; from whence you would faine inferre your fanſies, ſaue that neither the grounds of trueth nor learning, will beare you out in your concluſions. That Chriſts ſufferings did belong to bodie and ſoule the Fathers affirme, whether by Sympathie or without Sympathie they ſay nothing; much leſſe that Chriſt *ſuffered in minde diſtinctly* from ſoule or bodie. Nazianzene ſaith he aſſumed mans *mind* at his *incarnation*, that thereby he might ſanctifie it; beſides him not one of your places ſo much as nameth the minde. As for Gods immediate hand puniſhing the ſoule of Chriſt, in his paſsion, if you ſhould faſt till you find that in theſe or any other Fathers, you ſhould faſt, not fourtie dayes but yeares. And as though theſe were not falſities enough to loade the Fathers with, you hoyſe vp the top ſayle of vntrueth, and flant it out, that [l] *theſe Fathers ſay, Chriſt ſuffered all theſe paines, which els we ſhould haue ſuffered*, and was ſpared in nothing: plainely belying

[k] Defenc. pag 49. l. 1.

[l] Defenc. pag. 49. li. 6.

belying your Authors, which ſay no ſuch thing, and out-facing your Reader, as if his ſight did not ſerue him to ſeuer your ſhamefull additions from the texts of thoſe ancient writers. Cyrill ſayth, *Chriſt ſuffered all things* (that is, all naturall and innocent infirmities and paſsions of bodie and ſoule, as Cyrill explaineth himſelfe in the ſame Chapter, yea in the cloſe of the very ſame ſentence) to whoſe words you adde of your owne, WHICH *els we ſhould haue ſuffered*. Only, you ioyned them at firſt ſo cunningly to Cyrils ſentence hauing two parts, that a man could not readily tell to which you referred this addition, ſaue that now in the recapitulation of your proofes, you apparantly tie them to the former. For if you made Cyrill to ſay, Chriſt ſuffered *to free vs from all, which els we ſhould haue ſuffered*, that aſſertion is verie true; onely, theſe laſt words are yours and not Cyrils. If you make him to ſay, *Chriſt ſuffered all, which els we ſhould haue ſuffered*, this hath neither trueth in it, nor any colour in Cyrils text. Ierome indeede ſaith, *Chriſt ſuffered that which we ought to haue ſuffered*, meaning, what Chriſt *ſuffered, was due to vs, and not to him*; but Ierome is farre from your *all, which els we ſhould haue ſuffered*.

Your ſleight then in collecting your conceits from the Fathers ſayings, is woorth the obſeruing. Nazianzene ſayth, *Chriſt in his incarnation aſſumed mans mind to ſanctifie it*. Cyrill ſaith, *Chriſt* SVFFERED ALL *the infirmities and paſſions of mans nature*. Ierome ſayth: *That which was due to vs for our ſinnes, Chriſt ſuffered for vs*. And Tertullian ſaith, *God ſpared not his owne Sonne, but deliuered him for vs*, that is, *God ſpared him not from deliuering*. Out of theſe foure places, hauing different *cauſes, ends*, and *reſpects*, for which, to which, & in which they were written, you clout this concluſion, as common to them all, which is repugnant to euery one of them; that Chriſt IN MIND (ſo ſaieth Nazianzene) SVFFERED ALL, (ſo ſaith Cyrill) WHICH VVAS DVE TO VS, (ſo ſaith Ierome) WITHOVT SPARING, (ſo ſaith Tertullian.) By this order and manner of hudling and hampering different things and diuerſe places together, you may collect what you will, when you will, and out of whom you will; and this is your [m] *cleare and plaine ſenſe of the Fathers againſt the which you ſay I can take no exception.*

[m] Defenc. pa. 49. l. 8.

After this you fal againe to your firſt trenchmore of termes, and wandering a while about the phraſes *of Gods proper wrath, the true and right puniſhment of ſinne, two countenances in Chriſt*, and the coincidence of his *ſoule and ſpirit*; you would faine conclude if you could, that if Chriſt ſuffered the wrath of God for vs, he ſuffered the true paines of hell; which I auouched you neuer ſhould be able to doe. Whether I or you abuſe the Reader with ambiguous and doubtfull words I leaue to his iudgement, that taketh the paines to peruſe what is paſt, and what followeth: truely I diſaduantage my ſelfe very much ſo preciſely to diuide, diſtinguiſh and prooue euery thing as I doe, if I ment to ſlide away with generalities. But you that neither can, nor will ſpecifie any parts, nor bring any proofes of your chiefeſt aſſertions, but keepe your ſelfe ſafe vnder the ſhelter of certaine phraſes deuiſed by your ſelfe without any warrant of Scriptures or Fathers, and neuer expounded nor defined in all your writing, ſaue onely with AS IT VVERE, and *after a ſort*; what meaning you can haue to handle ſo great matters as mans redemption and ſaluation after ſo ſleight a manner, beſides a vaine oſtentation of your contentious and curious humour, I leaue it to the Readers cenſure. Now to the returne of your termes.

[n] Defenc. pag. 49. l. 31. Iohn 3. Pſal. 20. 2. Corin. 3.

[n] *According to the moſt vſuall and common ſenſe of Gods wrath, ſo in my whole Treatiſe I take it for Gods perfect holineſſe, iuſtice, and power properly executing vengeance and puniſhment (whether little or great) due to them on whom ſinne lieth.*] Take from you your termes no where found in the Scriptures, but inuented and authorized onely by your ſelfe, and you can not ſteppe one foote further in this queſtion. You haue named, I know not how often, Gods PROPER VVRATH in the premiſes, though you neuer tooke the care nor paines to deſcribe or define it. Now you come to the *moſt vſuall & common ſenſe of Gods wrath*, which you ſay is Gods PROPER wrath. Except that old ſtarting hole of yours, which here you call the proper executing of puniſhment; and

there

there is nothing more repugnant to your owne aſſertion, then your owne deſcription. For all the afflictions of this life, whatſoeuer they be, come from Gods perfect holineſſe, iuſtice, and power, and are due to the children of Adam for ſinne abiding or dwelling in them, though God of his ſecret counſell may haue other purpoſes in ſifting his Saints for their good and his glorie. Your ſenſe of Gods wrath you ſay is moſt vſuall, but you ſhew not where, nor with whom. If you meane with your ſelues, I can eaſily yeeld that; if you meane in the Scriptures, I greatly doubt whether the wrath of God in the Scriptures doe more vſually ſignifie his euerlaſting iudgements againſt ſinne after this life, or his temporall plagues vpon ſinners in this life. Howbeit it is not greatly materiall, which is moſt vſuall, ſince either is vſuall in the word of God. You quote but foure places for that purpoſe in your Margin, and miſſe two of them. For in the 2. Cor. 3. verſ. 17. and 9. I finde not the name of Gods wrath at all expreſſed in either of them. But I *ſo vſe the phraſe as ſignifying any puniſhment of ſinne whatſoeuer.*] The Scriptures ſo vſe it before me, and you can giue no reaſon, why I ſhould not ſo vſe it after them. *It is altogether an improper ſpeech, you ſay.*] So ſay you, but the Scriptures ſay not ſo. They make degrees and differences betwixt the wrath of God in this world and in the next, and his diſpleaſure againſt the ſinnes of his own, and his enemies; but they take not wrath for fauour as you doe, though Gods wrath againſt the wickedneſſe of his children be neuer executed without fauor to their perſons, which in the faithleſſe is farre otherwiſe.

° *It is true, all troubles, paines and griefs in their firſt ordinance were the effects of Gods proper wrath: but in their ſtate and condition now, they are not, namely as the godly doe ſuffer them.*] You are full of ſhifts, but they are ſo ſlender, that they doe but ſhame you. After much wrangling you grant it to be true, that *all troubles, paines and griefs in their firſt ordinance were the effects of Gods wrath*; you ſay of *Gods* PROPER VVRATH. Which laſt I thinke to be vntrue, though the former be verie true. If by their firſt ordinance you meane the iudgement of God pronounced againſt Adam and all his offſpring for ſinne, and the puniſhment irreuocably inflicted on mankinde therefore, it is in effect the ſame which I auouched againſt you, and ſo true, that you your ſelfe dare not contradict it. For if you ſhould, you ſhould openly gainſay the Scriptures, which witneſſe that man was created in all integritie of nature, felicitie of ſtate, and perpetuitie of life; and that by ſinne, this impuritie, miſerie, and mortalitie, which now we all feele, entred into the world as the wages of Adams ſinne, and namely, that [p] *paine*, [q] *ſorrow*, *and* [r] *death* were impoſed on Adam (and ſo on all his) by Gods owne mouth, as effects or degrees of his moſt iuſt diſpleaſure againſt the ſinne of our firſt parents. If you ſtart from this with any ſhift of words, you ſtart from a maine principle of the Chriſtian faith: but I ſuppoſe, that you confeſſe it by this that you ſay, they were effects of Gods wrath in their firſt ordinance, that is, when they were firſt inflicted on Adam and all his poſteritie.

° Defenc. pa. 50. li. 5.

[p] Gen. 3. v. 16. [q] 17. [r] 19.

But NOVV *you ſay, they are* NOT *ſo, ſpecially to the godlie.*] Since what time began your *Now?* or when was their ſtate or condition changed? Theſe things were generally and irreuocablely inflicted on all men, as the puniſhment of ſinne in the firſt man, when as yet they were ſignes and taſtes of Gods wrath not in words, but in deeds; notwithſtanding we were then, and long before, euen before [s] *the foundation of the world, elected and adopted* in Chriſt Ieſu to be heires of eternall ſaluation. Wherefore God euen at the firſt, when by your confeſsion they were the effects of his wrath, layd them on all, euen on his owne children, whom he meant euerlaſtingly to ſaue; and ſo doth continue them to this day, as monuments of his iuſt diſpleaſure againſt ſinne euen in his owne ſeruants and ſaints. Yea, before God would inflict them, he made open promiſe of the womans *ſeed*, that it ſhould [t] *bruize the ſerpents head*; and then to teach his owne, and not onlie the wicked, for whom he reſerued euerlaſting deſtruction, what it was by ſinne to prouoke him; he loaded the life of all the godlie with *ſorow, paine and death*; to make them for euer by that grieuous but righteous puniſhment of ſinne in themſelues, the more mindfull how offenſiue ſinne was vnto

The firſt man puniſhed for his ſinne, after Chriſt was promiſed.

[s] Eph. 1. v. 4. 2. Tim. 1. v. 9.

[t] Gen. 3. v. 15.

God; and the more warie how to giue eare to the Serpent againſt the voice of God. And therefore at the verie firſt inflicting of them, if wee caſt our eyes either on our owne deſerts, or on the lot of the wicked, we ſhall find the wonderfull fauor of God, not onlie in opening his purpoſe vnto vs, for our euerlaſting ſaluation in Chriſt, but euen in ſo tempering the ſmart of his rod, that by the puniſhment we did feele in our ſelues the weight of ſinne in ſome ſort, yet by his mercie we ſhould be ſtrengthened, eaſed, and comforted vnder that burden in this life; and after be receiued into euerlaſting bliſſe. Notwithſtanding, when we compare this mortall & miſerable condition here with our creation, and with the abundance of Gods bleſsings richly powred on vs, when he firſt made vs; we ſhould beholde what ſinne had depriued vs of, and ſubiected vs vnto, though it did not exclude vs from Chriſt, who loued vs ſo dearely, that he would and did giue himſelfe for vs, rather than we ſhould euerlaſtingly periſh. So that the *ſorow, paine, and death* which the godly feele, were euen at the firſt layd on them by the ſame mixture of Gods iuſtice and mercie, with which they now continue; neither did Chriſt die for vs, preſently to free vs from that ſentence of bodilie death, which God had irreuocably pronounced and executed on Adam and his ofſpring, by returning him and them to the earth for manie thouſand yeeres before Chriſt came: but rather in that to partake with vs, that he might ſaue vs from the reſt, which in all the wicked did accompany this death; and in the end to raiſe vs againe to a better life, leſt we ſhould faint vnder the hand of God, who faſtneth vs to the afflictions of this life by the example and fellowſhip of Chriſts ſufferings. For *if we ſuffer with him, we ſhall raigne with him; and we muſt firſt die in Adam*, before we can *be quickned againe in Chriſt*.

They are now profitable for vs, you will ſay; and ſo rather helpe vs than hurt vs in this corruption of ſinne, with which we are compaſſed.] I doubt not thereof, and ſo were they from the firſt inſtant that they were impoſed on Adam: but how came this corruption of our nature, if not as a puniſhment of ſinne in Adam? and conſequently the remedies thereof do alſo witneſſe Gods diſpleaſure againſt ſinne, though they be farre more holeſome for vs, than to rot in the ſores of our inward corruption. Can any man doubt, but God was and is able to cleere vs, though neuer ſo corrupt, from the infection and dominion of ſinne, by the working of his Spirit more mightilie and eaſilie than by troubles and griefs, if it had ſo ſeemed good to his wiſdome and iuſtice? And had he determined to ſhew vs onlie loue without all regard to his iuſtice, how readie was it for him in Chriſt to haue releaſed as well all corporall and temporall affliction to his elect, as he did ſpirituall and eternall? But he reſolued otherwiſe in his moſt wiſe counſell for the conſeruation of his iuſtice; and ſo now healeth our corruption with the ſalue of affliction, to let vs haue continually preſented before our eyes, and impreſſed in our bodies, what our ſinne at firſt did, and ſtill doth deſerue, though he neuer withdrew his mercie from vs, which in the end ſhall moſt abundantly recompenſe all. Wherefore it is no reaſon, that becauſe troubles are profitable or neceſſarie for our corrupt ſtate, therefore they are not effects of Gods diſpleaſure againſt ſinne: yea rather becauſe God could haue otherwiſe cured ſinne in vs, and would not but by perpetuall affliction; it is an argument, that God ſo hated ſinne in our firſt parents, that he would haue the verie remembring & curing thereof to be alwayes in this life painfull and grieuous to our outward man, though he would alſo comfort vs in Chriſt, whiles heere we liue; and heereafter crowne vs with glorie for Chriſtes ſake.

Neither is this a queſtion of words, whether they be proper or improper in the Scriptures, but a point of doctrine neceſſarie to be receiued of all men, that the corruption and diſſolution of our nature and life in this world, doth manifeſt the exceeding hatred that naturallie God hath of ſinne, who rewarded it in all mankinde ſo ſeuerely, that he ſpared neither the bodies, ſoules, ſtates, nor liues of his elect, from ſenſible ſignes of his deteſting ſinne in them: though for his ſonnes ſake, in whom they were beloued and adopted, he would by his wonderfull power rather further than

indanger

indanger their saluation euen by those maladies and corrosiues of sinne. This sheweth the greatnesse of Gods power, and goodnesse of his mercie towards vs, but this altereth not the iudgement which God pronounced, and punishment which he inflicted on Adam and all his offspring for sinne. The corruption and infection of sinne, which naturally and continually dwelleth in all the godly, called by Diuines *concupiscence*, is it no punishment of sinne, because the guilt thereof is remitted in Baptisme, and now it is left in vs to humble vs, and awake vs to call for grace, and to resist sinne, that striuing with it, we see not only the danger of sinne assaulting vs, but the Spirit of God assisting vs, and bountie of God rewarding vs? The actuall sinnes of the faithfull, shall we thinke them no sinnes but fauors from God, because by them God worketh repentance, submission, conuersion, yea faith, zeale, ioy and thanksgiuing in his elect? [u] *God worketh* (sayth Austen) *all things for the good of those that loue him, and so farre forth vtterly all things, that if any of them stray, and forsake the right way, euen that God turneth to their good, because they returne more humble and better taught.* The like I say of death, and other miseries of mans life, pronounced first by Gods mouth, and still inflicted by Gods hand. They are, as they were, degrees or effects of Gods anger against sinne in Adam; pursuing him and all his posteritie for the confirmation of his iustice, though by Gods mercie towards his, they now serue as they did euen at the first in Gods children, to represse sinne, to worke repentance, to raise confidence in God, and contempt of all earthly things, and to exercise the graces of Gods Spirit giuen them, as patience, obedience, and such like, and to giue them assurance of a better life.

[u] *Augusti. de corrept. & gratia. cap. 9.*

The Church of Christ euer was, and is of the same minde with me, that the death of the bodie with her seeds and fruits in this life, first entred, and still remaineth as a PUNISHMENT *of sin.* [x] *Men shunned* (saith Austen) *the death of the flesh, rather than the death of the spirit, that is, the punishment rather than the cause of the punishment. We came vnto death by sinne, Christ by righteousnesse, & ideo, cum sit mors nostra pœna peccati, mors illius facta est hostia pro peccato; and therefore, where our death is the punishment of sinne, his death was the sacrifice for sinne.* Theodoret speaking of the separation of bodie and soule, wherby that *which is mortall sustaineth death, the soule* remaining free from death as being immortall, asketh his aduersarie, [y] ἢ οὐκ ἴσῃ ποινὴν εἶναι τὸν θάνατον; *Doest thou not thinke death to be a punishment?* Who answering; *The Diuine Scripture teacheth so much*; Theodoret inferreth; *Is death then the punishment of sinners?* The other yeelding that *this is granted of all men*, Theodoret concludeth: *Why then, since both the soule and bodie sinned, doth the bodie alone sustaine the punishment of death?* Fulgentius: [z] *Nisi præcessisset in peccato mors animæ, nunquam corporis mors in supplicio sequeretur. Except the death of the soule had gone before by sinne, the death of the bodie had neuer followed after as a punishment.* And therefore of our flesh he sayth: [a] *Nascitur cum pœna mortis, & pollutione peccati: It is borne with the punishment of death, and pollution of sinne.* And of yoong children: *By what iustice is an infant subiected to the wages of sinne, if there be no vncleannesse of sinne in him? or how do we see him strooken with death, if he felt not the sting thereof* (which is sinne?) Maxentius in the confession of his faith; [b] *We beleeue* (sayth he) *that not only the death of the bodie, which is the punishment of sinne, but also the sting of death, which is sinne, entred into the world; because we consent not to these men* (who say the contrarie) *but to the Apostle, who testifieth that sinne and death went ouer all men.* Prosper: [c] *The punishment of sinne, which Adam the roote of mankinde receiued by* (Gods) *sentence, (saying, Earth thou art, and to earth thou shalt returne) and transmitted to his posteritie as to his branches, the Apostle sayth, entred into the world by one mans sinne, and so ranged ouer all men.* Beda: [d] *The death as well of vs men, as of Christ, is called sinne, because it is the effect and punishment of that sinne which Adam committed.* The second councell of Arrange about 450 yeres after Christ confesseth no lesse; [e] *If any man affirme, that only the death of the bodie, which is the punishment of sinne, and not sinne also, which is the death of the soule, passed by one man to all mankinde, he ascribeth iniustice to God, and*

[x] *Augusti. de Trinitate. li. 4. cap. 12.*

[y] *Theodor. dialogo. 3. cap. 2.*

[z] *Fulgen. de incarnat. & gratia Christi. cap. 12.*

[a] *Ibid. cap. 13.*

[b] *Maxentius in libello fidei cap. 3.*

[c] *Prosper de promissio. & prædict. parte 1. cap. 5.*

[d] *Beda in Psal. 34.*

[e] *Concilium Arausicanum 2. cap. 2.*

contradicteth the Apostle, who sayth; By one man sinne entred into the world, and by sinne death passed ouer all men.

Our later writers, though they fully defend that God doth not punish his either to destruction, as he doth the wicked; nor for satisfaction of sinne, as he did his owne Sonne for the sinnes of all his Saints; and to comfort the afflicted, they set before them the *presence* of Gods power assisting them in their miseries, or deliuering them from their troubles, the *purpose* of God respecting wholy their good, and the *promise* of God exceedingly recompencing their patience; yet when they come to the causes prouoking God to this seueritie, they acknowledge that to be sinne, and teach euery man to descend into himselfe, and to giue God the glorie, in that his righteous iudgement beginneth at his owne house. *Of the euils,* (which we suffer in this life) [f] *there be many and sundry causes,* saith Bullinger, *but sinne it selfe is counted to be the generall cause. For by disobedience sinne entred into the world, and by sinne death, diseases, and all the mischiefes in the world.* [g] *The persecutions and cruell tortures inflicted on the Church of God, or on particular Martyrs, as they were offered them for the confession and testimony of the faith and truth of the Gospell, so for the most part they had for their causes the offences and sinnes of the godly, which the iustice of God did visite in his seruants, though for the good and welfare of his Saints.* [h] *The people of Israell sinned against the Lord in the desert vnder the Iudges and Kings very often, and very enormously, and were grieuously punished by the Lord; but againe they were speedily deliuered as often as they acknowledged their sinnes, and turned vnto the Lord.* [i] *If therefore any man suffer any euill for sinne committed, let him acknowledge the iust iudgement of God vpon himselfe, and humble himselfe vnder the mightie hand of God, confessing it vnto God; and asking pardon with lowly praier, let him patiently beare that which he hath so well deserued to suffer.* [k] *It is certaine,* saith Zanchius, *that all the punishments and miseries, which we feele in this world, are from sin, and inflicted for sinne.* In which place he resolueth by a plaine thesis, *that death is the punishment of sinne, and* (so are) *all those things which are the fruits of death, as well in Soule, as in body, and in* (our) *externall state.* [l] *It is an argument* (saith Gualther) *of a mind skant religious wholy to despise death, quam per peccatum ingressam, & peccati pœnam esse omnes Scripturæ testantur, which all the Scriptures witnesse came in by sinne, and is the punishment of sinne.* In the Philosophers commendations (of the death of the bodie) [m] *there are some things* (saith Peter Martyr) *not agreeable to the Christian faith, and to the sacred Scriptures. For we say, that death must not be accounted any good, but an euill thing. Quandoquidem Deus illam vti pœnam inflixit nostro generi; For so much as God inflicted it as a punishment on mankind.* And so else where: [n] *Omnes pij statuunt in morte iræ diuinæ sensum esse, ideoq; sua natura dolorem & horrorem incutit. All the godly resolue, that in death there is a sense of Gods wrath, and therefore of his owne nature it impresseth a griefe and terror. And if there be any to whom it is contenting and acceptable to die, they haue that from some other fountaine, and not from the nature of death.* [o] *There might be assigned* (saith Musculus) *many kinds of the wrath of God, but for this present we content our selues with a triple diuision thereof, whereby we diuide it into generall, temporall, and eternall. The generall* (wrath of God) *is that wherewith the whole posteritie of Adam is enwrapped for originall sinne. Hence come all the miseries of mankind, which equally follow the condition of men, and cleaue as well to our minds, as to our flesh. The temporall wrath of God is that (Qua peccatis non impiorum modo, sed & piorum irascitur, ac pœnas de illis sumit in hac vita,) whereby God is angry with the sinnes not of the wicked onely, but of the godly also, and taketh punishment of them in this life.* Whether I speake or thinke otherwise, then these new and old Diuines haue spoken and taught, let the Reader iudge.

But mine owne Authors in the very places, which I alleadge, doe say that the nature of death is changed, and that God is angry with his elect, as a Father with his beloued children, to chasten and amend them.] Peter Martyr saith indeede the nature of death is chaunged by Gods goodnes making that profitable to vs, which of it selfe is very harmefull: but with what condition doth he say it is changed? [p] *Puta,*

[f] Bullingerus decad. 3. serm. 3.
[g] Ibidem.
[h] Ibidem.
[i] Ibidem.
[k] Zanchij tract. Theolog. lib. 1. cap 2. thes. 8.
[l] Gualther. homil. 118. in 12. cap. Joh.
[m] Petri Martyris loci communes, class. 3. lo. 14. & sect. 5.
[n] Idem class. 2. loc. 1. sect. 51.
[o] Musculus in locis communibus theologicis de Ira Dei.
[p] Pet. Mart. loc. com. classe 3. lo. 14. sect. 7.

si

si quis obediente animo eam subeat, néque pœnam illam reijciat, quam diuina iustitia nos omnes voluerit exoluere: If a man submit himselfe vnto it with an obedient hart, and reiect not that punishment, which the iustice of God would haue vs all to suffer. And so it was chaunged, euen when it was inflicted on the elect in Adams loynes. For Christ was first promised to be the bruizer of the Serpents head. Now if death afterward tooke full and euerlasting hold on Christs members, then the serpent preuailed against Christ and his chosen, and not Christ against the Serpent. Wherefore God so moderated his sentence, that he adiudged Christes members in Adam no farder then to the earth, whence Christ should raise them, and vtterly abolish from them all the Serpents poyson, that is, sinne, death, and corruption: but this prooueth not death to be good in Gods Children, or to be no punishment of sinne in them, because God conuerteth it to their aduantage in the ende; no more then their sinnes are good, because God turneth them also to the benefite of his elect. For, as you heard before, Saint Austen saith of their sinnes as he doth of their death, that God turneth them, and all things else to the good of those that loue him. Touching Gods fatherly Anger against the sinnes of the faithfull for their amendment, which Musculus mentioneth; He doth not say as you doe, it is no Anger; neither doe I defend any other kinde of Anger in God then such, as a Religious and wise Father in some sort resembleth, when he pursueth the wickednes of his vnruly sonne. Whose person though he fauour as being his Sonne, and by chastisement seeke to reforme; yet is he or ought he to be, not in words or lookes onely, but inwardly and truely displeased and offended with the lewdnesse of his Sonne. And though loue doe temper the correction, that he meane not to kill or ouerthrow his owne flesh and blood; yet the zealous Father spareth not to make his Sonne throughly smart, till he confesse, mislike, and leaue his former loosenesse, and frame himselfe obediently to his Fathers will. Doth not this Father as much hate the vices, as he loueth the person, and seeketh the welfare of his Sonne? And since his Sonne will not be otherwise recalled, may not the sharp correction, which the Father vseth to represse the vnbridled and vntamed appetites of his licentious child, be called punishment? The Scriptures so speake, and so doe the Fathers, as also the later writers; onely this fabler hath found out a new faith, and new phrases of Gods improper wrath, and vntrue punishment of sinne, which God vseth toward his children, that prouoke him with their impuritie and iniquitie.

[q] *It may not be said properly, that (Gods) Iustice leadeth him to inflict these things on vs,* (as you affirme) *but his holinesse and loue.*] Your mouth belike is the measure of proper speeches. If you intend that not onely *Iustice*, but also *Loue* did and doth lead God to inflict these things on vs, you say the same that I affirme; but if you meane, (as you must, if you will crosse my position,) that *Loue* without *Iustice* did and doth lead God to inflict these things on vs, then speake you both absurdly and wickedly. For the Scriptures ascribe *Iustice and Iudgement* to God in chastening his Church, and punishing the sinnes of his seruants, as well as they doe *Loue* and *holinesse*. When the Prophet told Roboham and the Princes of Iuda, *that* [r] *they had left God, and therefore God would leaue them in the hands of Shishak* the King of Egypt: the King and Princes [s] *humbled themselues, and said, the Lord is iust*. When Ierusalem was burnt and her people caried captiue to Babilon, the Prophet lamenting her miserie saith, *the Lord hath* [t] *afflicted her for the multitude of her transgressions*: and teacheth her to say; [u] *Iust is the Lord, for I haue rebelled against his mouth.* Daniel at the time, when God would deliuer his people from that Captiuitie, maketh confession of his and their sinnes, and saith; [x] *All Israell haue transgressed thy law, and departed from hearkning to thy voice. Therefore the curse is powred vpon vs, because we haue sinned against him.* [y] *And the Lord hath watched ouer this euill, and brought it vpon vs, because the Lord our God is iust in all that he doth; for we would not heare his voice.* The Leuites after their returne making confession of their sinnes vnto God, & mentioning their afflictions, doe

[q] Defenc. pa. 50. li. 26. *God is iust in punishing his Saints.*

[r] 2. Chro. 12. vers. 5.

[s] Vers. 6.

[t] Lament. 1. vers. 5.

[u] Vers. 18.

[x] Dan. 9. v. 11.

[y] Vers. 14.

[z] Nehem. ca. 9.33. doe adde; [z] *And thou* (Lord) *are iust in all that is come vpon vs; because thou hast kept* (thy) *truth, and we haue done wickedly.*

[a] Rom.3. The Apostles confesse the like after Christs comming. [a] *If our iniquitie* (saith Paul,) *commend the Iustice of God, what shall we say? Is God vniust in punishing? God forbid.* Very plainly the same Apostle denounceth Gods iustice and vengeance to all Christians

[b] 1. Thess 4. vers.6. that wrong their brethren; [b] *You know* (saith he) *what Commandements we gaue you by the Lord Iesus, that no man oppresse or defraud his brother: for the Lord is the Auenger of*

[c] Coloss.3. *all such things, as we foretold and protested vnto you.* And to the Colossians; [c] *He that doth wrong shall receaue* (at Gods hand) *for the wrong, which he hath done, and there is*

[d] Prou.12. *no respect of persons.* [d] *The recompence of a mans hands* (that is works) *shall* (God) *giue*

[e] Prou.11. *vnto him,* either in this life if he repent, or in the next if he persist. [e] *Lo* (saith Salomon) the *righteous are repayed on earth* (he meaneth the euill which they haue done to

[f] 1. Pet. 4. others) *how then the wicked and the sinner?* For here in this life is the [f] *time, that iudgement beginneth at the house of God. If it first* (*begin*) *with vs* (saith Peter) *what shall be the end of them, who obey not the Gospell of God?* Howsoeuer you tattle that God vtterly forgetteth his Iustice in afflicting his Church; the Scriptures teach vs, that *Iudgement beginneth* here at *the house of God, for an example of the iust iudgement of God against the wicked, and that the very righteous are repayed on earth* the wrongs which they do to others, God by his Apostle openly professing himselfe to *be the Auenger of such* beleeuers, as wrong or defraud their brethren. Now whether there may be *Iudgement, Requitall,* and *Reuenge* in this life from God against euill, without some admixture of his iustice, though he purpose not to destroy the penitent, I leaue it to the Christian Reader to consider.

How we are freed from sinne by Christ.

Hath not Christ then borne the burden of our sinnes to free vs from all punishment? Christ hath not presently and generally freed vs and euery part of vs from all corruption and affliction of sinne; he will doe it at his appointed time, when the day of our redemption commeth. In the meane time our inward man is freed, though

[g] 2.Cor.4. our [g] *outward man dayly perish.* For Christ [h] *must raigne till he haue put all his* (*and our*)

[h] 1.Cor.15. *enemies vnder his feete. The last enemie, that shall be destroyed is death.* Then shall be the end of sinne, death, and corruption in all his; and not before: though we be alreadie redeemed by Christ from it, in Gods *purpose* and *promise* (which shall then bee fully performed) and in *part,* whereof we presently haue an assurance in that our soules are renewed in this life by grace, and receiued in the next to a blessed rest and comfort, till that day rise, when Christ will set a crowne of righteousnesse on them all, that loue his comming. Againe we are presently freed from all that, which is solely the punishment of sinne, and hath no farder or other profit or vse in it, then onely to punish and reuenge sinne. And such are none of these things, whereof wee speake. For God in them all hath so tempered a taste of his iustice with his manifold and great mercies, that it is not expedient for vs as yet to be wholly freed from them. This respect preuaileth so farre with God, that whiles the world must dure, hee hath subiected his children to the capitall and penall lawes not of Christian Magistrates onely, but euen of infidels also, for that without discipline of the sword, mans state and life on earth can not be maintained. And therefore the politicke and penall lawes of Princes bee not derogatorie to Christes death, nor iniuries to Christian men, as the *Libertines* would haue them; not because men haue more right to punish then God hath, or their interest to punish could continue, when Gods doth cease; but for that it is expedient and needfull for vs so to bee gouerned in outward and earthly things, till the

[i] 1 Cor.15. Vers.24. time come, when Christ *will* [i] *put downe all rule and all authoritie and power,* that God may be all in all. Now if Christs death repeale not mans lawes, how much lesse Gods irreuocable iudgements fastned to our nature, and not hindering our saluation, but renuing the memoriall of our sinne, lest we should forget it, or neglect it; and teaching vs by tollerable and temporall paines, what intollerable torments wee haue escaped by Gods mercies towards vs? Wherefore Christ by his obedience vnto death

hath

hath ſhewed vs an example what to follow, and thereby rather confirmed then reuerſed his Fathers ſentence for the time, till he come to wipe all teares from our eyes, and to reſtore vs to the glorious libertie of the ſonnes of God, which he hath preſently purchaſed for vs, though he will not preſently execute it.

Laſtly the death of Chriſt doeth not belong, nor any benefite thereof, but to ſuch as *repent and beleeue*. After his death Chriſt commanded [k] *repentance and remiſſion of ſinnes to be preached in his name among all nations*; and with all denounced, [l] *He which will not beleeue, ſhall be damned*. So that neither the incredulous, nor the impenitent haue any part or pardon in Chriſtes death and ſufferings. If then all the children of God would fully repent and perfectly beleeue: ſurely all which they ſhould ſuffer in this life (I ſtill except the naturall, and as yet vnchangeable corruption of body and ſoule, which abideth in them from their birth) were onely trials of the graces, and ſignes of their bleſſedneſſe. [m] *Bleſſed are they* (ſaith our Sauiour) *that ſuffer perſecution for righteouſneſſe ſake: for theirs is the kingdome of heauen. When you doe well and ſuffer, taking it patiently, this* (ſaith Peter) *is acceptable vnto God.* But *what praiſe is it, if when yee be buffeted for your faults, you take it patiently?* Now how many thouſands are there in Chriſts flocke, which defect in faith and ſpecially in true repentance? Yea how rare are they, that repent when, and as they ought? Then hath Gods iuſtice cauſe enough, and enough to puniſh all, that either ſhrinke in faith, neglect his will, or ſlacke repentance; notwithſtanding the generall freedome obtained and proclaimed by the death of Chriſt; and out of this number very few Chriſtians are exempted. Wherefore to make men beleeue, that God hath no iuſtice, or regardeth not his iuſtice, to puniſh them in this life, after hee hath once engraffed them into Chriſt, becauſe Chriſt hath ſuffered all the puniſhment of their ſinnes for them; is but to deceiue them. God is moſt faithfull in his promiſes, if we could take aſſured hold of them; but if wee fall from them by diffidence or diſobedience, God wanteth no iuſtice to aggrauate his hand according to our deſerts, though in mercie he ſpare vs, euen when he ſtriketh vs, and intendeth our conuerſion and not our deſtruction, how ſharpe ſoeuer his plagues be, which would be farre ſharper, if his loue towardes vs in Chriſt Ieſu, did not ouer-rule his iuſt diſpleaſure againſt our ſinnes.

[k] Luk.24.
[l] Mark.16.
[m] Matth.5.
[n] 1.Pet.2.

[o] *The caſe with Chriſt was cleane otherwiſe. He needed no amendment, but that which he ſuffered was right puniſhment.*] *Right and proper*, if you may be moderator, ſhall be what pleaſe you. What is RIGHT AND TRVE PVNISHMENT you neuer define; but pretending ſinceritie, when you come to the iſſue, you encloſe your conceites with *verie, proper, right*, and ſuch like phraſes, and ſo take your leaue. But declare, if you can, or will vouchſafe to make others partakers of your myſteries, what is *proper* and *right, verie* and *true* puniſhment. You muſt define *puniſhment* either by the *paine*, which is ſuffered; or by the *purpoſe* of the puniſher, that is, by the cauſe, for which it is inflicted. You ſtand not in this place on the paine impoſed, but rather on the purpoſe of the puniſher, or cauſe of the puniſhment. For if you meaſure puniſhment by the ſame paines, then tell vs why the miſeries of this life, as penurie, ſickneſſe, and death, be puniſhments in the wicked, and not in the godly; ſince they be the ſame in both, ſetting aſide the purpoſe of the puniſher, which is different in both. They are, you ſay, for *correction and amendment* in the godly, not for deſtruction and vengeance, as they are in the wicked. Then the purpoſe of the puniſher, by your intention, maketh the paine to be puniſhment; which being referred to another end, as in other patients, is no puniſhment, though it be the ſelfe ſame paine in both. And thence you draw your concluſion, that ſince the ſufferings of Chriſt could not be for correction and amendment in him, therefore [p] *his afflictions euery one*, SMALL AND GREAT, *were true and proper puniſhments, and the effects of Gods very wrath for ſinne lying vpon him*. Otherwiſe the bodily afflictions which Chriſt ſuffered were the ſelfe ſame which the godly often ſuffer; and yet you auouch them in the faithfull to be no puniſhments, becauſe they ſerue for correction and amendment in them; which hauing

[o] Defenc.pag. 50. l.31. *The Defenders partition of puniſhment, applied to Chriſt, is inſufficient and impious.*

[p] Defenc.pag. 52. l.1.

hauing no place in Christ, you conclude his sufferings great and small to be true, right and proper punishments. But Sir how prooue you this diuision, that all the punishments, (you call them paines) which God inflicteth in this life, are either for correction or for vengeance properly so called? there is neither sufficiencie, nor pietie in this partition of yours thus applied to Christ. For *in the wicked* Gods purpose is onely *to reuenge* sinne, and therefore in the end God allotteth them the iust and full punishment of sinne, which is euerlasting damnation. And in the meane season during the time of his patience, he mitigateth his hand in respect of that which shall follow, but giueth them no inward grace to repent, whereby they are in all their afflictions hardned and ripened for sorer vengeance, as still repining and murmuring at the hand of God, but neuer misliking or leauing their sinnes. In the *elect* when they are disobedient and impenitent, God *persueth* their sinnes with corporall and temporall plagues, that they may returne and flie vnto him for mercie; to which ende he giueth them grace in the midst of their miseries to acknowledge their offences, and by faith to take hold of his promises made to them in Christ Iesus; and so vpon their submission and conuersion he receiueth them to fauour; whose persons he alwayes loued in his onely Sonne, though he hated and scourged their vncleanneſſe. In *Christ Iesus* the case was cleane different from the one and the other. You confesse there was nothing in him to be corrected or amended; then was he not punished for correction. On the other side, much lesse did God purpose to destroy Christs person being his owne and onely Sonne; as he doth the wicked, whose bodies and soules he will destroy in hell: and consequently Christ was not punished to destruction. That is proper to the reprobate, whose persons God hateth, and leaueth in their sinnes, that they may prouoke his iust wrath to their vtter destruction. Then was Christ neither punished as the godly are for amendment, nor as the wicked are for vengeance; and so your partition is false, and defectiue; and all your collections grounded thereon are like the foundation, that is voide of all strength and trueth.

Gods purpose in the death and Crosse of Christ.

What then was Gods purpose in punishing Christ for our sinnes? euen that which you alwayes passe by with deafe and dull eares, though it be often repeated and vrged vnto you, because you will not be turned from the trade of your hellish paines. Why God would not haue man redeemed, but by the death and passion (that I call the punishment) of Christ Iesus, the Scriptures yeeld many causes, (though of Gods will no cause may be required;) some respecting God himselfe, some concerning Christ, and some regarding vs. Touching God, the crosse of Christ doth commend his *wisdome*, shew his *power*, manifest his *loue*, content his *holines*, & preserue his *iustice*.

q 1.Corin.1. q *Christ crucified* (as Paul sayth) *is the power of God, and the wisdome of God* to them that are saued, howsoeuer the crosse of Christ seeme foolishnesse and weakenesse to them that perish. Then to controle the carnall wisdome of the world, and to confound the pride and strength of Satan and his members, God would vse the basenesse and feebleneſſe of the Crosse in sauing his elect. Also, to witnesse his loue towards vs, he decreed the same: r *So God loued the world, that he gaue his onely begotten Sonne,* f *to be an offering and a sacrifice of a sweet smelling sauour vnto God.* With which Sacrifice the holinesse of God resteth so t well *pleased*, that he accepteth vs as holy, and u *sanctified by the oblation of the bodie of Iesus Christ once made.* The vpholding of Gods Iustice by the death of Christ is often specified in the Scriptures. x *By a man (came) death, and by a man the resurrection from the dead.* y *Him that knew no sinne, God made sinne for vs* (to wit, a sacrifice for sinne) *that wee should be made the righteousnesse of God in him.* Therefore *it was* z *expedient, that one man should die for the people, and that the whole Nation perished not.* a *He was wounded for our transgressions; and by his stripes are wee healed. The Lord layed vpon him the iniquitie of vs all.* b *And where a Testament is, there must be the death of the Testator: for a Testament is confirmed, when men are dead.* So that by the Scriptures themselues God decreed the Crosse of Christ in mans redemption, to reueale his *wisdome*, *power*, and *loue* to the world, and wholly to satisfie *his holinesse*

r Iohn 3.
f Ephes.5.
t 2.Pet.1.
u Hebr.10.
x 1.Corin.15.
y 2.Corin.5.
z Iohn 11.
a Esa.53.
b Hebr.9.

lineſſe and *iuſtice*, which were thorowly diſpleaſed and prouoked with mans diſobedience, but as thorowly recompenſed and appeaſed by the ſubmiſsion and obedience of Chriſt.

As for Chriſt himſelfe, it is euident by the Scriptures, that his enduring the croſſe declared his *obedience, patience, humilitie, charitie, perfection* and *power*, in more effectuall maner, than without it he could haue done. For therein he [c] *emptied and humbled himſelfe, and became obedient vnto death, euen to the death of the croſſe.* [d] *When hee was reuiled, he reuiled not againe; when he ſuffered, he threatned not. He* [e] *was oppreſſed and afflicted, yet did he not open his mouth.* For ſo [f] *he loued* (vs) *that he gaue himſelfe* (for vs;) [g] *and greater loue than this hath no man, to beſtow his life for his friends.* But [h] *God ſetteth out his loue towards vs, that whiles we were yet ſinners Chriſt died for vs. Once* (then) [i] *he ſuffered, the iuſt for the vniuſt, that he might bring vs to God*; and being [k] *conſummate through affliction, was made the Prince of* (our) *Saluation. For in that he ſuffered and was tempted, he is able to ſuccour them that are tempted*, and became *a mercifull and faithfull high Prieſt, to make reconciliation for the ſinnes of the people. And* [l] *therefore he died and roſe againe, that he might be Lord of the dead and the liuing, and* [m] *through death deſtroy him that had power of death, euen the diuell.*

[c] Phil.2.
[d] 1.Pet.2.
[e] Eſa.53.
[f] Galat.2.
[g] Iohn 15.
[h] Rom.5.
[i] 1.Pet.3.
[k] Hebr.2.
[l] Rom.14.
[m] Hebr.2.

On our behalfe it was not needleſſe, that Chriſt ſhould die the death of the croſſe. For beſides *that we are* [n] *bought with a price*, leſt we ſhould be our owne, euen *with the* [o] *precious bloud of Chriſt*, as of a Lambe vnſpotted and vndefiled, *and* [p] *reconciled to God by the death of his Sonne*, which couenant is irreuocable, being ſealed with his bloud: by his croſſe Chriſt [q] *left vs an example how we ſhould follow his ſteps, and be* [r] *partakers of his ſufferings; that when his glorie ſhall appeare, we may be glad and reioyce.* For it is a [ſ] *true ſaying, if we be dead with him, we ſhall liue with him; if we ſuffer* (with him) *we ſhall raigne with him.* [t] *We are buried then by Baptiſme into his death, that like as Chriſt was raiſed from the dead by the glorie of his Father; ſo we ſhould alſo walke in newneſſe of life: knowing this, that our olde man is crucified with him, that the bodie of ſinne might be deſtroyed, that hencefoorth we ſhould not ſerue ſinne.* [u] *He died for all, that they which liue ſhould not hencefoorth liue vnto themſelues, but to him, which died for them, and roſe againe.*

[n] 1 Cor.6.
[o] 1.Pet.1.
[p] Rom.5.
[q] 1.Pet.2.
[r] 1.Pet.4.
[ſ] 2.Tim.2.
[t] Rom.6.
[u] 2.Cor.5.

Infinite are the places of Scripture witneſsing the *cauſes, effects*, and *fruits* of Chriſts death on the Croſſe; all which this Dreamer muſt denie or delude, before he can defend, that Gods purpoſe in Chriſtes ſufferings was only to puniſh our ſinne lying on him. For if Gods purpoſes in appointing Chriſtes Croſſe, were ſo *acceptable* to the Father, ſo *honourable* to the Sonne, and ſo *profitable* for man, as the Scriptures mention; with what face can it be ſaid, that God puniſhed his Sonne only for vengeance? or that *whatſoeuer Chriſt ſuffered* (all his life long) *ſpecially at his death, was* [x] *verie wrath and vengeance from God properly taken?* Chriſt ſuffered the ſame things here on earth, which the godly likewiſe do in this life, as appeareth by the hiſtory of his death and paſsion; and other paines or deaths in Chriſt the Scriptures doe not ſpecifie. Gods counſell in decreeing the Croſſe of Chriſt for mans redemption, conſidering the true deſert of our ſinne and terrible vengeance prouided for others, was verie fauourable and fatherly, not ouerpreſsing the patience of Chriſtes humane nature, nor wearying his obedience; and had in it farre more gracious and glorious intents and euents, than our afflictions can or ought any way to match or approch. If then Gods fauour to his elect make their ſufferings in this life no wrath, nor vengeance, nor ſo much as puniſhments; why ſhould the exceeding loue and admirable honor wherewith God accepted and aduanced the death of his Sonne for mans ſaluation, ſeeme to any ſober man *verie wrath, true vengeance*, or the *proper puniſhment* of ſinne prouided and reſerued for reprobate men and angels?

[x] Defenc. pag. 51. l. 4.

It was not for correction, you ſay.] What then? ergo for vengeance? Who being in his right wits would ſo reaſon? God afflicteth his Saints often times for *probation*, for *perfection*, for *coronation*, as the Scriptures auouch, and not for correction. May a man thence conclude by your Logick, that theſe afflictions of the Godly are

true

true puniſhment and proper vengeance? Your ſelfe moſt withſtand it. Why then ſince Chriſtes afflictions had in them a cleere illuſtration of Gods *wiſdome*, *power*, and *loue* towards man, ſomewhat blemiſhed and obſcured in mans fall by Satans craft, and a full recompence to his *holineſſe* and *iuſtice*, neglected and irritated by mans vnrighteouſneſſe, beſides the *obedience*, *ſufficience*, and *preualence* of his Sonne thereby declared; why ſhould, I ſay, thoſe afflictions of Chriſt great and ſmall, during his life and at his death, ſeeme to any man that is well aduiſed, the true *wrath*, *proper vengeance* and *right puniſhment* that was prepared for ſinners? Yea ſince the proper vengeance and right puniſhment of ſinne muſt be common to ſinfull men with the ſinfull Angels, in as much as they both ſinned, and ſhall both receaue the due wages of ſinne; how can the corporall afflictions of this life, wherein the diuels can not partake with men, be called the *proper vengeance* and *right puniſhment* of ſinne? And who but you, hearing our Sauiour pronounce that *euerlaſting fire* is the *full payment* and *proper puniſhment* of wicked and accurſed men and Angels, would labour with ſuch looſe and lewd collections to bring Chriſt Ieſus within the compaſſe of the full puniſhment and proper vengeance due to ſinne? Wherefore take backe your riotous and irreligious termes: As they are not prooued by any Scripture, ſo are they not to be ſuffered in Chriſtian Religion, becauſe they are but cloudes to cloke the fantaſticall frame of your new hell. In the ſharpneſſe of the puniſhment exacted by God on the manhood of his owne Sonne for our ſinnes, though farre different from that which the wicked doe and ſhall feele, and which the Scriptures call the *wrath to come*; (wherein the diuels ſhall haue their portion, euen in the lake that burneth with fire and brimſtone,) God would haue vs learne, how much he deteſteth our ſinnes; how eaſie all the plagues, which we ſuffer in this life, are in reſpect of that we deſerue; how infinite the loue and mercy of God was towards vs, to lay the burden, which we could not haue borne, on the ſhoulders of his onely Sonne, who for his dignitie, innocencie, and euery way ſufficiencie was able to quench that wrath, that euerlaſtingly and intolerably would haue burnt againſt vs to our finall and perpetuall deſtruction of body and ſoule. For if Gods owne Sonne, though he did recompence our ſinnes with his infinite humilitie, obedience, and ſanctitie, was yet purſued vnto death in moſt painefull and reprochfull manner for our ſakes, before we could be quited from the guilt and load of our ſinnes; had we appeared in the iuſt iudgement of God to receaue the reward of our manifold iniquities, what could haue beene the end thereof but a moſt dreadfull damnation of body and ſoule to hell fire for euer with the deſperate and damned ſpirits? This God would haue vs obſerue in the death of his Sonne, though there be many other points of Gods wiſedome, power, and loue towards Chriſt himſelfe, which the Scriptures incloſe in the Croſſe of Chriſt.

Vengeance proper to the wicked appeared not in the Croſſe of Chriſt.

That then Gods wrath and diſpleaſure againſt our ſinnes appeared in the Croſſe of Chriſt, I doe not deny, ſpeaking of wrath after the manner of the Sacred Scriptures. But that any wrath or vengeance proper to the wicked was therein offered or executed on Chriſt, or that he ſuffered the iuſt and full puniſhment allotted to others for ſinne, (Saue that his ſufferings were in his perſon the full price of our Redemption, I meane a moſt ſufficient ſatisfaction and recompence for all the ſinnes of the world) I find no mention made thereof in all the Scriptures, nor ſee any iuſt cauſe or proofe thereof alleaged by you in all your writings. For ſince you will not endure, that any thing executed on the godly ſhall be truely called wrath; it is euident that the wrath which you imagine Chriſt ſuffered, muſt be proper to the wicked, before it can be rightly called wrath; becauſe the godly feele no part of Gods wrath, litle nor great, as you ſuppoſe. Now that Chriſt ſuffered the wrath of God prouided for the ſinnes of the wicked only; and no way common to the godly; this is both a falſe, and a wicked propoſition of yours, & though you euery where vrge it, you no where prooue it, but boldly, as your faſhion is, affirming it, you thinke the world bound to embrace it.

I find by the Scriptures that the wrath which Chriſt ſuffered in Soule and Body,

differed

differed from that which is proper to the wicked as well in the *Nature* and *meaſure* of the paines, as in the *purpoſe* of the puniſher, and inward *peace* of the ſufferer, and in all the *conſequents* of the paines themſelues. In this world the wicked find *ſubtraction* of all grace and fauour, *confuſion* and *deſperation*; in the world to come *excluſion from glorie*, *Malediction*, and *damnation* wholy and euerlaſtingly light on them; none of which may be transferred to Chriſt without intolerable blaſphemie. Yet paine you thinke Chriſt ſuffered, and more then paine the wicked and damned doe not ſuffer.] Were that true which is moſt falſe, that the damned ſuffer no more then pain, though indeed in hell euery thing doth paine them, yet all paines are not of the ſame *nature* and kind; and no paines felt in this life come neere the paines of hell whereof this mortall life and fleſh is not capable. The paine of fire we ſee doth preſently cut of this life, and ſome diſeaſes ſo much heate the body, that they doe the like; and yet the paine and force of this naturall fire, or of any ſickneſſe is nothing comparable to the fury of hell fire, for which the bodies of the wicked muſt be made immortall, before they can endure it. All aches and agues doe paine the body, all feares and ſorrowes afflict the ſoule and ſpirit of man. Shall we thence conclude, that all men at all times, when they are pained or grieued, ſuffer the paines of hell, becauſe it is paine which the damned doe ſuffer? It is more then prophane abuſing and deluding the terrible iudgements of God againſt ſinne to ſuppoſe, that all paines of body and ſoule are hell paines in nature and kind, which you wrap vnder the fold of proper wrath and right puniſhment of ſinne, becauſe they are paines. Wherefore they muſt either be *the ſelfe ſame* paines, that God in his iuſt and fierce wrath inflicted on the damned; or you ſhall neuer inferre by phraſes of your owne making, which only ſerue to hide your owne meaning, that Chriſt ſuffered the paines of hell.

Gods wrath againſt ſinne hath many degrees and parts.

As for Gods wrath againſt ſinne, it hath many degrees and parts by the verdict of holy Scripture, though you will not heare thereof. For as Gods bleſsings & benefits, when he firſt made man, were of his heauenly goodnes richly prouided for man, and plentifully powred on the body and ſoule of man; as well for the leading of this life in plenty, ſafety, and delight, as for the ſurer attaining of euerlaſting ioy and bliſſe in an other place: ſo when man by ſinne fell from God, by iuſtice God deprined him and his of all thoſe earthly and bodily fauours and comforts, no leſſe then of the ſpirituall and inward gifts and graces of the mind; by that meanes making way to his euerlaſting and dreadfull Iudgements againſt ſinne. Now if theſe externall things beſtowed on man in his firſt creation, were iuſtly called, and muſt be confeſſed in their kind, to be the bleſsings and fauours of God afforded to all mankind, when he made man and the whole world for his vſe; then out of queſtion the taking them away from man, and ſubiecting him by iuſtice to the contrary for ſinne committed, may as truly be named, and muſt be beleeued, to be the ſignes and effects of Gods diſpleaſure againſt ſinne, which the Scripture nameth wrath. And ſo God calleth either of them when he [y] promiſeth the one to the obſeruers of his Law, and [y] threatneth the other to the breakers thereof; who vſeth not to promiſe or threaten words but deeds. Neither hath it any reaſon becauſe the reiecting of man from the greater and higher bleſſings of inward grace and eternall bliſſe was farre the ſorer and ſharper puniſhment of mans ſinne, that therefore the withdrawing of theſe ſhould be no degree nor effect of Gods wrath againſt ſinne; no more then the loſſe of a legge or an arme ſhould be counted no mayme, becauſe a man hath an head and an hart, which are more principall parts of his body. Wherefore though in compariſon they may be iuſtly diminiſhed, and abaſed farre beneath the worthineſſe of the reſt of Gods bleſsings, which are reſerued for his Children in an other life; yet can they not be denyed to be Gods bleſsings euen in this life: and if to giue them to man, when he was firſt made, were the fauour and bountie of God towards man, which no Chriſtian may deny; to take them from man for ſinne, muſt truely argue Gods diſpleaſure againſt ſinne, not in improper ſpeech, as you gloze, but in a leſſe degree then thoſe, which bring with them perpetuall ſubuerſion of Body and Soule.

[y] Deut. 28.

And when the Scriptures meane to expresse the spirituall and eternall wrath of God, they doe it not by proprietie of words as you pretend; but by different *circumstances*: either of the TIME after this life, when no wrath is executed but that which is euerlasting; as *Christ* [z] *deliuereth vs from the wrath to come*; *and thou* [a] *heapest vp wrath against the day of wrath*, which is the day of iudgement; or of the PERSONS, who are wicked, and *the* [b] *vessels of wrath prepared to destruction*, and for whom is reserued the mist of darknesse for euer; as, [c] *for such things commeth the wrath of God on the Children of vnbeliefe*; or of the CONTINVANCE which neuer ceaseth, as [d] *the wrath of God abideth on him* that beleeueth not; or of the HIGTH thereof when it is full, as [e] *the wrath of God is come vpon them to the vttermost*: or of the CONTRARY when it is eternall life; as, [f] *God hath not appointed vs vnto wrath, but to obtaine Saluation by Iesus Christ*: or of the CONSEQVENTS which are suddaine destruction and such like; as, [g] *kisse the Sonne, least he be angry, and ye perish in the way; when his wrath shall suddenly burne, blessed are they that trust in him.* By these and such like particulars we may perceiue, when the Scriptures speake of the one wrath, and when of the other; but otherwise the wordes are common to both, as also the cause which is sinne. *O Lord*, saith Moses, [h] *why doth thy wrath waxe hote against thy people? turne from thy fierce wrath and desist from this euill towards thy People.* And againe, [i] *I fell downe* (saith he) *fortie daies and fortie nights before the Lord, because of all your sinnes, which yee had sinned, doing wickedly in the sight of the Lord and prouoking him. For I was afraid of the wrath and indignation, wherewith the Lord was kindled against you to destroy you, and the Lord heard me at that time also.* Exceeding many are the places, which teach vs, that our *iniquities auert* the outward blessing, of this life, and that our sinnes [k] *hinder good things from vs*; Though God after that, comfort his people, when *their* [l] *warrefare is accomplished, and they haue receaued sufficient Correction at the hands of God for all their sinnes.* Surely these warnings of the holy Ghost are not empty words or improper speeches; but effectuall and faithfull instructions for the Church of God; to learne them, that God doth visite their sinnes, when they forget to repent and obey; though he spare them in comparison of that wrath, which is effunded on the wicked. And therefore the name of wrath is rightly and truely applyed in the Scriptures, euen to those afflictions wherewith God scourgeth his owne Children for their negligence and impenitence, though God haue an other and greater, which is eternall wrath, laid vp in store for the Reprobate, who die without Repentance and Remission of their sinnes.

[z] 1. Thess. 1.
[a] Rom. 2.
[b] Rom. 9.
[c] Ephes. 5.
[d] Iohn 3.
[e] 1. Thess. 2.
[f] 1. Thess. 5.
[g] Psal. 2.
[h] Exod. 32.
[i] Deut. 9.
[k] Iere. 5.
[l] Esa. 40.

Howsoeuer the strife for words standeth, wherein I confesse I may not be brought to disalow the tongue and pen of the holy Ghost; it is most certaine, that the Gospel reporteth of Christs sufferings nothing, but what was common to him with his members, euen in this life where he suffered. The Apostles plainely prooue as much, to wit that we haue [m] *fellowship and* [n] *communion* with Christs afflictions, and are [o] *conformed to his death.* Now there is no communion, but where the same things are common to both, though the degrees may differ. And you your selfe, when it maketh for you, can vrge, that the Apostle speaking of Christs sufferings, saith; [p] *He was tempted in all things like* (to vs) yet *without sinne.* So that in my iudgement it is a most cleere case, as well by the witnesse of Scripture, as by your owne confession; that all Christes sufferings were LIKE, yea the SAME that ours are, as being *common* to both; and consequently if you any way vnderstand what belongeth to trueth or reason, the sufferings of the godly must either bee wrath as well as Christes, or if theirs bee not, his were not, since they were the same. And so the godly must either in all their afflictions, small and great, suffer as Christ did the proper wrath of God, and true paines of hell, which you make equiualent: or if the godly doe not so suffer, then Christ did not so suffer. If you flie to the purpose of the punisher, which was different in Christ and his members, and thinke there to succour your selfe, you come to short: the purpose of God in Christes afflictions, as I haue shewed by the Scriptures, was farre more fauourable and honourable in Christ, then it can bee to any of the elect. And therefore

[m] Philip. 3.
[n] 2. Corin. 1.
[o] 1. Pet. 4.
[p] Hebr. 4.

fore Gods purpose in Christes punishment will farder free him from hell paines, then it will any of the faithfull.

The proportion of the pain which Christ suffered,& the inward peace of the sufferer,will proue the same. For where the paines of hell exceed the patience of men and Angels, and are no way posible to bee suffered in the weakneſe of our mortall bodies; the measure of Christes paine was so proportioned to the strength of his flesh, that it neither ouerwhelmed his life, nor his patience. And though his sweate were like bloud in his earnest prayer and Agonie, yet no Scripture decideth, whether that were for *paine, feare, or zeale*; and that dured but a while in the Garden, where as after, when his afflictions and paines were at soreſt, he shewed no signe of shrinking either at the torments of his body, or at the affliction of his minde; but as the Apostle saith, [p] *For the ioy set before him, endured the Crosse, and despised the shame*; not wearied nor fainting in minde, but with most perfect obedience,and quiet patience persisting to the ende. This conflict betweene paine and patience, to serue Gods glorie and obey Gods will, Christ proposeth to all his members on the same condition that it was offered to his humane nature. [q] *To him that ouercommeth* (saith he) *will I giue to sit with me in my throne, euen as I ouercame, and sit with my Father in his throne.*

[p] Hebr.12.

[q] Reuel.3.

As for the consequents of hell paines, it is so brutish blasphemie to affirme them of Christ, that I forbeare to obiect them. I haue often named them, and you say, *you* [r] *abhorre such blasphemies as well as I doe, that Christ so suffered hell paines.*] But Sir,you & your friends must shew by the Scriptures, that God hath seuered these consequents Imeane, *reiection, reprobation, confusion, malediction, defferation*, and such like, from the true paines of hell. The Scripture proposeth them as necessarie and infallible consequents to the true paines of hell: You will seuer them, because otherwise Christ must either not suffer the true paines of hell, which euerteth all your new Doctrine; or he must also suffer these, which the Scriptures annexe to the true paines of hell. If you confesse the first, that Christ did not suffer the true paines of hell; the Question is well ended: If you seuer these consequents from the true paines of hell, shew by what authoritie of sacred Scriptures you doe it; and then you may be excused from lewd and wicked presumption. For if God by his word reuealed hath ioyned them together, you doe or should know what sacriledge it is for your pleasure to pull them in sunder. Let your Reader therefore iudge, whether you can be quited from the one, except you shew good warrant for the other; which as yet you neither haue done, nor offered to doe.

[r] Defenc. pag. 52.li.8.

[r] *Your selfe graunt expresly, that the wrath of God is hell; indeede onely it causeth hell to be cruell; yea you grant it to be sharper then hell. So that we see hereby how vainely you say; out of this proposition, Christ suffered for vs the wrath of God for sinne, I shall neuer conclude, ergo he suffered the true paines of hell. I haue here shewed you I trust that this followeth well, seeing the wrath of God, which Christ felt in his spirit, was his right and proper wrath, albeit he suffered not all, nor the whole wrath of God, nor euery part thereof, iust as the damned doe.*] Here you see your full purpose is to conclude, thar Christ suffred for vs *the true paines of hell*, though it hath beene your policie to conceale so much from the Reader all this while. And indeede howsoeuer you dissemble it, because you can no way prooueit, *The death of Christes soule, and the true paines of hell* or of the *Damned* are the maine markes which you shoote at; though you closely carie it in other termes, which are more generall and ambiguous, as *the wrath of God, and the punishment of sinne*, to keepe your Reader from discouering your foolish reasons, and reiecting your wicked deuices. But cough vp your conceites freely, and wander not thus about a wood of words, to shew your contentious spirit, or at least to hide your hatefull mysteries. *Here you haue shewed, you trust, that it followeth well, seeing the wrath, that Christ felt in his spirit, was right and proper wrath.*] You haue shewed vs what you intend; but neither here, nor elsse where doe you shew by what grounds of reason, and trueth you can inferre it. *Christ suffered proper wrath and that in spirit, you say.*] You neuer went about to define or describe what proper wrath is; much lesse haue you any way prooued that, which

[r] Defenc. pag. 53.l.6.

Christ suffered, to be proper wrath. And now on the sudden you bend vp your bristles, and boast you haue shewed, that Christ suffered the true paines of hell. But by what Scriptures I pray you haue you shewed it, or by what Fathers? Or if you haue neither of those to deriue your doctrine from; what groundes of reason haue you produced for it? You haue roued ignorantly, confusedly, and absurdly at the sufferings of mans soule; you haue filled our eares with certaine new phrases of *proper, verie*, and *right wrath and vengeance* for sinne; but first and last you haue proued nothing; nay I see not so much as any offer of proofe, but a bolde proiect of trifles and termes to support your errors.

But I grant expressly, that the wrath of God is hell.] Hauing shewed by sundrie Fathers the verie page before, that the wrath of God is often taken for the effects thereof, and so for any punishment which God inflicteth for sinne; I granted that hell and [t] *all the torments there*, might iustly be called the wrath of God, because *they are* [t] *the sharpest effects of Gods wrath against sinne*. What conclude you thence? *ergo* euerie effect or degree of Gods wrath is hell. If you clamper vs such conclusions, you are fitter to ring a bell, than to write a booke. What shew of reason hath this illation of yours? The wrath of God is applied to all the paines and punishments of sinne, and so by consequent to hell, as to the greatest vengeance that God taketh of men or diuels for sinne. Will you hence inferre, hell is the greatest punishment of sinne, *ergo* hell is all the punishment that God inflicteth for sinne, or whatsoeuer God inflicteth for sinne, is hell? By this Logike, a rotten tooth, a gowtie toe, a broken head, or a lame legge, are the true paines of hell, and all men liuing and dying are in the paines of hell. But you will create vs a new compasse of hell, that shall containe all that the wicked doe suffer in this life or elsewhere, be it neuer so little.] If you will fall to creating of new helles, shew your commission; otherwise you may create your selfe a woorse condition than you are ware of. Think you that any wise or godlie Reader will rest himselfe vpon such inuentions or such conclusions as these be?

[t] Concluf. pa. 247. li. 20. & 21.

[u] Defenc. pa. 53. li 4. [x] Ibidem pag. 52 li. 26.

[u] *Who can say how little or how small the paine was which Christ suffered?*] You onely can tell how great it was; for you say, *Christ* [x] *suffered a sense of Gods wrath equall to hell it selfe, and to all the torments thereof.* For this, if you would spare vs as well proofes as words, we might at length perhaps beleeue you meant some trueth. Why presume you to determine a iust equalitie in Christes sufferings to the very paines of hell vpon your owne head? What Scripture teacheth you so to say? [y] *Nay, who can* (say you) *declare or comprehend the infinite greatnesse of it?* | You haue comprehended and declared the iust measure of it; for you make it *equall with hell.* And yet, as constant in this as in all other things, you presently adde, that [z] *Christs anguish might very well be, and was no doubt infinite, euen in those bodily stripes and wounds, whose paines otherwise were finite.*] Where if you take infinite for great, or aboue mens reach and knowledge, as sometimes the word is vsed, then speake you nothing to the purpose. For Christes paines may be great and intolerable to vs, though nothing neere the paines of hell. But if you take *infinite*, as contrarie to *finite*, which you do in this place by opposing it to finite, then infinite indeed is more than hell: for the paines of hell are finite in *degree*, though infinite in hauing no end. Howbeit, in the meane while you wrong the Godhead of Christ, in whom nothing is *infinite*, besides his Diuine Nature, and the force thereof. So that if Christ did suffer paines truely infinite, his Godhead must suffer, which is infinite blasphemie; by reason his manhood being a creature could not, nor might not suffer but that which was finite, both in *waight and end*. Such speculations you broach out of your owne brest, without any likelihood of trueth or concurrence with the sacred Scriptures; and then you aske [a] *Who can limit or measure the furie of Gods seuere iustice against sinne?*] As if God who is truely infinite as well in power, as in all other points, did his *vttermost* against Christ; and the creature in Christ were able to beare the brunt of the most that Gods iustice and power could inflict vpon him. Such desperate vntrueths well become your sobrietie, who will say any thing, so you may haue some shift of words to shrowd your selfe vnder: but the

[y] Defenc. pag. 53. li. 5.

[z] Defenc. pag. 52. li. 32. *Christ did not suffer paines truely infinite.*

[a] Defenc. pag. 52. li. 28.

Scriptures

Scriptures will teach you, that Christes sufferings were of *infinite price* in respect of the person who was God and man, not of *infinite paine* which exceedeth the power and strength of all creatures.

I aske, *do you grant, that Christ suffered Gods wrath in spirit, as the Apostle (1. Thess. 5.) distinguisheth the spirit and the soule?*] I answere, do you heare, that you grosly mistake the Apostle, if you make the soule and the spirit two seuerall substances in man: otherwise if they be but one, your question is very childish. For the immortall substance of mans soule suffereth, whether it be by her *sense*, *affections*, *vnderstanding*, or *will*. And this is no Sophistrie deceiuing you with the word soule; but it is the recalling you to conceiue rightly of the soule of man, which is an immortall and spirituall substance, subiect to paine as well by her vnderstanding and sense, as by her affections and will; and by what other meanes soeuer it pleaseth God to punish her. As for the wrath, which you would haue suffered in Christs spirit, when you tell vs what you meane by wrath, whether the apprehension of Gods wrath against our sinne, or the absolute impression of paine from the immediate hand of God; or the due consideration of the case wherein Christ stood, when he suffered for our sinnes, which might iustly breed *feare*, *care* and *sorrow* in his soule, besides the affliction of bodily paines and anguish, which his immortall and humane spirit must needs discerne and feele; you shall receiue a fuller answere. Till then holde vs excused, if we spend not time to guesse & grope after your blinde and hid fansies. Howbeit, whatsoeuer Christ suffered in his soule, it was religious and meritorious in him, I meane euen the *feare*, *sorow* and *smart*, which hee *humbly*, *obediently*, and *patiently* suffered, as from the hand of God, whosoeuer were the meanes: and other wrath than that, you shall neuer be able to proue was inflicted on Christs spirit or soule.

[b] *Who can say, but that this was as hot and scorching as hell fire it selfe?*] We see then your forwardnesse to haue it so; but withall your foolishnesse, that daunting all others as vnpriuie to Gods secrets, and Christes sufferings, you only take vpon you to tell vs out of your casting boxe, how *great* and how hot the paine was, which Christ suffered in soule; euen as great and *as hot as hell fire it selfe*. What dreames be these to mocke men withall, and to fraight the Christian faith with? As if you had of late receiued some Reuelation from heauen, that Christes paine was full as hot as hell fire. I will not diminish the paines which the Sonne of God suffered for our sakes; but am well content to aggrauate them to the highest, so farre as the Scriptures giue me any light or leading; but you that extenuate his paines described in the Scriptures, and deuise other paines for him as hot as hell fire, no where testified by the Holy Ghost, what defence can you bring for your doings? (*Who can say no?*) Nay who can say yea, that doth not rush headlong into Gods secret counsels, as you doe? Be these the proofes whereon you pinne the paines of hell suffered in Christes soule? *Who can say they were not as hot and scorching as hell fire it selfe?*] Frie in your follie, I wish you no worse fire; if I knew not your vaine, I should thinke you sicker than you are.

[b] Defenc. pag. 52. li. 28.

I haue no doubt but Christes paine on the Crosse was proportioned to his patience; which God meant to proue, though not to ouerpresse: otherwise the measure of his paine, saue that it exceeded not the strength of his manhood, as I do not know, no more doeth any man liuing, except hee will deceiue himselfe with his owne dreames, as this Discourser doth. For though we may by nature, in some sort, coniecture how grieuous it was for Christ to hang three houres by the woundes of his hands and feet, all his bones being vnioynted; yet know we not how farre the power and iustice of God made way to that paine, who can by any meanes, as well as without all meanes, increase paine to what degree he will. For my part therefore I will not meddle with any certaine measure of Christes paines felt in his bodie or soule, by which his soule might easily be afflicted as farre as his humane strength could stretch: but the matching and euening of it with hell fire, I take to be a presumptuous and irreligious deuice of this Dreamer, for the reasons which I haue formerly shewed; to wit, that hell paines are not executed in this life, where Christ suffered; nor sufferable

to the bodie, which is mortall; nor tolerable to the strength of men or angels. Now though the gifts and graces of Gods Spirit in the soule of Christ exceeded the measure of angels, as well for himselfe who is Lord and Iudge ouer all, as for vs that receiue of his fulnesse; yet in his crucifying, the Scriptures note his *infirmitie*, not his *infinitie*, and auouch him by the *suffering of death, to be inferiour* to the angels, and not in strength of flesh to be superiour vnto them, who are not able to endure hell paines with patience, as we finde by triall in diuels. Wherefore assure thy selfe Christian Reader they are more than follies, which this man fableth of Christes paines *equall* and *euen* to hell fire it selfe; and such is his constancie in his new Diuinitie, that sometimes Christ suffered the *verie paines of hell* themselues, and the *same* which the damned doe; sometimes Christes paine was *equall* to it, and *as hot as hell fire*, and so not the verie same that the damned do suffer, who feele indeed the true force of hell fire, though not in that heat and heigth, which they shall feele it, at and after the day of iudgement.

• Defenc. pa. 51. l. 18. ' *It is most necessarie and most comfortable to be vnderstood of all men, how the Lord assigned to his Sonne in the worke of redemption two persons as it were, or countenances or conditions. His owne naturally, which God euer deerely loued, and our countenance or person or condition, which the Lord truely accursed and punished. His owne Nature felt the sorrow and paine of the curse and hatred: but the hatred and curse was bent against the load of our sinne, wherein he stood foorth as guiltie before God, and appeared as it were clothed therewith.*] The taking of our *Nature, person*, and *cause* by the Sonne of God for our saluation, is a key of Christian pietie that most concerneth, and most profiteth vs, if it be rightly vnderstood. But as Waspes out of sweete flowres gather sharpe and hote liquors; so out of the wholsome mysteries of true religion, you labour to encrease the tartnesse of your vnholsome humour. The eternall and true Sonne of God, by the determinate counsell of his Father, tooke our humane nature (that is, both the bodie and soule of man) into one and the same person with his diuine glorie; that by the sanctitie, power, and dignitie of the one, the baseneſſe and weakeneſſe of the other might with more certaintie, securitie, and facilitie, performe the worke of our redemption. For by the neere and inseparable knitting of those two natures together, not onely the person was able by his owne power to destroy sinne, death, and Satan; and of his owne right to giue the spirit of trueth and grace, and euerlasting righteousneſſe and happineſſe to all that beleeue in him, but his *birth, life, and death*; that is, his humilitie, obedience, and patience were of infinite price and value with God, by reason the same person that so humbled himselfe to obey the will, and suffer the hand of his Father, was also God; though he could not suffer in his diuine, but onely in his humane nature. And to assure vs of his mercies towards vs by making vs partakers of his graces and merits with him; he tooke all his elect into one and the same bodie with him, ioyning himselfe vnto them by the power of his spirit, as the head to the members, that from him they might draw the strength, hope, and ioy of eternall life; and all his meritorious passions, and victorious actions be fully theirs, as performed in their names and to their vses, by him that for their sakes became their like and their leader, I meane their head and their Sauiour.

And because sinne was the thing which seuered vs from Gods holineſſe, and prouoked his iustice against vs, subiecting vs to death and damnation; Christ therefore tooke vpon him the recompence of his Fathers holines by his obedience, & the preseruance of his Fathers iustice by his patience; admitting into his humane soule and bodie, not the *infection* or *pollution* of our sinne, much leſſe the *confusion or destruction* due to vs for sinne, (since he could neither be defiled with our sinne, nor damned for our sinne;) but the *purgation and satisfaction* of our sinnes. To which end, by his obedience he abolished our disobedience; that [d] *as by one mans disobedience* (which was Adam) *many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one* (which is Christ) *manie* (*should*) *be made righteous*; and [e] *through death* (suffered) *in the bodie of his flesh* [f] *for the redemption of* (our) *transgressions he* [g] *reconciled vs to God, and set at peace by the blood* of

[d] Roman. 5.
[e] Coloss. 1.
[f] Hebr. 9.
[g] Colos. 1.

of his Crosse, things in earth, and things in heauen; [h] *bearing our sinnes in his bodie on the tree, that we might be healed by his stripes,* We then were in our selues *defiled, hated, accursed, reiected and condemned* for sinne; yet Christ our Redeemer and Sauiour tooke vs into himselfe, and our cause vpon himselfe, not to partake with vs in our spiritnall filthinesse, and eternall wretchednesse, but to clense vs from the one, and to free vs from the other. So that we did neither defile, nor endanger him; But [i] *his blood washed vs from all our sinnes,* and *by* (his) [k] *death he destroyed him that had power ouer death, euen the deuill.*

[h] 1. Pet. 2.
[i] 1. Iohn 1.
[k] Hebr. 2.

You speake then not onely without booke, but without trueth, when you say, that Christ was euer deerely *loued of God* for his owne condition; yet in or for our condition he was *truely accursed and hated.* You might with as much faith and religion haue said, That Christ by or with our condition was truely *polluted* with sinne, and truely *reiected, confounded, and damned* for sinne. For so were we, and if his taking our cause vpon him doe truely and necessarily subiect him to our deserts and dangers, then can none of these things be auoided, which you so much abhorre as blasphemies. All those things were due to vs in the highest degree, euen when Christ tooke vs and our cause vnto him; and were not released vnto vs, but in Christ and for Christ; and consequently if your two countenances and conditions in Christ be such as you make, you may aswell affirme the last as the first, that is as well pollution of sinne, and damnation for sinne, as malediction and hatred for sinne. But who is so fooliish amongst men, as to thinke or call him a Theefe and a Felon, that vpon repentance of the partie, and recompense for the fact, intreateth and obteineth pardon for one that was a Theefe and a Felon? or so childish to say, that none can ransome a Prisoner condemned to death, but by suffering the same death which the other should haue done? How come you then to conclude of Christ, because it pleased him to be our Mediatour and Redeemer, that therefore he was guiltie of our sinne, or liable to the same death of bodie and soule, which otherwise we should haue suffered? A ransome he payd for vs of farre more value than we were woorth, which was his obedience vnto death, and the shedding of his precious bloud for vs. But he neither owed nor payed the destruction or damnation of himselfe, who neither by his person could, nor by his office needed to suffer any such thing. *He came* [l] *to giue his flesh for the life of the world; and* [m] *to lay downe his life for his sheepe,* that his death might be a ransome for vs, and for our transgressions. Farder or other ransome than this, the Scripture mentioneth none, and therefore God required none, who by his will reuealed hath thorowly expressed what recompense for vs best contented both his holinesse and iustice.

[l] Iohn 6.
[m] Ioh. 10.

Could not Christ stand euer blessed and beloued in his owne Nature and yet be truly accursed and hated in our condition and person?] In the wicked God hateth and accurseth their persons for their sinnes, because their iniquities are neither ransomed, nor repented, and so not pardoned: but in Christ and his members it was and is farre otherwise. God still hateth and abhorreth the sinnes as well of the faithfull, as of the wicked; but because he loueth the persons of his elect whom he hath adopted in Christ his Sonne, therefore he destroyeth their sinnes in them by repentance, and remission thereof for Christes sake, and saueth their persons, whom he can not be sayd to hate; though he truely hate their sinnes, by reason that loue and hatred in God can not be permixed or varied, as they are in men. For Gods loue is perfect and constant, as likewise his hatred; and for that cause either in him is perpetuall without ceasing or altering. If Gods loue to men for Christes sake be so setled, that it can not be remoued, nor transferred to the contrarie, how much more then was the naturall and eternall loue of God towards the person of his Sonne, so fixed, and feruent in the highest degree, that for no cause, and in no condition he could be truely hated or accursed of God? The partaking with vs in *penurie, sorrow, shame and death*; which first came in as signes and effects of Gods iust displeasure against sinne, and curse vpon sinne; made him the more blessed, and beloued of God; since the voluntarie submitting himselfe to these things in his humane nature, taught vs obedience and patience vn-

der

der the mightie hand of God; and how rightly to diſtinguiſh, and willingly to want temporall and earthly bleſsings, that we may be partakers of eternall and heauenly.

It is no conſequent therefore in vs, that we are truely accurſed or hated of God, becauſe we are often depriued of his earthly bleſsings, and ſo ſubiected to his temporall and externall curſes; for that we enioy by faith and hope, greater and perfecter bleſsings; which being in *honor, comfort, and vſe*, farre aboue the other, make vs bleſſed; and ſo remaining bleſſed for poſſeſsing the better, we can not be accurſed for wanting the ſmaller; which indeed doe not truely make men bleſſed or curſed, ſince the lacke of them doth not exclude the true and eternall bleſsings of God. Much leſſe then might the nature or perſon of Chriſt, which ſo greatly abounded in all ſpirituall and heauenly bleſsings, be counted accurſed and hated of God, becauſe he was content to taſte of thoſe things, which were inflicted on our condition as remembrances of Gods diſpleaſure againſt our ſinne. For ſince no mans perſon can be truly bleſſed and truely accurſed with God, in as much as they are perfect contraries, and ſo the preualent ſtate doth prooue the perſon to be either bleſſed or curſed, but not both; much leſſe then might the perſon of Chriſt be both, though he did vndergo ſome things in this life, which were the priuations of Gods outward and earthly bleſsings, and ſo kinds of curſes in their firſt entrance and ordinance. And yet becauſe thoſe temporall and externall curſes were nether *permanent*, nor *predominant* in Chriſts perſon or condition, whether you reſpect his owne or ours in him, and he otherwiſe was a fountaine of bleſsing for himſelfe and all vs; it is euident that Chriſts ſuffering thoſe outward and earthly curſes (for ſo the Scripture calleth the priuations of Gods bleſsings in the ſame kinds) impoſed on mans condition for ſinne, could not preuaile to make him accurſed or hated with God. For as Chriſt was [a] made ſinne for vs, and yet no ſinner, but ſtill continued holy, [b] *harmleſſe, vndefiled, and ſeparate from ſinners*: ſo was he *made a curſe* for vs, and yet not accurſed: by reaſon he endured the ſmart of our ſinne, and taſted of our curſe in this life; but he no waies receiued the *guilt*, or endured the *dominion* of either; much leſſe was he by them *depriued* of any part of his inward and euerlaſting bleſsings; which being by many degrees ſuperiour to the other, muſt needs vphold his bleſſedneſſe, and ouerwhelme the griefe and name of thoſe curſes, which were temporally and tolerably laid on mans ſtate and condition, to make him the humbler in him ſelfe, the mindfuller of his maker, and the warier againſt the flatteries of that old and craftie Serpent the Diuell. You ſhall doe well therefore, Sir Collector, to learne more reaſon, if not more Religion, and euen in naturall things to remember, that the night is darkenes though it haue ſome light; and the tree may be fruitfull, though ſome bough wither, and the Ethiope is blacke, though his teeth be white; and the Bones be hard, though the Marrow be ſoft; and ſo in all caſes and creatures the moſt preuaileth, and nameth the ſubiect, though there be in them ſome ſmall admixture of the contrarie.

[a] 2. Cor. 5.
[b] Hebr. 7.

The next thing you vndertake is the ſaluing of a contradiction, with which, you ſay, you are charged by me: wherein the patient Reader if he be at leaſure and haue the Booke at hand, may take a plaine view of your idle Rouing, and litle vnderſtanding. For I doe not charge you with ſaying, that *Chriſt ſuffered* ALL *he ſuffered in his whole manhood*, as you vntruely [r] report I doe; Let the Page 248. of my concluſion which you cite, be peruſed by him that will: I there expreſly touch the contrary. My words are. [q] *This Antecedent, as you vtter it, doth neither good nor hurt to the Queſtion. That Chriſt ſuffered in his whole Manhood for the Redemption of our ſinnes, is a thing by me neuer doubted, nor denied:* (and) *that he ſuffered all that hee ſuffered in his whole manhood your ſelfe doe diſclaime in the next Page.* Your Indefinite propoſition I ſaid prooued nothing; and your ſelfe diſclaymed the generall. Where now doe I charge you with ſaying that *Chriſt ſuffered all he ſuffered in his whole manhood?* I rather diſcharge you from it, then burthen you with it; onely I added, if you ſhould meane otherwiſe, then your words were vttered, which I did not ſay, you did; then your Antecedent had a flat contradiction in it ſelfe. For ſo you ſhould in one and the

[r] Defenc. pa. 53. li. 20.
[q] Concluſ. pa. 248.

ſame

ſame reaſon affirme, that Chriſt ſuffered *all which he ſuffered in his whole Manhood*, and yet had ſome ſufferings proper to his Soule.

But [r] granting *Chriſt to ſuffer all that he ſuffered in his whole Manhood, yet Gods wrath (as Gods wrath) muſt* (you ſay) *be ſuffered properly and immediatly in his Soule.*] The beſt part of your defence reſteth on *As*, and *As it were*, and you take it for ſome fine tricke to face out your Reader with an As; but where before you committed one abſurditie, now with helping that, you incurre twaine. For ſtill you make one and the ſame ſuffering *proper* to the ſoule, and yet *common* to bodie and ſoule; which in our countrey is a contrarietie, notwithſtanding your As: and adding your As, whereon you preſume; you now affirme, that *Gods wrath (as Gods wrath) muſt be ſuffered properly and immediatly in Chriſtes ſoule*; and ſo the bodily ſufferings of Chriſt by this latter reſolution of yours, were no part of Gods wrath (as Gods wrath;) which is contrarie to your concluſion but the page before, that [s] *all* (Chriſtes) *afflictions ſmall and great were the effects of Gods verie wrath*; and [t] *whatſoeuer Chriſt ſuffered was very wrath properly taken.* But you vnderſtand *ſuffering*, for *diſcerning*, and ſo the ſoule onlie diſcerneth the wrath to be from God, which the bodie ſuffereth.] Then by your vnderſtanding, Chriſtes bodie ſuffered nothing at all, becauſe it diſcerned nothing at all; and ſo Chriſt ſuffered nothing in his whole manhood, which is contrarie to your maine aſſertion. But heere you take ſuffering for ſenſitiue diſcerning, which may be in the bodie, through or from the ſoule.] If you may be ſuffered to leape to and fro, with what ſignifications of words you pleaſe to deuiſe, you may reach what contrarieties you will for the principles of your faith, and one As in the end ſhall mend all. Were it worth the time or paines to oppoſe your trifling As, I could aske you, whether condemnation of ſinne, corruption of nature, and infliction of death on the children of Infidels, be no parts of Gods wrath (as Gods wrath) becauſe they are not yet by age able to diſcerne the wrath of God: or whether the curſe which God layed on the [u] *earth*, and Chriſt on the [x] *figge tree*, were no curſes; becauſe neither the *earth*, nor the *figge tree*, could diſcerne them? But Gods intention maketh it wrath; not mans diſcerning: and in man it is wrath on either part, bodie and ſoule; though onlie the ſoule can diſcerne what and which is wrath from God. As for the goodneſſe of your reaſon, if your *ſay* may ſtand for reaſon, you haue ſayd it indeed; but any thing els that you proue there or elſewhere touching the proper wrath of God, or the ſufferings of Chriſtes ſoule from the immediate hand of God, truely I ſee not; and that I likewiſe leaue, as I do the reſt, to the Readers cenſure.

Hauing freed your ſelfe from contrarieties, *as your maner is, with increaſing them*, you haſten now to vnload your abſurdities: in which, whatſoeuer I haue ſaid, I could thorowly faſten on you, notwithſtanding your new found ſhifts of *directly and indirectly, primarily and ſecundarily*; if it could ſtead Chriſts Church to haue your ſpeeches proued abſurd: but becauſe I ſeeke to mainteine the trueth of our redemption, which is needfull for all men to know; and not to publiſh your follies farder than the pride of your owne reaſons compelled me; as I ſhortly touched them at the firſt, ſo will I now as ſhortly ouerrunne them, to let you ſee, that I miſtake not your words, howſoeuer you will now amend them; and not ſpend long time in diſplaying your ouerſights, which may be better beſtowed about the matter it ſelf. You deny not your words, that *Chriſt aſſumed not our Nature nor any part of it, but only to ſuffer in it properly and immediatly.* You would faine ſalue them if you could: but how? [y] *All men may ſee it to be manifeſt that heere you ſpeake of Chriſtes ſuffering for our redemption.*] Why runne you then ſo vnaduiſedly to his incarnation, where Chriſt *aſſumed our Nature*, and not in his paſſion? [z] *Your meaning (you ſay) was no more but to exclude that which I affirme, that Chriſt tooke his humane ſoule to ſuffer in it only from and by the bodie.* Would you excuſe your follies by belying my words? Where do I affirme, that Chriſt tooke his humane ſoule to ſuffer in it only from and by the bodie? You talke of reaſonable and iuſt aduerſaries; what reaſon or iuſtice call you this, to cite words in my name, which I neuer ſpake nor wrote, and ſo falſely to excuſe your words by mine? And yet there

[r] Defenc pag. 53.li.22.

[s] Defenc.pag. 52.li.1.

[t] Pag. 51.li.3. *Wrath muſt be meaſured by Gods intention not mans diſcerning.*

[u] Gen.3 v 17.

[x] Mar.11.v.21

[y] Defenc.pag. 53.li.37.

[z] Defenc.pag. 54.li 7.

there is good difference betweene these two sentences; *Christ tooke his humane soule to suffer in it only from the bodie* and *Christ assumed not our Nature, nor any part of it, but only to suffer in it properly and immediatly*. The first admitteth Christes sufferings as one respect why he tooke an humane soule; which is verie true: The other excludeth all other respects of taking bodie or soule, saue only to suffer; which is as false as the first is true. That was not your meaning, you wil say. Then learne to ballance your words better, before you so rashly powre them foorth; and blame not your misliker, who readeth the words, but seeth not your meaning. But come to your words affirmatiue, since your negatiue are so farre out of square.

[a] Defenc. pa. 54. l. 10. [a] *I grant Christ intended, that his humane soule should suffer by Sympathie; but yet this he intended not* DIRECTLY *nor* PRIMARIIY *in taking two distinct parts of our humane nature, our soule and our bodie.*] You would seeme learned to the simple by your doughty distinctions of DIRECTLY *and* PRIMARILY: and vnder this visard of empty words, make them beleeue there lay some great mysteries. But take backe your toyes, wherein you put so much trust: the Christian faith was preached, written, and receiued without these needlesse bon-graces of *direct and indirect, primarie and secondarie*: they are but dennes of your deuices to lurke in. Christ tooke our soule and our body vnto him purposely and fully to saue both: which of the twaine hee meant directly and primarily to suffer in, and which indirectly and secondarily, is a fruitlesse speculation of yours. The Christian faith neither hath nor needeth any such questions. For since man consisteth of both, and without either can be no man, the Sonne of God descending for vs and our saluation, directly and primarily purposed to saue, and suffer in both. And because the body being made of earth, was the weaker and baser part of man, (the soule in *will and reason*, though not in *power and light*, as yet, drawing neere to the Angels of God) and by that meanes further remoued from the dignitie and maiestie of the Sonne of God; therefore the Scriptures more carefully expresse that he tooke our flesh; and euen therein suffered death for the ransome of our sinnes; though he wanted not a soule, when he became man; nor any part in him did or could feele and discerne the paine and affliction of his bodie, but onely his soule. The respects of Christs *comming* into the world, and *suffering* for vs, if we will learne, we need not your termes of *directly* and *primarily*; the holy Ghost hath taught vs *this to be a* [b] *faithfull saying, and worthy of all admittance, that Christ Iesus came into the world to saue sinners*. Himselfe is a witnesse without all exception; *that* [c] *he came to serue, and to giue his life a ransome for manie*. Yea his [d] *flesh, which he gaue for the life of the world, is the bread that came downe from heauen*. If then [e] *things in earth and things in heauen were pacified by the blood of his Crosse*, and we *reconciled through death in the bodie of his flesh, in which he bare our sinnes on the tree*: It is certaine that Christes bodie, blood, and death on the Crosse, and consequently his sufferings from these and by these, were directly and primarily intended as the meanes of our redemption and reconciliation: and your vaine imagination of the soules most principall disposition, *in comparison whereof Christ* (say you) *did not respect this sensitiue suffering by Sympathie with and from the bodie, which is common to vs with beastes*; is a lewde and irreligious reproch to the death and Crosse of Christ Iesus. For, what if the bodie of a beast may be crucified, and his blood shed, by piercing and wounding as Christs was? shall wee therefore say that Christs death and passion were common to brute beastes? Would any man frame his heart thus to think, or his tongue thus to speake, but he that is bruter then a beast? Of your hell paines may it not more truly be said, that as you would cast them on Christes soule, they should be common to him with deuils; who I troe are worse then beastes? But these bee meete matters for such a master in Israel as you are.

[b] 1. Tim. 1.
[c] Matth 20.
[d] Iohn 6.
[e] Colos. 1.

You vntruely and vnlearnedly suppose the corporall afflictions of the Saints, and of Christ himselfe, to pierce no further then into the externall sensitiue part, which you make common to them with beasts: and sufferings *proper to reasonable creatures you* admit none, but your hell paines, which are common to them with deuils. So

that

that by your profound diuinitie all Chriſtian men ſuffer either as beaſts, or as deuils. Which errour of yours I haue ſufficiently refuted before; and by that enformed the Reader that the chaſtening and afflicting the ſoule of man by temporall and externall meanes and paines from the bodie is *proper* to men, and not *common* to beaſts, who haue no ſoules, nor to deuils, who haue no bodies: and that God doth thus chaſten and correct his children, whoſe patience is precious in his ſight; thereby to trie, encreaſe, and quicken his graces in them, which is blaſphemie to affirme either of beaſts or deuils. And from what ſpirit this can proceede, to yeelde Chriſt no more ſenſe, taſte, nor thought of his bodily ſufferings, then you doe to a beaſt, let the Reader iudge; for my part I abhorre ſuch heatheniſh, if not helliſh compariſons. But *ſenſe* you will ſay, *is common to man and beaſt.*] I haue no doubt that beaſts doe *heare* and *ſee*, *ſmell*, *taſte* and *feele*, as well as men; but euen in all theſe fiue, and ſpecially in hearing, ſeeing, and feeling, the ſoule of man ſheweth difference ſufficient betwixt a man and a beaſt. For man by his immortall and reaſonable ſpirit, diſcerneth and vnderſtandeth what he heareth, ſeeth, or feeleth, which beaſts cannot doe; and he conceaueth not onely the things, which affect his ſenſes, but the cauſes, effects, adiuncts, conſequents, and remedies thereof; and thereby frameth himſelfe, if he be religious, to behold therein the worke and will of God, which is as farre from beaſts, as reaſon and grace. Though then eares, eyes, and ſinewes be common to men with beaſtes; yet in them and by them the ſoule of man worketh, and ſuffereth; which becauſe beaſts haue not, it is a verie groſſe ouerſight of yours (Sir Diſcourſer) to make the bodily ſufferings of Chriſt common to him with beaſtes; in which the ſoule of Chriſt ſhewed ſo much obedience, pacience, ſubmiſsion, deuotion, and loue, that God accepted thoſe ſufferings violently and iniuriouſly inflicted on Chriſts bodie, but humbly, religiouſly, and willingly receiued in his ſoule, as the full ſatisfaction for our ſinnes.

[f] *There is no reaſon in the world, nor likelyhood, that the naturall facultie in Chriſts ſoule of proper and immediate ſuffering for our ſinnes ſhould haue no vſe; and a ſuffering of paines onely from and by the bodie ſhould be ſufficient; when as in his doing of righteouſneſſe for vs, his ſoules ioynt obedience, and mutually knit together in and with his body was not alone ſufficient. This muſt needes be a perfect reaſon for vs againſt you, except you could by expreſſe Scripture diſproue this proportion of like neceſſitie betweene the operation of the proper faculties of Chriſts humane ſoule, that is betweene his doing and his ſuffering for vs, which you ſhall neuer be able to doe.*] When and how came you by this authoritie or libertie, that you may ſay what you will in matters of faith without all warrant of holy Scripture, and your fanſies muſt ſtand for authentike, *except I can diſproue them by expreſſe Scripture?* Nay firſt proue them, before we receiue them, as you and all other Chriſtians ought to doe, if you will haue them paſſe for grounds of religion; and then if I can not diſproue them by the ſame Scriptures, they ſhall go for good. An anſwer to this perfect reaſon of yours if you would haue, I anſwere you with Tertullian: [g] *Non recipio, quod extra Scripturam de tuo infers. I receiue not this, which you bring of your owne without the Scripture.* And with Athanaſius: [h] *If you will babble other things beſides thoſe which are written, why ſtriue you with vs, that are perſuaded neither to heare, nor to ſpeake any thing beſides the Scriptures? Shew vs this proper and immediate ſuffering* for ſinnes *in the ſoule of Chriſt* (which you ſo much talke of) by the Scriptures, and we wil thinke our ſelues bound to anſwer it; otherwiſe it is as eaſily reiected, as it is offered.

[f] Defenc. pag. 55. l. 8.

[g] Tertull. de carne Chriſti. c. 7.

[h] Athanaſius de incarnatione Chriſti.

But there is no reaſon in the world nor likelyhood it ſhould bee otherwiſe.] Indeede there is no reaſon in the world, nor likelyhood it ſhould be ſo as you haue ſaid. For in Chriſtes *doings and ſufferings* there was obſerued, and muſt bee confeſſed a cleane contrarie courſe. His doings were all iuſt and holy, as hee himſelfe was, and proceeded firſt from his own mind and will, by the immediate power and grace of Gods ſpirit in him, whenceſoeuer the outward occaſions were offered him. The ſufferings which he receiued in his body, were all vniuſt and violent, proceeding from others, that wickedly perſued and oppreſſed him; though in all his afflictions he beheld with his

Proper and immediate ſuffering for ſinnes in the Soule of Chriſt, is the Defenders proper deuice.

his minde,and with his will obeyed the [i] *hand* and *Counſell* of God,thus by the malice and ignorance of his enemies [k] *fulfilling thoſe things, which God before had ſhewed by the mouth of all his Prophets, that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer.* So that Chriſtes obedience and patience in all his perſecutions, came from the ſame inward powers and graces of his ſoule,from which all his actions did;though the wrongs and violences were firſt offered his body by the wicked. In his inward affections and paſsions of *feare, griefe, and ſorrow*; his minde was the firſt apprehender of the cauſes, that mooued them; and his will the admitter of them. But as in all his actions he was holy and iuſt,ſo in all his affections and inward paſsions, were they neuer ſo grieuous vnto him, he was not only righteous, and innocent, but religious, and patient; and other paſsions of the ſoule in Chriſt, the Scripture knoweth none. As for your ſuffering of hell paines in the ſoule of Chriſt properly from the immediate hand of God, it is a deuice proper and immediate to your ſelfe,which you would faine bring in as an other and chiefe meane of our redemption, beſides that which the Scripture ſpeaketh of Chriſtes ſufferings. Wherein you muſt pardon me and all true beleeuers, for not accepting your fanſies as any parts of our faith. We reade that God is the [l] *Father of mercies*: that he is the tormentor of ſoules in hell with his immediate hand, wee doe not reade; much leſſe that hee ſo tormented the ſoule of his Sonne in the time of his paſsion, which is the maine plat of your new found hell. The iudge ſhall ſay, *Depart from me yee curſed into euerlaſting fire, prepared for the diuell and his Angels.* Which fire we confeſſe is created and eſtabliſhed by the might, power, and hand of God,as a meane to torment the damned,both men and Angels,according to their deſerts;but that this fire is nothing elſe, but the immediate hand of God tormenting the wicked ſpirits in hell, as it did the ſoule of his owne Sonne on the Croſſe; I take either of theſe aſſertions, not to diſſemble with you, to bee a groſſe and palpable error; ſtrange to the Scriptures and ſtrange to the whole Church of God, before theſe our dayes, wherein ſome make it their glorie rather newly to inuent,then rightly to beleeue, what the Scriptures deliuer, and the Church of Chriſt from the beginning receiued,and reuerenced as principles of Chriſtian truth and pietie.

i Acts. 4.
k Acts. 3.
l 2. Cor. 1.

The next point, to wit that by your new found Rules, you make *Chriſtes fleſh needleſſe to our redemption*, you graunt is *an* [m] *horrible hereſie*; but you aske *how it followeth* vpon your words.] I did not charge you with maintaining purpoſely that wicked hereſie, but with reaſoning ſo fooliſhly, & ſpeaking ſo vnaduiſedly, that without your direct meaning, that error was conſequent to your words. You would faine ſee how. Truely it followeth ſtronger vpon your words then I would wiſh, or you are ware. For whatſoeuer was by Gods ordinance needfull to the worke of our redemption, that made properly to our redemption. But the *ſufferings of Chriſts* ſoule by or from the body (which you call by Simpathy) did not make properly to our Redemption, as you ſay: *ergo* the ſufferings of Chriſts Soule by or from his body were not needfull to the worke of our Redemption. Now if the ſufferings of Chriſts fleſh were not needfull to our Redemption, then was his fleſh needeleſſe for our Redemption by your illation. Which of theſe propoſitions can you auoyd, but they are either plainly true, as the Maior: or fully yours, as all the reſt? Our Redemption being no naturall thing, but wholy depending on the counſell and will of God; whatſoeuer God appointed as neceſſary for our Redemption, that moſt properly made to our Redemption; and things needleſſe could not appertaine thereto, but improperly. Of all men you may not ſtart from this force of the word PROPER. For with you, *improper wrath* is no wrath, *improper puniſhment* is no puniſhment, and therefore *improper* belonging to our Redemption, is no belonging at all, but needleſſe to our Redemption. And ſince Chriſts ſufferings in his body by your aſſertion, *did not make properly to our Redemption*; it is euident they were needleſſe to our Redemption: and if the ſufferings of his fleſh were needleſſe, the fleſh it ſelfe was needleſſe to our Redemption, euen by your owne Concluſions. *For* [n] *Chriſt* (you ſay) *aſſumed not our Nature, nor any part of it, but onely to ſuffer in it properly and immediatly, euen for the very purchaſing our Redemption thereby.*

m Defens. pag. 55. li. 29.
n Treat. pa. 17. l. 18.

Otherwiſe

Otherwiſe he had NO NEEDE *to aſſume both, but either the one part or the other.* You heare your owne Doctrine, that except Chriſt ſuffered properly and immediatly in either part of our nature for the purchaſing of our Redemption thereby, *he had* NO NEEDE *to aſſume both.* But Chriſt ſuffered not properly and immediatly in his fleſh for the purchaſing of our Redemption thereby, if your words be true, that bodily ſufferings *properly made not to our Redemption: He had no neede* therefore to *aſſume* fleſh, in which he ſuffered nothing, that properly made to our Redemption. Here are the Cart-ropes of your owne collections; the ſequels whereof if you deny, you muſt recall your owne anſwers and arguments, ſo peremptorily pronounced in your Treatiſe.

How falſe your Reſolutions are, and how diſſonant from the ſacred Scriptures, will eaſily appeare to him, that hath but halfe an eye. For the ſufferings of Chriſts body were not decreed by God to make no more to our Redemption, then Chriſts [o] *hunger* or his [o] *ſleepe*, which are your Reſemblances; but they were *directly* intended by God himſelfe in Chriſts incarnation, *and expreſly* foreſhewed by the mouthes of his Prophets, and *neceſſarily* to be borne in the body of Chriſt, before we could be redeemed, in reſpect of Gods will ſo ſetled and reuealed. The Apoſtle to the Hebrewes going about to prooue that Chriſt was to offer his body and ſhed his bloud for our ſanctification and Redemption, layeth this for the ground; [p] *Euery high Prieſt is ordained to offer gifts and Sacrifices. Wherefore it was of* NECESSITIE, *that this Man (Chriſt) ſhould haue ſomewhat to offer.* For (elſe) *he were not a Prieſt.* And concluding what muſt be offered; Chriſt (ſaith he) *being* [q] *an high Prieſt of good things to come, by his owne bloud entred in once into the holy place, and found eternall Redemption for vs. Wherefore* [r] *when (Chriſt) commeth into the world, he ſaith; Sacrifice and offering* (which are offered by the Law) *thou wouldeſt not, but a body haſt thou ordained me; then ſaid I, Loe I come to doe thy will, O God. By the which will we are ſanctified, euen by the offering of the body of Ieſus Chriſt once.* The ſuffering of Chriſts body and ſhedding of his blood were exactly purpoſed, and openly reuealed in Chriſts incarnation, as the WILL OF GOD for our Redemption; and the offering of Chriſts body on the Croſſe WAS OF NECESSITIE, as the Apoſtle teacheth. Our Sauiour ſaid as much; when he [s] *began to ſhew his Diſciples, that he muſt ſuffer many things of the Elders, and of the high Prieſts, and Scribes, and be ſlaine, and riſe againe the third day.* And when they had forgotten his words, the Angels put them in mind thereof after his reſurrection, bidding them [t] *remember, how he ſpake vnto you ſaying, the Sonne of man* MVST BE *deliuered into the hands of ſinfull men, and be crucified, and the third day riſe againe.* And when ſome of them reporting how he was condemned to death by the Rulers and crucified, skant beleeued he was riſen againe, himſelfe ſaid vnto them; [u] *O fooles, and ſlow of hart to beleeue all, that the Prophets haue ſpoken. Ought not Chriſt to haue ſuffered theſe things, and to enter into his glory?* And to all his Apoſtles; [x] *Thus it is written, and* THVS OVGHT CHRIST TO HAVE SVFFERED. So that Chriſts bodily ſufferings for our Redemption were *foreſhewed* by the Prophets, and OF NECESSITIE to be *performed* by Chriſt, in regard they were FOREDECREED of God, as a part of the ranſome for our ſinnes. For though Pilate with *the* [y] *Gentils and the people of Iſraell gathered themſelues together againſt Ieſus*, yet did they nothing to him but *whatſoeuer the hand and counſell of God determined before to be done.* What greater neceſsitie or proprietie can you prooue by the Scriptures for any other things, which you dreame the Soule of Chriſt ſuffered from the immediat hand of God? If theſe things did not properly make for our Redemption, but *indirectly and ſecondarily and by conſequent* as you prate; ſhew by the word of God, that your hell paines pertained more directly to our redemption then theſe things, which the Scripture ſpeaketh of. But with your rable of inſolent and impertinent termes you come right within Tertullians Rule. [z] *You beleeue* (theſe things) *without the Scriptures, that you may beleeue* (them) *againſt the Scriptures. Yea,* [a] *with a magniloquent vanitie you delude the eares of the ſimple with deceitfull words, whiles you ſhunne to beleeue that of Chriſt, which he hath taught to be beleeued of himſelfe.*

[o] Defenc. pa. 55. l. 37.

[p] Hebr. 8.

[q] Hebr. 9.

[r] Hebr. 10.

[s] Matth. 16. [s] Mark. 8. [s] Luk. 9.

[t] Luk. 24. v. 7.

[u] Luke. 24. v. 25. 26.

[x] Verſ. 46.

[y] Acts 4. verſ. 28.

[z] *Tertullian aduerſ. hæreticos. cap. 22.*

[a] *Hilarius ad Conſtantium Auguſt.*

The Soules ſuffering by Sympathie is the Defenders owne phraſe.

It may be, that anſwerable to the reſt of your Idle ſhifts, you wil now ſay, Chriſts bodily ſufferings made directly and properly to our Redemption, but the Soules ſuffering them by Sympathie did not.] This is an other of your owne phraſes brought in of purpoſe by you to blind the ſimple, and to brabble with the learned. What you meane by Sympathie knoweth no man but your ſelfe. And therefore if that word haue in it any ambiguitie, the fault is yours, who firſt vſed it, and not mine. I teach as Nature and Scripture doe warrant me, that the Soule of man ſuffereth, as well by the force of her ſenſe, as of her vnderſtanding; and to the body of it ſelfe, I attribute neither motion, ſenſe, nor life, but all theſe are the powers and effects of the Soule in the Body; and ſo is paine an impreſsion on the Soule from or by the Body. As therefore the Soule ſeeth the workes of God by the eyes of her body, and heareth his words by the eares of her fleſh, and neither of theſe by Sympathie: ſo the whole body and euery part thereof ſerueth as an Inſtrument, or a meane for the Soule to feele in her ſelfe, and not by Sympathie, the touch of Gods hand vpon the body. Had the Body ſenſe of it ſelfe without or beſides the operation of the Soule, then might it iuſtly be called a Sympathie, for the one to feele what the other ſuffereth and feeleth, as friends doe, that are like affected ech with other: but becauſe all diſcerning by ſenſe in mans body is proper to the Soule, I doe not ſee how the Soule ſhould be exactly ſaid to diſcerne and feele by Sympathie thoſe things, which the body receaueth; but rather by her originall and naturall faculties of ſuffering from and by the Body, with which ſhe is ioyned to doe all in the body, and ſuffer all from the body. Howbeit I ſtriue not about the word, which ſome learned men haue vſed for the Communion of ſuffering betweene the Soule and the Body; but onely note that the word was firſt vttered by you, not by me; and therefore if you cauill with the ſignification of that word, you Cauill with your ſelfe and not with me. It ſufficeth for me, that not onely Chriſtians but euen miſcreants, by the paines of their body haue perceiued and acknowledged the hand of God vpon them ſelues. *The* [b] *hand of God hath touched me*, ſaith Iob, when he was ſpoyled of all his goods, and his body blaſted by Satan with a ſore diſeaſe. Dauid in a ſharp ſickneſſe, that conſumed his bones, and turned his moyſture into the drought of Summer, ſaid to God; [c] *thine hand is heauie vpon me.* Yea the Philiſtimes of *Aſhdod, Gath and Ekron*, when they were plagued with Emerods for detaining the Ark of God, could ſay, [d] *his hand is ſore vpon vs.* And ſo much Paul told Elimas the Sorcerer, when he withſtood the preaching of the Faith; *Behold the* [e] *hand of the Lord is vpon thee, and thou ſhalt be blind.* Of Chriſt then there can be no doubt, but he felt the hand, and beheld the counſell of God in all, that the Iewes did vnto him; which whether you may call a ſuffering by Sympathie or no, maketh nothing to my Queſtion or purpoſe. It is euident by the Scriptures that God by theſe outward paines vrgeth the Soules of his Seruants to ſeeke him; and Chriſt without vrging, ſubmitted himſelfe to the cruell and bloody rage of the Iewes, as to Gods decree and ordinance for our Redemption; who [f] *could haue no power at all againſt* (him) *vnleſſe it had been giuen* (them) *from aboue.*

[b] Iob. 19.

[c] Pſal. 32.

[d] 1. Sam. 5. v. 6.

[e] Acts 13.

[f] Iohn 19.

Hence you goe to examine the deriuation of ſinne from Adam, the ſatisfaction for ſinne by Chriſt, the beginning of ſinne in the firſt man, and the continuing thereof in vs all: matters of good waight and worthy due conſideration; wherein if either you did vnderſtand what I ſaid, or not ſo haſtily catch after ſhewes, that as ſoone deceiue you, I ſhould need fewer words to repreſſe your follies. But ſuch is your courſe and cuſtome, that you flie after feathers, and thinke you get great purchaſes. In your Treatiſe you framed an obiection in my name, as if I had reaſoned, that [g] *Adams ſinne was propagated into vs not by our Soules, but onely by our fleſh, which onely we deriue from him: and therefore Chriſt onely by his fleſh and not by his Soule procured ſatisfaction for vs.* Indeede I might haue ſaid that our Bodies, and not our Soules, are deriued from Adam, and ſhewed the conſent of Scriptures, Fathers, and the beſt writers on euery ſide, as well Proteſtants and Papiſts, as Pagan Philoſophers all ioyning in that opinion; but I thought not good then to trouble the people with that Queſtion: and therefore

[g] Trea. pag. 19. li 7.

fore I reſted on a knowne and confeſſed principle of Chriſtian truth and faith, that we inherite pollution and death from Adams fleſh, without reſoluing whence the Soule commeth, which I did refraine before the multitude to ſpeake of. And ſince by the Scriptures the firſt Adam was a [h] *figure* of the ſecond, the fleſh of Chriſt giuen for vs muſt be as able to clenſe and quicken vs, as Adams fleſh was to defile and kill vs. To this reaſon you here pike many quarrels, but in the end you ſlide it of, as elſe where anſwered. Your firſt quarrell is, that I force, what I promiſed to forbeare, euen the difficultie whence the Soule of man is deriued. As though the grounds of our Faith might be doubted, becauſe that Queſtion in former times was vndecided? That we deriue fleſh from Adam, and haue men for the Fathers of our bodies, did neuer man yet, that was in his right wits, call in Queſtion, were he Chriſtian or Heretick, Iewe, Turke, or Pagan. That likewiſe wee deriue with our fleſh pollution and death from Adam, the faith of Chriſt rightly grounded on the Scriptures doth not ſuffer vs to ſtagger at, though whence our Soules are giuen vs, ſome haue ſtood perplexed. You thinke it much I ſhould deliuer the one, which is the pollution of our fleſh profeſsing not to determine the other; and make it in me a kind of inconſtancie to vrge the propagation of the fleſh with her ſequels, of which no Chriſtian may doubt, becauſe I thought it not fit to trouble the people with the deriuation of the Soule. But ſo hath the Church of Chriſt alwaies done; it hath cleerely confeſſed the deriuation of ſinne and death from Adam, and made it neceſſarie for all Chriſtian men ſo to beleeue, though ſome would not haſtily, or could not eaſily reſolue the doubt, whence the Soule commeth.

[h] Rom. 5. v. 14.

[1] *If our Soules ariſe in Generation from Adam, as well as our fleſh, how can your reaſon be good by any poſſibilitie?*] The conceit that our Soules are ingendred together with the ſeede of our bodies, is ſo groſſe and peſtilent an error, and ſo repugnant to all authoritie Humane and Diuine, and ſo diſſident from dayly experience, that I had no cauſe to make that a Queſtion in Religion, or therein to refraine the audience of the people. [k] *Ex nullo homine generantur Animæ. Soules are not generated from any man,* ſaith Ambroſe: [l] τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν, ᾧ διαλογιζόμεθα, ὃ κατὰ τὴν τῦ σπέρματος καταβολὴν γινόμενον. *The principall facultie of the ſoule,* ſayth Clemens Alexandrinus, *by which we haue diſcourſe of reaſon, is not engendered by proiection of ſeed.* [m] *Anima vtique nunquam ab homine gignentium originibus prebetur. The ſoule neuer commeth from man in the generation of men,* ſayth Hilarie. Ierom vpon thoſe words of Salomon, the ſpirit (of man) after death returneth to God that gaue it, writeth thus: [n] *Ex quo ſatis ridendi ſunt, qui putant animas cum corporibus ſeri; & non à Deo, ſed à corporum parentibus generari. Whereby they are worthy to be thorowly derided, which thinke ſoules to be ſowen together with bodies, and not to be from God, but to be generated by the parents of* (our) *bodies. For ſince the fleſh returneth to the earth, and the ſpirit to God that gaue it,* IT IS MANIFEST, *that God is the Father of our ſoules, and not Man.* And when Ruffinus profeſſed he could not tell how the ſoule came to be ioyned with the body, whether by propagation from Man, or infuſion from God; Ierom replieth: If (the ſoule) [o] *come by propagation, then the ſoules of men, which we grant are eternall, and the bruit beaſts, which die with the bodie, haue one condition. And doeſt thou maruell that the* (Chriſtian) *brethren are ſcandalized at thee, when thou ſweareſt thou knoweſt not that, which the Churches of Chriſt confeſſe they know?* Theodoret in many places giueth the like teſtimonie: [p] *The Church beleeuing the diuine Scriptures, ſayth, the ſoule was* (and is) *created as well as the bodie, not hauing any cauſe of her creation from naturall ſeed, but from the Creatours will, after the bodie once perfectly made. The moſt diuine Moſes writeth, that Adams bodie was firſt made, and afterward his ſoule inſpired into him, Againe in his lawes the ſame Prophet plainly teacheth vs, that the bodie is firſt made, and then the ſoule created and infuſed. And bleſſed Iob ſpake thus to God: Diddeſt thou not powre me forth like milke, and thicken me like curds of cheeſe? thou diddeſt clothe me with skinne and fleſh; and compact me with bones and ſinewes. And when by this Iob had ſhewed the frame of his bodie to be firſt made, he addeth a thankeſgiuing for his ſoule, ſaying; Life and mercie thou laydſt with me, and thy watchfulneſſe preſerued*

[1] Defenc. pa. 57. li. 3. *The Soule is not deriued from the Fathers of our Bodies.*

[k] *Ambroſ. de Noe & arca. cap. 4.*

[l] *Clemens Stromat. li. 6.*

[m] *Hilarius de Trinitate. li. 10.*

[n] *Hieronymus in Eccleſiaſt. cap. 12.*

[o] *Idem Apologia 2. aduerſ. Ruffinum.*

[p] *Theodoret. diuinorum decretorum Epitome li. 5. cap. de homine.*

my ſpirit. [q] *This confeſſion touching the ſoule and bodie of man, the Church hath learned from the diuine Scriptures.* The ſame reaſons and reſolutions he repeateth elſewhere in his fift [r] ſermon touching the nature of man. Leo the great: *The* [t] *Catholike faith doth conſtantly and truely preach, that the ſoules of men were not before they were inſpired into their bodies; nec ab alio incorporentur niſi ab opifice Deo; neither are put into the bodie by any other workeman than God.* And Auſten himſelfe, who to decline that difficultie, how the ſoule commeth to be infected with originall ſinne, was the firſt that made this doubt, whether the ſoule were created and infuſed, or els deriued from the ſoule, though not by the ſeed of the parents; refuſeth Tertullians opinion, That the ſoule riſeth from the ſeed of the bodie, as *peruerſe and ſtrange* to the Church of Chriſt: [t] *They*, ſayth he, *which affirme ſoules to be drawen from the parents, if they follow Tertullians opinion, tooke them to be* (in ſome ſort) *bodies, & corpulentis ſeminibus exoriri, and to riſe from the ſeed of the bodie; quo quid peruerſius dici poteſt? than the which what can be ſayd more peruerſe?* Now in Auſtens rehearſall of hereſies, Tertullians aſſertion, That the ſoule was a (kind of) bodie, is excuſed as no hereſie; but his conceit, That [u] *the ſtate of the ſoule is propagated by traduction (of ſeed)* is expreſly put amongſt his [u] errours.

From theſe auncient Fathers ſwarue not the beſt of our new writers. Bullinger: [x] *All thoſe* (other) *opinions haue beene refuted with ſound reaſons by the writers Eccleſiaſticall, and that receiued and auouched for the trueſt, which teacheth the ſoule to be created of nothing, and to be infunded into the bodie from God, when the childe hath hir perfect ſhape in his mothers wombe. And that we are not at this day otherwiſe created of God, than by infunding the ſoule into the bodie firſt faſhioned, Iob is a moſt plentifull witneſſe, where he ſaith: Thine hands (ô God) haue made me, and faſhioned me wholly. Didſt thou not ſtroke me like milke, and curd me like cheeſe? with ſkinne and fleſh thou couereds me, with bones and ſinewes thou ioyntedſt me. Lo here the conception and formation of mans bodie in his mothers wombe moſt excellently deſcribed. It followeth now in Iob touching the ſoule: Life and mercie thou haſt giuen me, and thy viſitation hath kept my ſpirit. Beholde life, that is the ſoule, infuſed of God into the bodie alreadie framed. Therefore rightly and according to the Scriptures do we holde, that mens ſoules are created of God, and infunded into their bodies perfectlie framed before in the wombe.* Caluine: [y] *God is the Father as well of the ſoule as of the bodie; and the only Father, if we ſpeake properly: yet becauſe in creating ſoules he vſeth not the (ſeruice, or) worke of man, after a peculiar maner, by a kinde of excellencie, he is called the Father of ſpirits.* Beza: [z] *I thinke not good to diſſemble this, that the doctrine of traducing the ſoule,* (from the parents) *ſeemeth to me verie abſurd, becauſe either the whole, or a part muſt be traduced. If the whole, the fathers of force muſt preſently die,* (hauing wholly loſt their ſoules:) *If a part, how can a part be cut off from a ſimple* (and ſpirituall) *ſubſtance?* Vrſinus: [a] *We grant the ſoules of all men are created of God, when they beginne to liue; for they at one time are created, and vnited to the bodie.* Zanchius: [b] *That the whole ſoule is created by God, I beleeue, confeſſe, and teach with the whole Church, and auouch it may be prooued by firme reaſons.* His reaſons are largely deliuered in the fift chapter of the ſame booke, and all that can be ſayd for generation and propagation of ſoules againſt their creation by the immediate worke of God without any humane meanes, is there learnedly and ſufficiently refuted. So that in reſpect of Auſtens doubt, whether God deriue the ſoule from the ſoules of the parents, when he putteth it into the bodie being firſt finiſhed, or createth it of nothing, as he did Adams ſoule, I did relinquiſh that in queſtion; but as for the *ſoules riſing in and by generation from Adam*, which you now catch holde of, I neuer meant to fauor that fanſie ſo much as to make it any queſtion in matters of faith; ſince with one conſent Philoſophie, Phyſicke, euident experience, and the Scriptures themſelues conuince that to be an erroneous and manifeſt vntruth.

[c] *I haue ſhewed before at large, that your Minor is nothing true: for pollution that is ſinne and reall iniquitie is not in our fleſh without a ſoule.*] You ſaid ſo much in effect before in your Treatiſe, and if your word bee a proofe, you haue ſhewed it; but other proofe you

[q] Idem. de prouident.

[r] Idem de curandis Græcorum affectib. Sermo. 5.

[t] Leo. epiſt. 93. al Turibium ca 10.

[t] Auguſt. epiſt. 157. ad Optat.

[u] Auguſt. de Hereſibus in Tertullian.

[x] Bullin. decad. 4. Serm. 10.

[y] Caluinus in epiſt. ad Heb. cap. 12.

[z] Beza in libello Quæſtionum & Reſponſionum.

[a] Vrſin. tract. Theolog. de peccato.

[b] Zanchius de operibus Dei parte 3. lib. 2. cap. 4.

[c] Defenc. pa. 57. l. 8.

you bring none, ſaue that which inclineth rather to hereſie then Chriſtianitie, if you ſpeake to the purpoſe, and ſtand to your words as they lie either in your *Treatiſe*, or in your *Defence*. In your Treatiſe you ſay, [d] *Let vs not bee curious in this hard point, holding this moſt euident trueth, that ſinne is a proper and vnſeparable qualitie of the ſoule, and can not be found being in any thing, where a reaſonable ſoule is wanting.*] If you take the word *ſinne* in his right ſenſe, as you ought to doe ſpeaking of the propagation of ſinne, and ſo compriſe in it as well originall as actuall ſinne; here are two groſſe errors euen againſt the Chriſtian faith. For if ſinne *can not be found in any thing, where a reaſonable ſoule is wanting*; then can no ſinne bee found in the deuils, for they haue no ſoules. [e] *Angels to haue ſoules I doe not remember that euer I read in the diuine and canonicall Scriptures*, ſaith Auſten. If Angels haue not ſoules, then deuils haue none; for they were holy, and now are reprobate, but ſtill Angels, as Chriſt calleth the deuill and his Angels. Againe, ſinne being either actual or originall; children in their mothers wombe haue not actuall ſinne, neither diſpute we of actuall ſinne, when we talke of deriuing and inheriting ſinne; for actuall ſinne is neither derlued, nor inherited. If then that, which is conceiued, haue no originall ſinne ſo long as the ſoule wanteth; ſince *you* [f] *content your ſelfe*, as you ſay, *with the opinion of the moſt at this preſent*, that the ſoule doth not paſſe together with the ſeede of our generation and conception; moſt euidently you denie original ſinne, till the ſoule come to quicken the body; and ſo contradict the expreſſe words of Dauid, who ſaith, *Hee was* [h] *begotten in ſinne and conceiued in iniquitie.* No maruell then you ſtumble at Ambroſes words, that *wee are* [i] *defiled, before we haue life*, as repugnant to your purpoſe; when you ſpare not Dauids words, who ſaith as much, if not more then Ambroſe.

[d] Trea. pa. 21. li. 28.

[e] *Auguſt. Retract. li. 1. cap. 11.*

[f] Matth. 25.

[h] Pſal. 51.

[i] *Ambroſ. in Apologia Dauid. cap. 11.*

I [k] *pray omit mens Authorities in this caſe, and proone by ſound reaſon, that which you would. For pollution that is ſinne and reall iniquitie, is not in our fleſh without a ſoule.*] We were beſt to omit all learning, experience, and trueth; that onely your conceits may ſtand vpright. It hath pleaſed God in things naturall, by ſight and experience to leade Philoſophers and Phyſitians to the trueth of his workes; as farre as mans wit can reach; and with one conſent they reſolue, that the reaſonable ſoule of man neither riſeth in the body, nor commeth to the body preſently with the conception. Mothers and midwiues doe certainely diſtinguiſh the time of quickning, from the time of conceiuing; and hee that would perſwade them, that the child quickneth immediately vpon the conception, might as eaſily bring them to beleeue, that the moone is made of a greene cheeſe. But *ſound reaſon you require.*] As if trueth of experience were not the ſoundeſt reaſon men can giue, till God doe ſpeake. That the body is not ſtraight way framed vpon the conception, many thouſand ſcapes in all femals, and namely in women doe perfectly prooue. The Phyſitians and Philoſophers interpoſe many monthes betweene the conception and perfection of the body. Iob himſelfe declareth that we were firſt [l] *as milke*, when we were in ſeede; then [l] *condenſed as curds*, when we turned to bloud; and after that [l] *clothed with skinne and fleſh*, and laſtly [l] *compacted with bones and ſynewes*, before we *receiued life and ſoule from God.* The new Teſtament noteth theſe three degrees in forming our bodies; to wit, *ſeede, bloud, and fleſh*; and calleth our parents the *fathers of our bodies*, but not of our ſpirits, which God alone is. If then nothing can be defiled with ſinne, as by your doctrine you reſolue, except it haue a reaſonable ſoule; of neceſsitie wee either had reaſonable ſoules at the inſtant of our conception, which is a moſt famous falſehood repugnant to al learning, experience, and to the words of Iob; or elſe we were not conceiued in ſinne, which is a flat hereſie diſſenting from the plaine words of the ſacred Scriptures, and from the Chriſtian faith. Chooſe which of theſe iſſues you will; you either way ſhew your ſelfe to haue little ſenſe, and leſſe trueth.

[k] Defenc. pag. 57. li. 10.

[l] Iob 10.

But *I muſt* [m] *adde the word onely, or elſe I ſay nothing againſt you.*] No good Sir, that ſhall not need. We inherite pollution by Adams fleſh before our Soules come to our bodies; and that ſufficeth for my reaſon, though the pollution, which we inherite, be deriued as well from the Soules, as from the Bodies of our Parents; becauſe their bo-

[m] Defenc. pa. 57. li. 13.

dies, when they begat vs, were ioyned with their Soules, whoſe naturall and animall faculties were ſtill in them wholy corrupted, and their ſinnes communicated vnto their bodies, though their ſpirits were renued and ſanctified. The very Seed, of which we were begotten and conceaued, was an *vncleane* thing, (as Iob calleth it, when he
[n] Iob.14. ſaith; [n] *Who can make a cleane thing of an vncleane?*) and *corruptible*; that is full of
[o] 1.Pet.1. Corruption, as Peter nameth it when he ſaith; [o] *borne againe not of corruptible Seed*, of which we were borne by our Parents. The corruption of ſinne then is firſt deriued by our Bodies, though our Soules be likewiſe wrapped in the ſame pollution and condemnation, that our bodies are; and ſinne ſtill abideth and rebelleth in our fleſh ſo long as we liue, though our Soules be waſhed and clenſed from ſinne. And therefore
[p] Rom.8.v.3. the Apoſtle calleth our fleſh, [p] *the fleſh of ſinne*, in the ſimilitude of which Chriſt was
[q] Rom.7. ſent, and confeſſed that [q] *in his fleſh dwelt no good thing*; aſſuring vs, that though Chriſt
[r] Rom.8.v.10 be in vs, [r] *the body is dead becauſe of ſinne*, when the *Spirit is life*, (or liueth) *becauſe of righteouſneſſe*. Neither is this newes to Zanchius, whom you cite in your Treatiſe as
[s] Zanchÿ tract. Theolog. cap. 4. de peccato originali. if he fauoured your error. [s] *Quod attinet ad contagium illud, certe citra controuerſiam, in corpore primum ineſt, & deinde per corpus in animam derivatur. Iob docet aperte cap. 14. Quis poteſt facere mundum de immundo conceptum ſemine? Quid autem proprie de immundo concipitur ſemine? Caro. As for the contagion* (of originall ſinne) *that is ſurely without Queſtion firſt in the body, and after by the body is deriued into the Soule. Iob teacheth vs plainly in his fourteenth Chapter. Who can make one cleane, conceaued of vncleane Seede? Now what is properly conceaued of vncleane Seede? Fleſh.* If any man liſt to read more I remit him to that place of Zanchius, leaſt I ſhould be ouerlong; or elſe
[t] Pet. Martyr Locis communibus claſſ. ſecundo loco primo Sect.iv.26. to Peter Martyr where he largely treateth thereof againſt Pigghius. [t] *The common receaued Opinion is* (ſaith he) *that the Soule draweth originall ſinne by her coniunction with the body, which is infected and vitiated from our Parents. Wherefore if any aske, what is the ſeate or ſubiect thereof, (as they vſe to ſpeake;) We anſwere, that originall ſinne hath place in the fleſh as in the roote, and beginning thereof: afterward from that fountaine, it occupieth the Soule, and ſo is extended through the whole man. Idcirco ſemen eſt inſtrumentum quo hoc peccatum ex parentibus traducitur in filios. Therefore the Seede* (of man) *is the inſtrument whereby this ſinne is traduced from the Parents to the children.* And leaſt he ſhould ſeeme to reſt himſelfe on the receaued opinion onely, not long after he ad-
[u] Idem Sectione. 30. deth. [u] *Now reaſons are to be brought, which may firmely and ſoundly prooue, that originall ſinne is propagated in men by Seede and generation. And that we will therefore ſhew out of the Scriptures, becauſe many reclaime and thinke this whole matter to be a fiction.*

[x] Defenc.pag. 57.l.19. [x] *With one breath you ouerthrow your ſelfe. For you ſay we haue pollution before the ſoule commeth, whence ſoeuer it commeth. Yea, whence ſoeuer? What if the ſoule doe come in and by generation? you ſee how you croſſe your ſelfe.*] To that peruerſe and falſe ſuppoſition of yours, that the ſoule of man commeth in and by generation, which now you cleaue ſo faſt vnto for an aduantage, I neuer gaue any allowance or forbearance. Looke to my words as narrowly as you can. I ſay, the minor (propoſition of my reaſon) is *cleere*
[y] Concluſ. pa. 252. l.25. [y] *without intermedling with the queſtion, whence,* (not when) *the ſoule commeth.* I there reſolue, that *the ſoule is the life of the bodie*, not of ſeede nor of blood, as you groſſely would wreſt my ſpeech; and therfore before life come, the ſoule which bringeth life, commeth not to the bodie. *Then if pollution cleaue to the fleſh before life come,* (as Ambroſe teacheth) *and conſequently before the ſoule come,* (which commeth not before the bodie is made, as I auouch) *whence ſoeuer it commeth; it is euident that Adams fleſh defileth, and ſo condemneth vs* (before the ſoule come.) You in the abundance of your wit, take *whence ſoeuer* to be as much as *when ſoeuer*; and ſo by your miſconceiuing you would faſten a contradiction to my words. But coaxe not your ſelfe with ſuch contrarieties grounded vpon your owne moſt ignorant miſtaking; I made no queſtion of the
[z] Leo. epiſt.93. ad Furibium. time, *when*; but of the roote, *whence*, the ſoule commeth. I learned by Leo, *that* [z] *the Catholike faith did truely and conſtantly teach, that the ſoules of men were not before they were inſpired into their bodies*: and conſequently the bodie muſt firſt be framed, before the ſoule can be inſpired. And the contrarie conceite, which you now take holde on,

is

is a manifeſt repugnancie to the Church, and faith of Chriſt. I ſaw that inconuenience which you ſee not, when you pronounce, ſinne is not in our fleſh without a ſoule, that is neither before, nor after the ſoule. For if the ſoule of man ariſe *in and* BY GENERATION, and that can be no man which neuer had mans bodie; what kind of creatures, I pray you, call you thoſe abortions and ſcapes, that paſſe from their mothers, when they are yet but ſeede or blood, before the body be framed? Soules they haue, in and by generation, as you now ſuppoſe; bodies they haue none, that be humane. Men therefore they be not for want of bodies; other kinds they are not, ſeeing they haue ſoules; what name then will you giue to theſe vnfaſhioned births, hauing reaſonable and immortall ſpirits as you imagine, or what place will you aſsigne them after this life? [a] *We all muſt appeare before the Tribunall of Chriſt, euery one to receiue things done* (in or) *by his bodie.* They haue nothing to receiue for any thing done in or by their bodies, which they neuer had; neither can they expect the reſurrection of the bodie, which pertaineth not to them. [b] *It is ſowen* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *a naturall body, it is raiſed a ſpirituall bodie.* Theſe haue no naturall bodies of men, and ſo ſhall neuer riſe with ſpirituall and glorified bodies; yea they haue no part in Chriſts reſurrection, which was corporall, ſince they do not communicate with him in their bodies, which may be conformed to his glorious bodie. You muſt then deuiſe ſome new name, and ſome new place for thoſe new creatures of yours, which hauing no bodies of men, can not by the Scriptures looke either for the reſurrection, or for the ſaluation promiſed to men.

[a] 2. Cor. 5.

[b] 1. Cor. 15.

You doe not auouch it, you will ſay, you did but obiect it.] *Your moſt euident truth,* as you call it, *that ſinne cannot be found being in any thing, where a reaſonable ſoule is wanting*, doth directly inferre, that either we were not begotten and conceiued in ſinne, which is an euident hereſie, repugnant to Dauids wordes; or els the vntimely fruites and ſcapes of women, haue reaſonable ſoules at the very inſtant of their conception, when ſinne is found in them by Dauids words, which is this groſſe, abſurd, and falſe conceite, that now you would ſhunne. If you flie for helpe to actuall ſinne; haue children actuall ſinne in their mothers wombes, or as ſoone as they haue reaſonable ſoules? Or is actuall ſinne traduced and inherited from Adam? or ſpake I of actuall ſinne when I ſaid, we inherite pollution from Adams fleſh before the ſoule commeth? Will you ſticke to it, and ſay; originall pollution is no ſinne? Dauid conuinceth you, who ſaith, he was [c] *begotten in ſinnes, and conceaued in iniquitie*; and Paul affirmeth that [d] *death went ouer all men,* (infants not excepted) *for ſo much as all men haue ſinned, and euen ouer them alſo who* [e] *ſinned not after the likeneſſe of Adams tranſgreſſion*; that is, who did not commit ſinne as Adam did, actually and voluntarily; but naturally inherited ſinne from Adam, which [f] *dwelleth* in them from the houre of their conception, to the time of their diſſolution; and [g] *worketh the euill in them that they would not; leading them captiue to the law of ſinne which is in their members.*

[c] Pſal. 51.

[d] Rom. 5. v. 12.

[e] Verſ. 14.

[f] Rom. 4. v. 20.

[g] Verſe 23.

But how could Dauid ſay, he was conceiued in ſinne, when at the time of his conception he had neither bodie nor ſoule?] Howſoeuer mans reaſon iudge thereof, which yet often giueth the name of the whole to a part, and the titles of things repreſented to their images; with God nothing is more frequent *than* [h] *to call thoſe things which are not, as though they were*; becauſe he not only made all things of nothing, but quickeneth the dead, and hath things paſt and to come preſent before him. Leui is ſayd by the Scripture to haue [i] *payed tithes* to Melchiſedech by Abraham, as being then in *Abrahams loines*, when Leuies grandfather was not yet borne. So God by his Prophet ſpake to Cyrus many yeeres before Cyrus was borne, calling him *his anointed*, and ſaying to him by name, [k] *thou art my ſhepheard.* So certaine is the counſell of God, and his purpoſe ſo immutable, that he ſpeaketh in the Scriptures of things to come, as if they were paſt or preſent. Out of this infallible decree of God, Dauid and Iob call that ſeed which was prepared to be the matter of their bodies, by the names of themſelues, becauſe it could not be altered, what God had appointed. But the

[h] Rom. 4. v. 17

[i] Hebr. 7.

[k] Eſa. 44. & 45.

the void conceptions of women, which miscarie before the bodie be framed, neuer had either life or soule; and so neither name, nor kinde; but perish as other superfluous burdens and repletions of the bodie, which God hath appointed to no vse, saue to ease the bodie.

In satisfaction for sinne you runne the same course that you do in the rest: for neither vnderstanding my words, nor almost any mans els rightly, you fight with your owne fansies, as it they were parts of my faith. I sayd, *the Scripture acknowledgeth no satisfaction for sinne but by death.* I did and do so say; what then? [m] *Still we must note, that by death you meane onlie the bodilie death.*] In Christes person I alwayes meane by the death which he suffered, the death of the bodie; though you would include the death of the soule, which I do not. In the wicked I take death for all kinds of death, *corporall, spirituall,* and *eternall.* What can you hence distill? *Then* [n] *surely the wicked should satisfie easily for their sinnes. Farre be it from me to vtter such a sentence.*] Doe the wicked with any kinde of death satisfie for their sinnes? or is their condemnation to hell paines therefore eternall, because by no death they can satisfie for their sinnes? Were the iustice of God once satisfied by any thing the wicked could suffer, their torments should cease; but their punishments euerlastingly continue, for that no satisfaction can be made to God by them, suffer they neuer so much, or neuer so long. Whose follie then is it, to pronounce, that the wicked may satisfie for their sinnes? mine or yours? I sayd no such word; I directly auouched the contrary. [o] *The paines of hell haue neither worth nor weight sufficient in themselues, to satisfie the anger, or to procure the fauor of God.* Satisfaction for sinne I ascribe to none but onlie to Christ, and in him to no death but onlie to that of his body. Will it thence follow, the *Scripture acknowledgeth no satisfaction but by* (some kind of) *death: ergo* the wicked may satisfie for their sinnes by the deaths which they suffer? Be it farre from all wise men to make such consequents, and from all Christian men to make such conclusions. The antecedent in effect is confessed by your selfe. [p] *The Scriptures (you say) do shew indeed that Christ should not satisfie without death.* I sayd the same. By satisfaction, I meant full satisfaction, when no more could be exacted, as the word importeth; and not the concurrents or precedents to satisfaction, when the chiefest is vnpayed. Why then doth your absurd and leud conclusion folow more vpon my words than vpon your owne?

My proofs are not good, with those you finde fault.] If yours were no worse, they would go more currantly. The Apostle sayth: *Christ is the* [q] *Mediator of the new Testament, that through death, which was for the redemption of transgressions,* we might receiue the promise. Heere *death* is auouched to be the redemption, which is all one with satisfaction, for sinne: for wherewith we are redeemed, therewith God is satisfied. [r] *Christes bodily death meerely and alone (you say)* without any thing *else together therewith (which is my intent)* is not heere mentioned.] You will not tell where your shoo wringeth. Death was for the redemption or satisfaction for sin sayth the Scripture. Now the death of Christes bodie, or of his soule, or of both, must here be contained. The death of Christes soule you dare not openly professe, and therefore all this while you carrie it couertly vnder the sufferings of Christes soule. But you must come plainly to it: for these assertions of the Apostle; [s] *Death was the redemption of our transgressions, and we are* [t] *reconciled to God by the death of his Sonne,* will make this to be the question, as I first set it; whether the death of Christes soule, or the death of the damned, which is the true paines of hell be a necessary part of Christs satisfaction and our Redemption. Other sufferings of the Soule are meere shifts to harbor your folly, if you striue in words; or your impietie, if you striue indeede for the death of Christs Soule, as requisite by the Scriptures to our Saluation. That Christ did not die the death of the Soule I doe not prooue; there is no cause I should, it is your assertion that he did, and must be prooued by you; which you be so farre from comming neere, that you purposely conceale it, and onely skirre at it here and there in SOME KIND OF SENSE. Otherwise you offer nothing as yet to the Reader, *but the*

[m] Defenc. pag. 57. li. 26.
[n] Defenc. pag. 57. li 32.
[o] Serm. pag. 43. li. 23.
[p] Defenc. pag. 58. li. 20.
[q] Hebr. 9.
[r] Defenc. pag. 58. li. 3.
[s] Hebr. 9.
[t] Rom 5.

the [a] *proper ſufferings of the ſoule*; which I truſt are not alwaies priuation of grace, and excluſion from bliſſe. For ſo the faithfull ſhould neuer haue any proper ſufferings of the Soule, or elſe vtterly looſe both the ſpirit and fauour of God, which they neuer doe. [a] Defenc. pa. 58. li. 35.

The other Authoritie which I cite, (*In the day that thou eateſt thereof, thou ſhalt die the death*) is not ſo ſound you thinke. For [x] *am I ſure that death here is but the bodyly death onely and no more?*] I no where ſay, that death threatned in theſe words was onely the death of the body; it is one of your raſh and rude illations, it is none of my aſſertions. I knew that God gaue this Commandement, and threatned this puniſhment as well to Adams poſteritie, as to his perſon. Otherwiſe had this prohibition beene made to Adam alone, neither could the woman haue beene within the compaſſe of it, who was not then created when this precept was inioyned, neither could Adams of-ſpring haue taſted of death, as well as Adam, if this penaltie had ſtretched no farder then to Adams perſon. But he being the roote and ſtocke of all mankind, as he receaued bleſsings by his creation, which ſhould be common to all that deſcended of him, ſo by his tranſgreſsion he loſt them as well from his Iſſue, as from himſelfe, and ſubiected them to the ſame death and condemnation, that he did himſelfe, when he rebelled againſt God his Creator. Death we ſee executed on all the children of Adam; and therefore we may not doubt but death was threatned to them all, before it was inflicted on them. Howbeit the commination in this place is like to Gods threats in all other places againſt the tranſgreſſours of his Law. It denounceth what ſhall be due vnto all, but it bindeth not God, that he ſhall not haue power to releaſe, or mitigate what, and to whom pleaſeth him. In death then here threatned I containe all kinds of death; corporall, ſpirituall, and eternall; either as expreſſed in the generall name of death, which is common to them all, or as conſequent ech to other and coherent, if by Gods goodnes and mercies in Chriſt Ieſus they be not ſeuered. Saint Auſten learnedly and truely teacheth the ſame. [y] *When it is asked, what death God threatned to the firſt men, if they tranſgreſſed the Commandement giuen them, whether the death of the body, or of the ſoule, or of the whole man, or that which is called the ſecond death; we muſt anſwere,* ALL. *When therefore God ſaid to the firſt man, what day ſoeuer yee eate thereof, yee ſhall die the death, that threatning contained whatſoeuer death there is euen vnto the laſt, which is called the ſecond death, and after which there is none other.* [x] Defenc. pa. 57. li. 31. [y] *Auguſt. de ciuitate Dei. li. 13. cap. 12.*

If any man ſtand more ſtrictly on the time and kinde of death, when and which Adam ſhould die by this Commination; Saint Auſten hath an other anſwere. [z] *In that which was ſaid yee ſhall die the death, becauſe it was not ſaid, deaths; if we vnderſtand that onely death whereby the ſoule is forſaken of her life, which to her is God; (for ſhe was not forſaken, that ſhe might forſake, but ſhe did* (firſt) *forſake that ſhe might* (after) *be forſaken) though I ſay we vnderſtand, that God denounceth this death, when he ſaid, what day yee eate thereof, yee ſhall die the death; as if God had ſaid, what day yee forſake me by diſobedience, I will forſake you by iuſtice; Surely in that death were the reſt denounced, which without Queſtion were to follow. For euen in that a diſobedient motion roſe in the fleſh of the Soule diſobeying, for which they couered their priuie parts, one death was perceaued, wherein God forſooke the Soule. And when the Soule forſooke the body now corrupted with time, and waſted with age, an other death was found by experience, which God mentioned to Man, when puniſhing ſinne he ſaid, earth thou art, and to earth ſhalt thou returne: that by theſe two deaths that firſt death of the whole man might be accompliſhed, which the ſecond death at laſt doth follow, except man be deliuered by the grace of God.* By Saint Auſtens iudgement concording with the Scriptures, God threatned all kinds of death to the tranſgreſſor; the death of the Soule the ſame houre to take place that he diſobeyed; the reſt to follow in their order; as next the death of the body, and at laſt eternall death of body and ſoule, if the grace of God by Ieſus Chriſt did not releaſe and free man from it. That the death of the Soule tooke preſent hold vpon the diſobeyers, the Scripture giueth teſtimony ſufficient, when it noteth their *ſhame, feare, and flight of Gods* preſence, who before ſinne was their delight, ioy and bliſſe. The death of the [z] *Auguſt. de ciuitate Dei. li. 13. cap. 15.*

body

[a] Gen.5.v.5. body was a long time differred in Adam, euen [a] *nine hundred and thirtie yeeres*, before it did ſeparate his Soule from his Body, but it began preſently to worke and ſhew his force in either of their bodies. [b] *The ſentence of mortalitie God called Death*, ſaith Theodoret. *For after Gods ſentence Adam euerie day expected* (or feared) *Death*. Beda ſaith the like. That which God ſaid, [c] *In what day ſoeuer thou ſhalt eate thereof, thou ſhalt die the Death, was as if he had ſaid, Morti deputatus eris, thou ſhalt be deputed* (or adiudged) *to death, not that he ſhould that very day die, but be mortall.* Chryſoſtom imbraceth the ſame opinion. [d] *In what day ſoeuer yee ſhall eate of the tree, yee ſhall die the Death. But Adam liued ſtill; how then died he? By the ſentence of God and the nature of the thing it ſelfe. For he that maketh himſelfe ſubiect to puniſhment, is vnder puniſhment, ſi non re, tamen ſententia; If not by deede and execution, yet by guiltineſſe and ſentence pronounced.*

[b] *Theodoret. in Geneſ. Quæſtio. 38.*

[c] *Beda in Geneſ cap. 2.*

[d] *Chryſoſt. in Iohan. Homil. 27.*

So that if we will rightly conceiue Gods commination to Adam, we muſt ſo take the words of God, as threatning Adam and his *poſteritie with all kinds* of death, to which they all ſhould bee *ſubiect as guiltie* thereof *and deſeruing* the ſame; though hee would keepe to himſelfe the diſpencing and moderating thereof, not binding himſelfe thereby but the offenders, as euery ſupreame Iudge doth on earth after ſentence giuen, and before execution finiſhed. Elſe, if wee tie God, who is trueth it ſelfe, to the rigour and tenor of thoſe words without reſeruing power to him to diſpoſe of Adam and Adams of-ſpring at his pleaſure; and in the words, *Thou ſhalt die the death*, compriſe the execution of all ſorts of death, which can not be reuoked: then we conclude Adam and all his iſſue without remedie or mercie vnder all ſorts of death, that is vnder ſpirituall, corporall, and eternal death; which is not onely an vtter ouerthrow to all Chriſtian religion, promiſing ſaluation in Ieſus Chriſt, but a meere madneſſe againſt all mankind, deuoting them without exception or mitigation to eternall deſtruction of body and ſoule. Wee muſt therefore know that God truely and iuſtly threatned Adam, and in him all mankind to be guiltie of all ſorts of death, and to bee thereto ſubiected as to their due, if they tranſgreſſed againſt him; but this comminatiō neither included execution of all ſorts of death on all mankind, nor excluded pardon where pleaſed God; onely thence may rightly bee gathered; firſt, that all Adams of-ſpring ſhould bee condemned and ſubiected to the guilt of all, as deſeruing all the one no leſſe then the other. Secondly, that ſome of Adams iſſue ſhould effectually feele the ſting of all, which God allotted to the reprobate. Thirdly, that euen the elect as well as the reprobate, ſhould beare in themſelues the monuments of this tranſgreſsion by the corruption & diſſolution of their nature, though the one ſhould in this life bee reformed by the working of Gods ſpirit in them, and the other bee reſtored after this life by the Reſurrection from the dead. All theſe wee finde performed by God in the trueth of his iudgements, and therefore we may be ſure they were intended at the time of his threatning. And conſequently this collection is very true, that God threating Adam with theſe words, *Thou ſhalt die the death*; purpoſed, if Adam tranſgreſſed, that none of his poſteritie ſhould eſcape the death of their bodies, to which, God foorthwith puniſhing ſinne, irreuocably ſubiected Adam and all his children, as Gods owne words declare, when he ſaid to Adam, and in him to all men,

[e] Geneſ.3. [e] *Duſt thou art, and to duſt ſhalt thou returne.* The iudges reuenge then for ſinne, which we deſerued and to which we were iuſtly condemned, was temporall & eternall death, of the body and ſoule, heere and in hell. But this was not executed on all, becauſe ſome were freed by the fauour of God in Ieſus Chriſt, though none excuſed from a corporall death; which prooueth my poſition the truer, that God neuer releaſed ſinne to any, no not to his owne Sonne, without ſome kind of death.

[f] Defenc pag. 58.li.7. [f] *It must not be forgotten, that here you renounce all ſatisfaction for ſinne, in reſpect of merite as from Chriſtes ſoule vtterly.*] If you meane I vtterly renounce all ſatisfaction for ſinne as from the death of Chriſts ſoule, I eaſily graunt it; and would gladly heare what you can ſay againſt it, becauſe the ſoule of Chriſt, as I beleeue, could not die the death of ſpirits. But if you conceiue; that Chriſtes ſoule had neither *part, ſenſe, nor merite*

merit in the death of his body, by which satisfaction for sinne was fully made, it is the weamishnesse of your wit to mistake so much, and vnderstand so little. I attributed all sense of paine as well in death as other wise to the soule of Christ; and the death of his body I communicated to his soule, by reason it is a separation of the soule from the body, not thereby to bee depriued of sense or grace, which Christes soule could not be, but therein to feele the paine and sting which the death of the body brought with it. I tolde you but the [g] leafe before out of Austen; *that* [h] *the paine which is called bodily, belongeth rather to the soule, and that the* [i] *paine of the flesh is only the offending* (or afflicting) *the soule by the flesh.* Wherefore I made the soule of Christ to be the principall agent in all his meriting, and patient in all his suffering; and though the soule of Christ *could not pay the satisfaction for our sinnes* by her death, because shee could not die; yet that is no impediment, but the soule of Christ might haue, and had the chiefest paine, *sense, and merit* in the death of Christes bodie, by which the whole person made full satisfaction for the sinnes of the world. And this is so farre from renouncing all merit of satisfaction from the soule of Christ, as you conceiue, that it ascribeth the whole power and force thereof to the obedience and patience of Christes soule, and maketh the bodie the instrument ordeined of God to conuey paine vnto the soule; and to lie dead when the soule is departed from it. As for Bernards words which I alledge, if you did or could tell how they crosse mine, I would take the paines to reconcile them; now you say they *sute not* with mine: but awake out of your wonted maze, and you shall see that I giue the chiefe place and part in the meritorious sacrifice vnto the soule of Christ, which you dreame I doe not; as also that you neither like nor allow of Bernards words. For he declaring the cause and maner, why and how Christes minde was afflicted in his passion, sayth, it was with a [k] double *affection of most humane compassion*, on the one side, *for the vncomfortable griefe of the holy women*; on the other, *for the desperation and dispersion of his disciples.* These causes you reiect as fond and absurd, and now you would seeme to ioyne with Bernards words. But you must say of him, as you doe of Ambrose, and pray that [l] *mens authorities may be omitted in this case*; for all the Fathers of Christes church are vtter strangers or enemies to your new doctrine.

[g] Concl. pag. 251.
[h] August. de ciuitate Dei, l. 21. cap. 3.
[i] Li. li. 14. ca. 15
[k] Serm. pa. 84.
[l] Defenc. pag. 57. li. 10.

[m] *That nothing may satisfie for sinne but death, is not sound; the Scriptures doe shewe indeede that Christ should not satisfie without death: but they denie not, that there are other parts of Christs satisfaction, which differ from his death, as his bloodshedding, his shame, his reproches, his apprehension, his buffeting; and besides that, pouertie, hunger, and wearines. These doubtlesse, yea all other sufferings of Christ whatsoeuer, small or great, are satisfactorie and meritorious.*] That all Christes actions and passions were meritorious with God, I haue no doubt; but that all his sufferings as well naturall as voluntarie, did euery one, small or great, satisfie *for sinne*, This is a speech of yours, which except it be well qualified, hath in it an whole heape of absurdities and contrarieties. For if the least and the first thing that Christ suffered either naturally or voluntarily did satisfie for sinne, superfluous were all the rest to our redemption, when God was once satisfied. And so by his birth or circumcision you graunt a Supersedeas to all his life and death as needelesse to our redemption. Then the which what can be more repugnant to the word of God, and faith of Christ, and euen to your selfe, who by this meanes make your hell paines of no importance to our saluation? By satisfaction you meane not full satisfaction; but that which any way tendeth to satisfaction, or is requisite before satisfaction can be made.] It is easie and often with you to abuse words, though you talke much of their proprietie. What is *Satis* in Latine, whence to satisfie commeth, but enough? and what is *enough for sinne*, but after which more is *not requisite?* If then Christ satisfied, that is, *did or paide enough* for sinne by the first of his sufferings, then all that followed, as I inferred, were more then enough, and consequently superfluous. That you will say is the proper and strict signification of the word *satisfie*, but you take it more largely.] For the abuse of words I will not greatly striue, so you build thereon no impieties; howbeit when I say that *nothing might satisfie for sinne but death*;

[m] Defenc. pa. 58. l. 20. *Euery thing in Christ was meritorious, but not satisfactory for sinne.*

death; I take satisfaction properly for *the last and full payment*, after which no more was due for sinne; and that apparantly by the Scriptures was the death of Christ, before which the rest was not sufficient, and after which no more was required by the righteous will and counsell of God. So that although the obedience and patience of Christ all his life long did tend to satisfaction, and made way for satisfaction, as his *hunger, wearinesse, powertie*, and such like; yet none of these did satisfie for sinne, or acquite vs from sinne by the verdict of the holy Scripture; but Christ after all these must yeeld himselfe to suffer that kind of death, which the iustice of God should appoint and ordaine, before we could be freed from our sinnes. His blood you thinke did wash vs from all our sinnes.] Because his blood was shed for vs euen vnto death, therefore his *bloodshed* expresseth the manner of his death, as likewise his *apprehension, buffeting, reproches, and shame*; which the Scripture describeth in the order of his death, and therefore compriseth vnder the name of his death. For by Christes death, as I haue often said, the Scripture meaneth that kind of death in all respects and circumstances, which the Euangelists in their writings report.

[n] Defenc. pag. 58. l. 29. *What is contained in the name of Christs death by the Scriptures.*

[n] *Who will grant in proper speech, that those are his death?*] The name of Christs death in the Scriptures containeth all those things, which were coincident and concurrent to that death, which Christ died for our sinnes according to the Scriptures. Neither shall we neede your figure Synecdoche, by a part of Christs sufferings to vnderstand all that he felt or suffered from his mothers wombe: that is a loose deuise of yours to make any thing of euery thing; and so to confound the Scriptures, that no man shall knowe either what to beleeue, or what to beware. For where S. Iohn saith, *the blood of Christ doth clense vs from all our sinnes*; by your Synecdoche you imagine that the [o] wine, which he dranke at his last Supper; [p] the water, wherewith he washed his disciples feete; [q] the teares which he shed for Lazarus death; [r] the iourney, which he tooke to Galilee; the [s] sleepe, which he fetched in the ship; the [t] hunger, which he sustained in the wildernesse; and what not, should doe the like; since euery thing that befell our Sauiour, small or great, did satisfie for sinnes, as well as his death and passion. What els is this but to mayme and mangle the Scriptures, which name the blood of Christ to be the price of our redemption, and his *death the meane* of our *reconciliation*; if euerie thing that Christ did or endured shall be of the same force and weight to satisfie for sinne, that his bloud and death were? His bloud, you will say, is not his death.] The shedding of his bloud vnto death, which the Scripture intendeth by his bloud, is a plaine description of his death: [u] *This is my bloud*, sayd he, *which is shed for many for the remission of sinnes*. And the rest which were appendants to his death, expresse the maner of his death, which the wisdome and iustice of God would haue to be full of *violence, iniurie, reproch, contempt, shame and paine*. All which as they note the maner of his death, so are they inclosed by the Scriptures in the name of his death; and that I trust more properly being parts thereof, than the naturall infirmities of his bodie, as *sleepe, hunger and wearinesse*; or the voluntarie euents of his life, as the rest of his actions and passions, long before the houre came that he should be deliuered into the hands of sinfull men.

[o] Matth. 26.
[p] Iohn. 13.
[q] Iohn. 11.
[r] Iohn. 4.
[s] Matth. 8.
[t] Matth. 4.
[u] Matth. 26.

[x] Defenc. pa. 58 li. 33. [x] *Why may not the proper sufferings of Christs Soule be as well admitted into the worke of Christs satisfaction, although his* SOVLE COVLD NOT PROPERLY DIE?] The sufferings of Christs Soule at the time of his death, which the Scriptures mention, we easily admit into the worke of his satisfaction for sinne; but your satisfiction of hell paines and of the death of Christs Soule we doe not admit; because the holy Ghost so diligently describing the whole order and manner of Christs sufferings, when he went to his death, teacheth no such thing as you falsely collect from certaine words of his, and chiefly from his bloody sweate; whereof not knowing precisely the cause, you surmise what best pleaseth your humor without all warrant of the word of God. Proone therefore by the Scriptures, and not by your owne ghesses, that Christs Soule suffered these things from the immediate hand of God, which you suppose; and we shall soone find a place for them, in the worke of Christs satisfaction for sinne.

Till

Till then giue me leaue to expound the Scriptures by themſelues, and not by your vnioynted and vntidie Commentaries confounding Chriſts *life and death, nature and will, affections and puniſhments, ſatisfaction and merits*; as if they were not different parts of our ſaluation, to take our nature vpon him, to worke all righteouſnes in our names, to ſuffer a ſhamefull and painfull death for our ſinnes, and to obtaine all ſpirituall and celeſtiall graces and comforts, here and in heauen for vs.

The firſt ſinne committed by Adam, and our continuall treading in his ſteps, reſt yet vndiſcuſſed; wherein we ſhould not neede many words, if you could, or at leaſt would rightly conceaue what is ſaid; and not ignorantly or purpoſely miſtake, and meaſure all things by your haſtie humor. To prooue that Chriſt muſt ſatisfie *for ſinne* by the proper ſufferings of his Soule, and not with or by his body, you brought this reaſon in your Treatiſe. [y] *Whereby Adam firſt did, and we euer ſince doe moſt properly commit ſinne, by the ſame the ſecond Adam Chriſt hath made ſatisfaction for our ſinnes. But Adam firſt did, and we euer ſince doe moſt properly commit ſinne in our Soules, our bodies being but the Inſtrument of the Soule, and following the Soules direction and will. Therefore Chriſt in his Soule moſt properly made ſatisfaction for vs:* In my Concluſion to your obiections I firſt denyed your Maior or former propoſition. For though the Soule of Adam, as alſo our Soules quickly might, and worthily did die for ſinne and by ſinne, wherein they were the principall agents; yet the Soule of Chriſt by no warrant of holy Scripture did, or could die the death of Spirits, and ſo could make no ſatiſfaction for ſin by her death. Now by the Scriptures without death there was no ſatisfaction for ſin: and therefore the ſoule of Chriſt muſt ſatisfie for ſinne by the death of her body, & not by any death proper to her ſelfe. And ſo much the Scriptures auouch teaching vs, that we haue [z] *redemption euen the remiſſion of ſinnes through his blood, & are* [a] *reconciled to God by the death of his Sonne: who* [b] *bare our ſinnes in his body on the tree, that we might be deliuered from ſinne, and healed with his ſtripes.* And without ſatisfaction to God for ſinne we haue neither remiſsion of ſinne, nor redemption from ſinne, nor reconciliation with God. Vpon this ground I then did & ſtill do reiect your maior, as guarded neither with text nor truth, but leaning only to your priuat liking, as the beſt helpe to commend it. From thence I came to your aſſumption or ſecond propoſition; that Adam *firſt, and we euer ſince moſt properly committed ſin in our ſoules, our bodies being but the inſtruments of our ſoules, & following the Soules direction and will.* The which becauſe it had diuerſe branches, one touching Adams tranſgreſsion, an other touching ours; and likewiſe two parts, the ſoule & body in either; I reſerued for diuers anſwers.

In Adams ſinne if you meant, as your words made ſhew, that his Soule and bodie were ioyned in tranſgreſsing Gods Commandement, the Soule as the agent, the body as the inſtrument; That I ſaid was MOST TRVE, but repugnant to your intention and maine Concluſion. *For then as Adams Soule tranſgreſſed the Commandement with and by her bodie; ſo in ſatisfying for ſinne Chriſts Soule muſt be puniſhed by and with her bodie, which was the thing you ſo much laboured to ouerthrow.* To this you now replie. [c] *Nay, the Concluſion will follow, that the immortall part, the minde, was puniſhed peculiarly, and not by and from the body onely: ſeeing in all euen outward ſinnes the Soule ſinneth both principally, and alſo in a proper and peculiar manner by it ſelfe, yea before the body ſinneth. Albeit the body ſinneth alſo ſecondarily and in a manner proper to it ſelfe, euen as the inſtrument as you ſay.*] The principall and peculiar action of the Soule, in ſinnes that be common to the Body and Soule, maketh no proofe that the Soule muſt haue a diſtinct and ſeuerall puniſhment from the body; or that it may not be puniſhed from and by the body. The true and full puniſhment of all ſinne in all the wicked is the caſting of Body and Soule into hell fire, where one and the ſame puniſhment is common to both, euen as their ſinnes were; notwithſtanding the proper and peculiar manner which the Soule hath in ſinne by it ſelfe aboue the body. The puniſhments of this life are likewiſe common to both. For the Soule feeleth whatſoeuer greeueth the Body, neither can any thing offend the Soule, which doth not likewiſe diſquiet the Body. Howbeit the effects and impreſsions of one and the

y Trea. pa. 19. li. 27.

z Epheſ. 1.

a Rom. 5.

b 1. Pet. 2.

c Defenc. pa. 59. li. 8.

ſame puniſhment are different in Soule and Body; not onely becauſe the Soule is the chiefe patient and ſentient in all paine, as it was the chiefe agent, and diſponent in all ſinne; but alſo for that the Soule ſeeth and greeueth farder vpon feeling the paine, then the body can doe. For the Senſe of the Body can onely iudge how tolerable, or intolerable the paine is; but the Soule reacheth vnto the cauſe, continuance, and conſequence thereof, which often times afflict the Soule as much, or more then the paine it ſelfe. This difference dependeth on the nature of the Soule which becauſe it is endued with reaſon, remembrance, and intelligence, perceiueth not onely things preſent and ſubiect to ſenſe, as the Body doth, but things paſt and future together with their dependences; and things ſpirituall, as well as corporall; and the loſſe of ioy and bliſſe, no leſſe then the anguiſh of perpetuall paine and miſerie. So that in all puniſhments of ſinne, which be common to the Soule and Body, the Soule is farre deeper engaged in the griefe thereof, then the Body can be. But this is no reaſon to proue that Chriſts Soule muſt die the death of Soules, or feele the paines of hell, becauſe his Soule conſidered better of his paines then his body could doe.

Two Rules of Gods Iuſtice in puniſhing the ſinnes of men the Scriptures report. Which though they be kept in all others, yet may no man affirme them of Chriſt, farder then the Goſpell giueth euident Teſtimonie to them. The one is the *meanes*, the other is the *meaſure* of puniſhment. As, [a] *Wherewith a man ſinneth, by the ſame alſo ſhall he be puniſhed:* and [c] *How much ſhe exalted her ſelfe and liued in pleaſure, ſo much torment and ſorrow giue yee to her.* Neither of theſe rules could rightly faſten on Chriſt, becauſe he neuer ſinned; and therefore touching the *meanes*, by which he ſatisfied for our ſinnes, the Scriptures and not your imaginations muſt be conſulted. Now they teſtifie that he [f] *dyed for our ſinnes according to the Scriptures*; and that we were [g] *Redeemed by his pretious blood*, which was [h] *ſhed for Remiſſion of ſinnes.* Here is the ſatisfaction for the ſins of men which the Scripture deliuereth without any other death of the ſoule, or of the damned, which men muſt ſuffer, if they be not freed from it by the death and blood of Chriſt; but Chriſt neither did nor could ſuffer. For the meaſure of paine, which Chriſt ſuffered in the death of his body deſcribed in the Scriptures, we muſt leaue it to God, who only knew what proportion of paine in the perſon of his Sonne was ſufficient for the ſinnes of the world, & not therein truſt the deceitfull ballance of your preſumption, who neither know what degree of pain Chriſt ſuffred on the croſſe; nor how much in the perſon of Chriſt would ſatisfie the iuſtice of God for our ſinnes. Only this we are aſſured, *that he* [i] *learned obedience by that which he ſuffered*, & his patience was thereby proued, but neirher of them ouerwhelmed, or endangered. And therefore that Chriſts paine on the Croſſe was *equall* to hell paines, or the *very ſame*, which the damned do ſuffer; theſe be your raſh and violent intruſions vpon Gods iuſtice; allotting to Chriſt out of your owne braine the *ſame puniſhment* (as you call it) *in ſubſtance*, that the wrath of God inflicteth on the wicked and damned for their ſinnes; but in all theſe collections you reſt on the rules of your owne reaſon without any warrant of the word of God, which neuer ſorteth our Sauior in his ſufferings with the reprobate & damned; and contrary to the Chriſtian faith, which groundeth the waight of our redemption, and ſtrength of our Reconciliation to God vpon the infinitie of the perſon that died for vs, and not of the paine that was ſuffered in our ſteeds.

a Wiſdom.11.
c Reuel.18.
f 1.Cor.15.
g 1.Pet.1.
h Matth.26.
i Hebr. 5.

[k] *Yea farder I meane, that ſome ſinnes the Soule acteth in and by it ſelfe meerely: and therefore it ſuffereth likewiſe ſome puniſhments meerely in it ſelfe, which touch not the body at all, vnleſſe it be by Sympathie onely, and that onely when they grow vehement.*] What you now meane vpon better aduiſe, maketh nothing to the Concluſion, which you would haue forced out of your former words. Your aſſumption was, that *Adam firſt did, and we euer ſince doe commit ſinne moſt properly in our Soules, our bodies being but the Inſtruments of our Soules.* In which words you ſpeake of no ſinnes, but onely ſuch as Adam did, and we ſtill doe commit ioyntly with Soule and body, though moſt properly in the ſoule, the body being her Inſtrument or acceſſarie to follow her direction and will. And would you wrie and wrangle neuer ſo much, from ſinnes common to

k Defenc. pa. 59. l. 14.

Soule

Soule and Body, moſt proportionably followeth puniſhment likewiſe common to Soule and Body; though in that common puniſhment the Soule perceiueth and feeleth greater and grieuouſer hurt and ſmart, then the body can doe. If now you adde a farder meaning then you there expreſſed, your reaſon remaineth as weake as it was at firſt, and your new meaning muſt haue a new anſwere. For which I muſt pray the Reader to ſtay till we haue more fully examined Adams fact, where you firſt began, and wherein you would ſeeme to haue ſome great aduantage. Howbeit if you marke well either your own purpoſe, which you offer to prooue; or your Aſſumption, which you bring for proofe thereof; or my words depending thereon; you will haue but a cold ſuite of all this hoate challenge. Your purpoſe was to prooue, that Chriſts ſufferings for ſinne muſt be *proper to the Soule, and not with, from, or by the Body*, which you reiect as common to vs with beaſts. The reaſon, which you brought for it, was, *that Adam firſt & we euer ſince (ſo) ſinned*, that is, MOST PROPERLY *in our Soules, our Bodies being but the Inſtruments of our Soules to follow the Soules direction and will.* Now becauſe your wonted phraſe (MOST PROPERLY) is ſo looſely ſet in your aſſumption, that a Man can not tell whether you meane *moſt properly in the Soule*, together with the Body being the Inſtrument of the Soule, as your words lye; or elſe *moſt properly in the Soule*, without and beſides the Body, which is it that you intend, & muſt conclude before you can thence inferre the proper ſufferings of Chriſts ſoule, without and beſides his body: I asked you which of theſe twaine you ment. If the former, then Adam firſt, and we euer ſince committed ſinne ioyntly with Soule and Body, the Soule being the Principall, and the Body her Inſtrument and acceſſarie. This I ſaid was *moſt true*, but repugnant to your purpoſe, as I before haue ſhewed. But if you ment OTHERVVISE, that Adam tranſgreſſed the Commandement of God MOST PROPERLY *in his Soule*, without his Body concurring to the ſame tranſgreſſion, which is more pertinent to your purpoſe; then you contradicted, the fact of Adam and Gods precept, both which doe plainly witneſſe, that Adam diſobeyed as well by Body as by Soule.

If you will needs examine my words vpon this your intention and aſſumption, I am well content. That Adam ſinned in ſoule and bodie, I ſay *is moſt true*. There is my full reſolution: Againſt this I neuer goe. But if you meant [l] OTHERVVISE, *that Adam brake the commandement of God, not by his body properly, but by his ſoule* (only) as your words *moſt properly* might intend, *then your aſſumption was a manifeſt contradiction to the fact of Adam, and to the precept of God.* That the bodie alone without the ſoule doth or can commit actuall ſinne, which hath neither *life, ſenſe, motion, nor action* without the ſoule, is a poſition ſo abſurd and falſe, that I thought it not woorth the mentioning. I asked you then whether you meant that Adam brake the commandement, *not by his bodie properly, as by an inſtrument to his ſoule, which is* [m] *proper to the bodie*, as your ſelfe confeſſe; *but by his ſoule without his bodie*, that is, *by his ſoule onely.* For what is by the ſoule, and not by the bodie; but by the ſoule onely? I asking you that queſtion of your meaning, you as eclipſed of your wits, ſuppoſe that I ſay, Adam ſinned onlie by his bodie and not by his ſoule; as if Adam when he ſinned, were a body without a ſoule; or his bodie did any thing without the direction and operation of his ſoule. This is therefore a verie fooliſh dotage of yours, to dreame that I defend Adam ſinned by his bodie without his ſoule, when I prooue and inferre by Adams fact and Gods precept, that Adam tranſgreſſed not by his ſoule (only) but by his bodie (alſo:) euen as in *murder, theft, and adulterie, theſe facts men commit by their bodies* (as inſtruments) and not by *their ſoules (alone* or without their bodies.) For can men commit theſe facts without their bodies, or are their bodies requiſite as well as their ſoules before they can commit theſe facts?

Adam was [n] *as well forbidden to deſire or like that fruit, as to eat it; which you denie.*] To proue that Adam ſinned not onely by his ſoule, but alſo by his bodie; I brought the words of Gods precept, *Thou ſhalt not eat thereof.* Which commandement ſince Adam wholly tranſgreſſed, the words had more in them than the prohibition of deſi-

[l] Concluſ. pa. 254. li. 6.

[m] Defenc. pag. 59. li. 13.

[n] Defenc. pa. 60. li. 2.

ring or liking; and Adams ſinne reached farder than to liking or luſt, euen to the complete fact, whereby the commandement of God was thorowly in euerie part of man broken, which could not be done without the ioynt actions of Adams bodie. Wherefore take backe the hereſie of the Phariſees to your ſelfe, and beſtow it among your friends that haue lent you their labours in this Defence. I am not to ſeeke, that Gods law is tranſgreſſed as well with heart and tongue, as with hand and deed. Howbeit, I diſtinguiſh facts from words and thoughts, and auouch that FACTS can not be performed without the bodie. And yet are there ſpeciall reaſons which you ſee not, why the wiſdome of God would not giue this commandement without euident mention of an outward fact. For the breaking of this precept was the tranſgreſsion, that ſhould ſubiect Adam and all his poſteritie, to the dominion of ſinne and death, in euerie part of bodie and ſoule. Wherefore God would not haue the firſt ſinne to be ſecret within the ſoule alone; that all Adams of-ſpring ſhould openly behold and confeſſe the wickedneſſe, vnworthineſſe, and vnthankfulneſſe of their firſt parents, that ſo lightly regarded and preſently tranſgreſſed the charge and precept, that God gaue vnto them. Secondly, ſince Adams cariage in this caſe ſhould be the retaining or looſing of all Gods graces and bleſsings for him and his children, beſtowed on man in his firſt creation; the tranſgreſsion muſt reach to all the ſenſes and faculties of bodie and ſoule, that ſhould infect and corrupt all the parts and powers of bodie and ſoule. Thirdly, the firſt ſinne was to extend as well to bodie as to ſoule, leſt the ſoule ſinning ſhould be adiudged to euerlaſting death, and the bodie not ſinning reſerued for eternall life; and ſo man be diuided contrarie to his creation, the one part in hell, and the other in heauen, which was vtterly impoſsible. And if Adam after liking had yet remembred Gods precept and threat, and ſo refrained the eating of the forbidden fruit, it would trouble your wits to make a true anſwer, whether Adam had obeyed or tranſgreſſed the commandement. But it ſufficeth for my purpoſe, that Adam ſinned ioyntly with both parts, as well with bodie as with ſoule; and ſo Chriſt, (if your proportion were any thing needfull, which I wholly reiect, as needleſſe in the Sonne of God) by this reaſon of yours needed no proper ſufferings of the ſoule without and beſides the bodie.

• Defenc. pag. 59. li. 34. ° *Paul vnderſtoode (Rom. 7. verſ. 7.) when hee became a Chriſtian, that the deſiring of euill is ſinne before the outward act bee conſummate.*] You alleage Saint Paul, as you doe the reſt, for matters that he neuer meant. Paul ſpeaketh not ᵖ there of the actuall deſire of euill, when the will hath thereto conſented, ſuch as was in Adam, when hee reſolued to eate the forbidden fruite; but of the naturall inclination and firſt motions to ſinne, which are in vs after Adams diſobedience, but were not in him before his fall. For that precept, *thou ſhalt not luſt*, conuinceth and condemneth our nature to be corrupt and ſinfull, to which originall concupiſcence (the roote and ſpring of all ſinne in vs) cleaueth ſo faſt, that euen in our cradles this corruption excludeth vs from the kingdome of God, if we be not regenerate in Christ by water and the holy Ghoſt. In Adam before ſinne there was no ſuch thing, his nature was vpright and ſincere, as it was firſt created, and voide of all concupiſcence intended by this precept, as the ᵠ beſt learned of our time teach, till by his tranſgreſsion ſinne entred and infected both body and ſoule. Neither doe you conceiue right of Paul, as he was a Phariſee, when you ſuppoſe he tooke the outward fact of ſinne onely to bee ſinne. Neuer read he, thinke you, when he was a Phariſee, the words of Eſay; ʳ *Aram hath taken wicked counſell againſt thee, but it ſhall not ſtand?* Nor of Salomon; *The* ˢ *thoughts of the wicked are an abomination to the Lord, and the* ᵗ *euill thought of a foole is ſinne?* Could hee not tell, what to iudge of Hamans ᵘ *thoughts* againſt the Iewes, or of Achitophels ˣ *purpoſe* againſt Dauid, or of Balams ʸ *counſell* againſt the Iſraelites? The very heathen Philoſophers placed vertues and vices in the minds of men, and the prophane Poets would haue mens enterpriſes meaſured by the *intent*, & not by the *euent*. The Phariſees were neuer ſo blinde, as to thinke all counſels, thoughts, deſires, and luſts to bee lawfull, againſt the manifeſt and expreſſe words of the law and Prophets; but they blindly miſtooke

ᵖ Rom. 7. verſ. 7.

ᵠ *See Peter Martyr, Moſculus, Caluine, Gualter, and others vpon this place. Rom. 7. verſe 7.*

ʳ Eſay. 7.
ˢ Prouerb. 15.
ᵗ Et 24.
ᵘ Eſter. 3.
ˣ 2. Sam. 17.
ʸ Numb. 31.

miſtooke the law of God, as forbidding externall facts onely which are hurtfull to others, vpon paine of malediction and damnation. They rather ſtood vpon the Popiſh opinion of veniall and mortall ſinnes, and did not thinke that veniall ſinnes did exclude them from the righteouſneſſe of the Law, nor from the kingdome of heauen. Of that opinion was Paul when he was a Phariſee, but vpon his conuerſion and better inſtruction by the ſpirit of Chriſt hee vnderſtoode, that not onely euill deſires and thoughts were forbidden by the ſeueral precepts of Gods law as deadly ſinnes, which the Phariſees would not admit, to vphold their owne righteouſneſſe; but that euen the ſecret tentation to ſinne, and the inward propenſion and corruption of our hearts are interdicted and condemned by this precept, *thou ſhalt not luſt*, as ſinne ſufficient to exclude vs from the kingdome of God.

[z] *Your doctrine is very ſtrange*, where you teach, *that the ſoule properly committeth no ſin, but by & with the body; that is, the ſoule in it ſelfe & by it ſelfe alone ſinneth not.* You ſay, *all prouocations and pleaſures of ſin the ſoule taketh from her body, all acts of ſin ſhe committeth by her body; which ſpeeches are exceeding vntrue and hurtfull.*] To him that either fully can not, or rightly will not vnderſtand what is ſaid, all things ſeeme ſtrange; otherwiſe ſet aſide your olde ordinarie phraſes of *proper and meere*, without which you can ſay nothing; and the matter which you ſo much marualle at, is very plaine, as well by the rules of Scripture, as proofes of nature. Is it ſo ſtrange a doctrine with you, that the whole man, and not this or that part of man, is by the word of God charged with the committing of euery ſinne, and guiltie thereof in ſuch ſort, that the whole perſon is defiled therewith, and ſhalbe condemned therefore? [a] *Depart from me Lord*, ſaith Peter to Chriſt, *for I am a ſinfull man.* [b] *Bleſſed is the man*, ſaith Dauid, *to whom the Lord imputeth no ſinne.* [c] *O God be mercifull vnto me a ſinner*, ſaith the Publicane. [d] *Tribulation and anguiſh vpon the ſoule of euery man, that worketh euill*, ſaith the Apoſtle. By which, as by infinite other places of Scripture wee are taught, that the whole perſon, which is man himſelfe, is the ſinner, by which part ſo euer he ſinneth. [e] *Euery one that committeth ſinne, is the ſeruant of ſinne*; ſaith our Sauiour. Can the ſoule be in bondage for ſinne, and the body bee free? [f] *Curſed is the man*, ſaith Moſes, *that keepeth not all the words of the law to doe them.* Can the ſoule bee accurſed for ſinning, and the body be bleſſed as not ſinning? *The* [g] *wages of ſinne is death*, ſaith the Apoſtle. Shall death preuaile againſt the Soule for ſin; and the Body eſcape death as voyd of ſinne? Surely no. Sinne defileth the whole Man, by what part ſoeuer it is committed; yea the very thoughts of the hart coinquinate the whole man. When the Phariſees held opinion, that meate eaten with vnwaſhen hands defiled the Body, our Sauiour reproueth that error in them; and teacheth his Diſciples, that [h] *nothing without a man can defile him, when it entreth into him: but the things which come foorth of him, are they that defile the Man. For from within out of the hart of Man come foorth euill thoughts, couetouſneſſe, wantonneſſe, a wicked eye, pride, fooliſhneſſe. All theſe euils come from within, and defile a Man.* Where we ſee that *enuie*, (which Chriſt noteth by a wicked eye) *and pride*, and ſuch like inward ſinnes, yea and *euill thoughts* defile the Man, that is as well *the Body*, which the Phariſees tooke to be defiled with vncleane hands, as the *Soule*. The Apoſtle ſtretcheth the infection of ſinne farder, euen to the meates them ſelues, that are eaten of the wicked. [i] *All things* (ſaith he, ſpeaking of meates, which the Iewes counted vncleane) *are cleane to the cleane; but to the vncleane and vnbeleeuers nothing is cleane; but euen their minde and conſcience is vncleane.* So that the vncleanneſſe of the inward Man, defileth the outward Man, and all things, which the outward Man vſeth.

This is ſo true, that not onely the *guiltineſſe, and filthineſſe of ſinne* is in this life communicated from the Soule to the Body; but both ſhalbe therefore condemned in the righteous iudgement of God to euerlaſting fire. [k] *We muſt all appeare before the tribunal of Chriſt euery man to receiue the things done by his Body.* Where all ſorts of ſinnes *in thought, word*, or *deede*, are by the Apoſtle called τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος, or as others read, τὰ ἴδια τοῦ σώματος, *things done by the body*, or the things proper to the Body. And though we expound it, as ſome doe, *for the things done in the Body*; yet all three ex-

[z] Defenc. pag. 59. li. 18. & 28.
[a] Luke. 5.
[b] Pſal. 32.
[c] Luke. 18.
[d] Rom. 2.
[e] Iohn. 8.
[f] Deut. 27.
[g] Rom. 6.
[h] Marc. 7.
[i] Tit. 1. v. 15.
[k] 2. Cor. 5.

poſitions conuince that the Soule can not ſinne without the Body, but by or in the Bodie; and that the condemnation for ſinne reacheth as well to the Body, as to the Soule. Elſe the reſurrection of the Body were ſuperfluous in the wicked, if Gods Iuſtice did not determine for ſin to puniſh the Body together with the Soule. Where Tertullians Rule taketh place to prooue them both guiltie of ſinne, that ſhall be both puniſhed for ſinne. [1] *They can not be ſeuered in the reward, which were ioyned in the worke. Let not the fleſh be partaker in the ſentence,* (that is of iudgement) *if it were not partaker in the cauſe,* that is in ſinne. Of his opinion in this point were all the learned Fathers of Chriſts Church.

[1] *Tertullianus de reſurrect. carnis.*

Athenagoras an ancient and Chriſtian Philoſopher and writer, in his Treatiſe of the reſurrection of the dead, verie learnedly perſueth this argument, and by manie reaſons proueth, that the whole man ſinneth, and not this or that part; and therefore the whole, as well bodie as ſoule, muſt be iudged for euerie ſinne. [m] *If the whole nature of man* (ſayth he) *be vniuerſally compoſed of an immortall ſoule, and a bodie made and attempered thereto; and God hath not giuen either birth, breath, or this whole life to the ſoule by her ſelfe, or to the bodie apart, but to men conſiſting of theſe (two:) it is altogether neceſſarie, (ſince one liuing creature conſiſteth of both, and feeleth all the affections of the ſoule, and doth and performeth whatſoeuer belongeth to the bodie, and all things needing the iudgement of ſenſe or reaſon) the whole courſe of theſe things ſhould be referred to one end;* ἵνα πάντα καὶ διὰ πάντων συντέχῃ πρὸς μίαν ἁρμονίαν, καὶ πάθος αὐτῶν συμπάθειαν ἀνθρώπου: *that all ſhould wholly concurre to one harmonie and ſympathie,* (that is, to one ioynt action and paſsion) *of the (whole) man. And if there be one ioynt action and paſſion of the whole liuing creature, as well in thoſe things that proceed from the ſoule, as in thoſe that are performed by the body; then muſt there be one cloſe and reward for all theſe things.* [n] λέγω δὲ συναμφότερον, *I affirme both together to be a man compoſed of bodie and ſoule,* καὶ τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπον γίνεσθαι πάντων τῶν πεπραγμένων ὑπόδικον, *and the man ſo compoſed to be brought to iudgement for all his actions, and for them to receiue either honour or puniſhment.* [o] *It is therefore apparent to euerie man, that according to the Apoſtle, this corruptible, though it be diſperſed, muſt put on incorruption, that euerie one may iuſtly receiue the things that he hath done by his bodie, whether they were good or bad.* Gregorie Nyſſene teacheth the verie ſame in effect. [p] *What define we a man to be? both* (a bodie and a ſoule) *ioyned together, or either of them ſeuered? It is manifeſt, that the coniunction of both maketh a man. Let vs alſo conſider this, whether thoſe things which men do and commit; for example, adulterie, murder, theft, and whatſoeuer is conſequent to theſe; or on the other ſide, ſobrietie, continencie and euerie action that is oppoſite to vice, may be ſayd to be the effects of both,* or be referred to the ſoule alone. [q] *But in this the trueth is manifeſt. For in euerie action both coupled each with other, doe ioyntly vndertake and performe the things which are done.* [r] *If then in good deeds the bodie laboureth and ſuffereth together with the ſoule, and in ſinnes it is not abſent; what moueth thee to bring the ſoule without her bodie into iudgement? Thine aſſertion is neither iuſt nor well aduiſed. For if the ſoule alone and by her ſelfe haue ſinned, God will then puniſh her alone; but if ſhe haue a manifeſt helper, the iuſt Iudge will not let that eſcape.* Epiphanius refuting thoſe that thought we ſhould riſe with another bodie than here we liue in, ſayth. [s] *How ſhall the ſoule remaine alone, the bodie not preſent, that ſinned together with it? Such a ſoule may contradict the iudgement of God, and ſay: I* (alone) *ſinned not, but the bodie* (with me.) *For ſince I departed from the bodie, I committed neither fornication, nor adulterie, nor theft, nor murder, nor idolatrie, neither did I any euill; and her defence ſhall be found reaſonable. Vpon this reaſonable defence of hers what ſhall we ſay? Shall the iudgement of God ceaſe? or will God puniſh men vniuſtly? God forbid. Therefore as God made the man one compound of bodie and ſoule, the iuſt Iudge will raiſe the bodie againe, and giue it his owne ſoule, and ſo ſhall the iudgement of God be iuſt, both parts communicating either in puniſhment for ſinne, or in reward for vertue.* Ambroſe giueth the ſame reaſon for the reſurrection of the bodie. [t] *Et hæc eſt ſeries & cauſa iuſtitiæ, vt quoniam corporis animiq; communis eſt actus, quæ animus cogitauit, corpus efficit; vtrumq; in iudicium veniat, vtrumq; aut pœna dedatur, aut gloriæ reſeruetur. This is the courſe and ground of iuſtice,*

[m] *Athenagoras de reſurrectione mortuorum.*

[n] *Ibidem.*

[o] *Ibidem.*

[p] *Greg. Nyſſenus de reſurrectione Chriſti.*

[q] *Ibidem.*

[r] *Ibidem.*

[s] *Epiphan. in Ancharato.*

[t] *Ambroſius de fide reſurrect.*

that

that becauſe the act (of ſinne) *is common to bodie and ſoule, the bodie performing what the minde deuiſed, both ſhould come into iudgement, and both be awarded to puniſhment, or reſerued to glorie. For it ſeemeth almoſt abſurd, where the law of the fleſh impugneth the law of the mind, and the minde often doth that which ſhe hateth whiles the ſinne* (or corruption) *of the fleſh dwelling in man worketh, that the ſoule ſhould be ſubiected to the iniurie as guiltie of anothers fault, and the fleſh ſhould enioy reſt, which is the author of the miſerie; and the ſoule alone ſhould be puniſhed, which alone did not ſinne; or alone be glorified, which alone did not ſtriue for glorie.* Theodoret treadeth the ſame ſteps, though with a larger proceſſe: " *To ſuſpect that ſoules alone ſhall be releaſed, or puniſhed, and the bodie caſt away to corruption, as a brute thing and altogether vnprofitable, what reaſon can it haue, that the ſoule depriued of the bodie ſhould be adiudged to torment? For being condemned ſhee may worthily ſay to the Iudge: I did not alone tranſgreſſe thy lawes, Lord, but together with the bodie did I fall on the rocks of wickedneſſe; or rather if I muſt ſpeake the trueth, the bodie drew me into the pit of ſinne. Snared with his eyes did I curiouſly view the beautie belonging to others, and affected both lands and riches, they compelling me to behold ſuch things. The affections of the bodie brought me to ſeruitude, and tooke away the libertie which thou gaueſt me. I was forced* ὡς ὁμοτρόφῳ καὶ ὁμοδούλῳ, *as bred with him and his fellow-ſeruant, to miniſter vnto him, and prouide for his wants. Often times grieued therewith, haue I yeelded to the neceſſities of the fleſh, yea not knowing what els to do, and verie much ſorowing, haue I beene driuen to wait on the deſires of the bodie. And often haue I reſiſted, and ſtifly repelled his ſnares; but his continuall conflicts manie times ouercame me. When I repreſſed him, I afflicted my ſelfe, for I receiued backe the griefe: when I cheriſhed him, I was impugned by him, enduring his wanton aſſaults. Therefore aſſigne not me alone to puniſhment, ô Lord, but either free me together with the bodie from theſe ſtraits, or caſt that together with me into torment. Howbeit the Iudge needeth no ſuch ſupplication; but as he gouerneth wiſely, ſo he iudgeth iuſtly, reſtoring the bodies to their ſoules, and ſo giuing to euerie one according to their deſerts.* Damaſcene alledgeth the coniunction of the ſoule with the bodie, and the cooperation of both in all vertues and vices, as cauſes ſufficient why the bodie muſt be iudged and rewarded together with the ſoule. [x] *If the ſoule alone ſuſtained the trials of vertue, alone ſhall ſhe be crowned: and if ſhe alone were intangled with pleaſures, iuſtly ſhe alone muſt be puniſhed.* ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ μήτε τῷ ὑπάρξαι χεχωρισμένῃ ἔχον, μήτε τῷ ἀρετῇ, μήτε τῷ κακίᾳ ἢ δι' ἐκείνου μεταλαβεῖν δίχα τοῦ σώματος; *but becauſe ſhe had no ſeuerall being* (from the bodie) *neither paſſed thorowe vertue or vice without the bodie, iuſtly ſhall both together receiue rewards* (of good or bad.)

" *Theodoret. de prouidentia. Serm. 9.*

[x] *Damaſcen. de fide Orthodoxa. l. 4. cap. 28.*

For the better conceiuing the trueth of theſe ſpeeches, we muſt know what theſe Fathers meane by the bodie; and what powers and faculties of man they compriſe in that name, and why: ſo ſhall wee the ſooner diſcerne what cooperation in ſinne mans bodie hath with his ſoule. The bodie, as it is the inſtrument or ſeruant of the ſoule, to do good or euill, is no dead nor ſenſeleſſe lumpe of fleſh; but hath annexed vnto it, beſides *life*, both *ſenſe* and *motion*, and thoſe as well inward as outward. For externall and internall ſenſe and motion are not only performed by vitall and animall ſpirits, which are plainly corporall; (though their vigor and force be from the ſoule, which bringeth life and ſenſe;) but ſo affixed to the bodie, that they die with the bodie, and are not found in the ſoule, ſo long as ſhe is ſeparated from the bodie. Thoſe faculties theſe Fathers aſcribe the rather to the fleſh, becauſe in ſome ſort they be in beaſts, who in their kinde haue ſenſe and motion, both outward and inward; and ſenſitiue deſires and affections depending thereon: which all muſt needs be corporall, for that brute beaſts ledde only by ſenſe to deſire and delight in things preſent before them, haue no ſpirituall nor immortall part from which they ſhould proceed. The ſame powers of *ſenſe*, and ſenſitiue *appetites*, and *affections* in mans bodie, theſe learned Fathers account and call corporall, not that they diſcerne or moue without the ſoule, but that the ſenſitiue and inferiour powers of the ſoule are mixed with corporal ſpirits in man, and by them apprehend and deſire externall & ſenſible things, by which corruption of *ſenſes and affections* the ſoule is drawen to diuers delights and deſires, that

What powers and faculties of the Soule the Fathers call corporall, and why.

are

are continuall occaſions and inducements to ſinnes. Therefore Theodoret nameth ἐπιθυμίας, πάθη, ἐπιβολὰς, καὶ πόλεμον, the *deſires, affections, aſſaults and conflicts* of the bodie ſeeking by pleaſures and ſundrie luſts to conquer the ſoule. Neither want they
[y] Rom.6. the warrant of holy Scripture in ſo ſpeaking. [y] *Let not ſinne reigne in your mortall bodies*, ſayth Paul, *to obey it in the luſts thereof; neither giue your members to be weapons of vnrighteouſneſſe vnto ſinne.* So that the members of our mortall bodie are called by the Apoſtle the weapons of vnrighteouſneſſe, by which ſinne fighteth againſt the ſoule. [a] *Whence are warres and ſtrifes in you*, ſayth Iames? *not hence, euen from the pleaſures which fight in your members?* [a] *Abſtaine*, ſayth Peter, *from carnall deſires, which fight againſt the ſoule.* [b] *I delight in the law of God*, ſayth Paul, *according to the inward man: but I ſee another law in my members fighting againſt the law of my minde, and leading me captiue to the law of ſinne, which is in my members. O wretched man that I am, who ſhall deliuer me from the bodie of this death?* Where the inward man (which is the *mind lightned*, and the *will directed* by grace) is diuided againſt the outward man, which muſt needs be the inferior powers of the ſoules ioyned with the parts and ſpirits of the bodie; wherein and whereby ſinne ſtill dwelling in our earthly and irregenerate members, luſteth againſt the ſpirit, and ſtriueth againſt the minde; which Peter calleth fighting againſt the ſoule.

[a] Iam.4.
[a] 1.Pet.2.
[b] Rom.7.

To ſtrengthen this doctrine, which you thinke ſo ſtrange, it ſhall not be amiſſe to conſider ſomewhat further, what communion the ſoule hath with the bodie; that thereby we may perceiue, what vſe the ſoule hath of her bodie in well or euill doing. The *habitation* of the ſoule in the bodie, and her *coniunction* with the bodie making one man of two contrarie parts; mortall, and immortall; viſible, and inuiſible; reaſonable, and vnreaſonable; is ſo wonderfull a worke of God, that the manner thereof wholly paſſeth our vnderſtanding: onely by conſequents, and effects wee gather, what ſhe vſeth in the bodie, what ſhe perceiueth by the bodie, and what ſhe imparteth to the bodie. Howbeit her habitation in the bodie, and vnion with the bodie, compoſing one perſon of both, called man, is ſufficient by the Scriptures, if we knew no more of the communion that is betwixt them, to make both parts guiltie of all ſinne committed, and liable to the puniſhment thereof both in this world, and in the next. And ſo much the Scriptures teach vs, when they require confeſsion of our *ſinnes*, or promiſe remiſsion of *our ſinnes*, or threaten vengeance for *our vnrighteouſneſſe*; wherein the bodie is not ſeuered nor excepted from the ſoule, but both are conioyned in one perſon, to whom and euery part of whom, either mercie is afforded vnto ſaluation, or iuſtice awarded vnto damnation. And yet becauſe the communion which is betwixt the ſoule and bodie, will giue vs ſome light, how the ſoule vſeth the helpe of her bodie in accompliſhing her actions; I may not omit to ſpeake thereof, though happily it will be ſomewhat obſcure to the ſimple, and more remote from their vnderſtanding, then in this caſe I could wiſh.

As man was ordained of God to haue in him the ſeuerall operations, of *life*, of *ſenſe*, of *reaſon*, ſo was the ſoule created with three diuerſe faculties anſwerable to thoſe three functions; to wit, with a *vitall* or vegetatiue for the firſt, with a *ſenſitiue* and motiue for the ſecond, with a *reaſonable* or intellectiue for the third. The *vitall* facultie prouided for the quickning, nouriſhing, increaſing and preſeruing of the bodie in moderate ſtrength to the diſcharge of our duties to God and our neighbour, is ſo faſtned to the bodie, that without the bodie it hath neither vſe, nor action.

The ſecond facultie called ſenſitiue was giuen of purpoſe to the ſoule, not onely to perceiue by ſenſe the natures, helpes, and vſes of all externall and ſenſible things, and by voluntarie motion to purſue that, which was profitable for vs; but chiefly, that by ſeeing the workes & hearing the words of God we ſhould come to the knowledge of his will, and open our lippes to praiſe his name, and to direct and comfort others; as alſo ſtretch out our hands to aide and relieue our ſelues and our brethren, and with all the partes of our bodie to performe all outward actions and duties of pietie and charitie. To which ends becauſe ſenſe and motion both externall and internall

ternall were requiſite as well as reaſon, the wiſedome of God hath placed in the body, and ſpecially in the head and heart (the ſeates of vnderſtanding and will) certaine thinne, quicke, and *aeriall vapours*, or *ſpirits*, which riſe from the blood, and are brought by the braine to a marueilous force and agilitie, that they ſhould carie to the minde of man with incredible celeritie the reſemblances of all things ſubiected to ſenſe, and with like vehemencie ſtirre and excite the heart and will of man, with conſent to imbrace, and with all the powers and partes of ſoule and bodie to follow after that, which prouoketh and delighteth the ſenſitiue ſpirits. So that theſe corporall and actiue ſpirits are the meanes, whereby particular things and circumſtances, together with their profites and pleaſures, are in a moment preſented to the mind: and the heart and will likewiſe mooued and inflamed to accept and allow that, which contenteth and pleaſeth the ſenſes. For according as the things obiected to ſenſe, or remembred after ſenſe, ſeeme good or euill to the powers of the ſoule vnited with theſe ſpirits, ſo is deſire or anger kindled by pleaſure on the one ſide, and diſlike or griefe on the other, which preſently and violently preuaile with the ſoule, where grace wanteth, and luſt and ſtriue euen in the Saints againſt the ſpirit of God. This is that part of the ſoule, which in the faithfull is not regenerate, whiles here they liue; luſting ſtill after the things of this world, euen the *delights of the fleſh, the deſires of the eye*, and *the pride of life*; and by theſe baits and ſnares fighting againſt the Soule.

The third power of the Soule is *intellectiue*, that is the mind endued with vnderſtanding and will; which in the naturall man is ignorant of God and auerſe from God by corruption of ſinne, and ſo caried through the loue of it ſelfe either to carnall pleaſures at the prouocation of the ſenſes, or to vaine deſires vnder color of humane reaſon and glorie. This part in the faithfull is lightned and perſwaded by the Spirit of God to ſee and acknowledge the good and acceptable will of God, and ſtrengthned with a meaſure of grace to reſiſt the dominion of ſinne *dwelling in our mortall bodie*, that is in the ſenſitiue powers and affections of the ſoule mixed with the members and ſpirits of the body; though in this life the mind euen of the regenerate hath not that perfection of knowledge and loue, which the law of God requireth; and therefore ſhrinketh often from the leading of Gods ſpirit by ignorance and infirmitie, but neuer by rebellion and obſtinacie.

This much being ſaid touching the powers of the Soule, which may more largely be peruſed in that learned [c] worke of Zanchius alleaged by this Diſcourſer; It is moſt euident by the very grounds of humane and Diuine learning and experience, that the principall part of the Soule, which is the mind enabled with reaſon and will, hath in all ſorts of ſinnes a manifeſt *communion* with the Body; either by *information* of the ſenſes, or by *tentation* from the affections, or by *impreſſion* on the ſpirits and parts of the body, or by the ready *ſubiection* of the whole body to the will; beſides *originall corruption*, which the Soule draweth from the Body, ſufficient of it ſelfe to make the Body guiltie of all euill committed by the Soule, and *actuall execution*, whereby the Soule needeth and vſeth the Body to effect and accompliſh, whatſoeuer ſhe intendeth. And firſt of information for the ſenſes.

[c] *Zanchius de operibus dei part. 3. lib 2. cap. 3.*

The knowledge of good and euill, which the Soule of man hath in this life, is not infuſed by creation, as it was in Angels, to whom that kind of knowledge is peculiar, but collected from the ſenſe, and taught by time, as we ſee by experience in all mankind without exception. I ſtill reſerue the reuelation and inſpiration of Gods Spirit; *when, where*, and *to whom* pleaſeth him. A plaine proofe of the former point we dayly behold in children, who vtterly know nothing, *no* [d] *not their right hand from their left*, as God himſelfe teſtifieth, till by ſenſe and vſe they learne to diſtinguiſh, and at length to conceaue the things ſet before them. The Rule of naturall Philoſophie expreſsing, that *the vnderſtanding hath nothing, which came not from the ſenſe*, you would faine tumble out of your way, but it is very true and conſonant to the Scriptures, if it be taken as it was ment, and the reuelation of Chriſts Spirit thence excepted, of which in deed the Philoſophers knew nothing. For that was not ſpoken of *concluſions*

[d] Ionas. 3.

in

in reaſon, as if they muſt be firſt in ſenſe, before they could be inferred by conſequent; nor of the *diuiding* and *compounding* things in mans imagination, that came from the ſenſe, as dreames and fictions; but of the principles or premiſſes in reaſon, which muſt be plaine to the ſenſe; and of the naturall and true proprieties and differences of all particular things, which the ſenſe muſt firſt apprehend, before the mind can rightly diſcerne them. So that the mind conceaueth truely no ſingular things, which were not firſt apparent to the ſenſe, ſince man hath no naturall meanes giuen him of God to get the true knowledge of any thing, that is not reuealed or inſpired from aboue, but onely his ſenſes. To this the Scriptures beareth witneſſe, where the meanes to informe mans *Hart* of good and badde, in which ſinne conſiſteth, are ſet downe to be the *eyes*, and the *eares*, ſtill ſauing to God, what he reuealeth by the power of his ſpirit. Ignorance and neglect of Gods will, whence all ſinne commeth, are deſcribed in the Scriptures by the dulneſſe of the eare, and blindneſſe of the eye. *God hath giuen*
[g] Rom. 11. *them* (ſaith Paul) *the ſpirit of ſlumber*; euen *eyes that they ſhould not ſee, and eares that they ſhould not heare vnto this day*. Our Sauiour confirmeth the ſame out of the Pro-
[f] Matth. 13. phet Eſaie. [f] *The Hart of this people is wexed fatte, they heare dully with their eares, and winke with their eyes; leaſt they ſhould ſee with their eyes, and heare with their eares, and* (ſo) *vnderſtand with their harts. But bleſſed* (ſaith he to his Diſciples) *are your eyes, for they ſee; and your eares for they heare.* In ſo much that the Apoſtle doubteth not to
[e] Rom. 10. aſſure vs, [e] *faith commeth by hearing*, when *the hart beleeueth vnto righteouſneſſe*, and without hearing there is no beleeuing; *How ſhall they beleeue in him, of whom they haue*
[h] Eſa. 42. *not heard?* And God requiring his people to be wiſe and learne, ſaith, [h] *Heare ye deafe, and yee blind behold, that yee may ſee.* As God then vſeth no outward meanes beſides his *works* and his *words* to teach vs his will; ſo hath he giuen vs no naturall courſe to learne, but by the *eyes* and the *eares*; by which we muſt come to the knowledge of all heauenly, and much more of all earthly things.

The looſing and decaying of mans knowledge in this life, after he hath gotten it, will proue the ſame, no leſſe then the lacking thereof, before he doth by ſenſe attaine it. For when the *ſenſitiue ſpirits* in the braine be either groſſe and heauie, as in *fooles*; or extreame *hoate* and whirling as in *madde men*; or obſtructed and choked as in *Lethargies* and *Apoplexies*; men want the vſe of reaſon, becauſe the obiects, whereon the minde worketh, are by theſe meanes hindered and hid from the vnderſtanding.
[i] *Zanchius de operibus dei part. 3. li. 2. cap. 2. ſol. 507.* This is the true reſolution both of Philoſophers and Diuines. [i] *Ad facultatem intelligentem exercendam non eget (mens) organo tanquam medio, per quod intelligat: quanquam eget obiecto, in quod intueatur, & ex quo intellectionem concipiat. Hoc autem obiectum, ſunt phantaſmata, ſeu rerum a ſenſibus perceptarum ſimulachra ad phantaſiam perlata.* To exerciſe the facultie of vnderſtanding the mind of man, ſaith Zanchius, *needeth no inſtrument, as a meane by which ſhe may vnderſtand, but ſhe needeth an obiect, whereon to looke, and whence to conceaue the act of vnderſtanding. This obiect are the ſenſitiue apprehenſions, or the reſemblances of things receaued from the ſenſes and caried to the phantaſme* or imagination of man. And to this obiection that *vpon the hurt or wearineſſe of the braine we find by experience, our mind can not vnderſtand and worke in thoſe things as it did before*;
[k] *Zanchius ibidem. ſol. 507.* he anſwereth. [k] *Ideo non poteſt leſis aut defatigatis turbatisq; organis mens noſtra intelligendis contemplandiſq; rebus operam dare, quia phantaſmata ipſa, quæ ſunt in organo corporali, & quæ ſunt ceu obiectum intellectus, turbato ipſorum organo, videri & percipi non poſſunt. Therefore our mind can not contemplate and conceaue, when the inſtruments are hurt, wearied, or troubled, becauſe the reſemblances of things, which are in a corporall inſtrument,*
[l] *Ibidem.* *and are as an obiect to the vnderſtanding, can not be ſeene and perceaued.* For the [l] *reſemblances of things in mans Imagination are to his vnderſtanding and mind, as colours are to his ſight.* Now the eye ſeeth nothing but the colour of euery thing, though therewithall it diſtinguiſh number, quantitie, motion and figure, and ſo taketh the knowledge of euery ſenſible thing. In like manner without the ſimilitudes and ſhapes of things caried from the ſenſe to the phantaſiue imagination or apprehenſion, and there remaining, the mind vnderſtandeth nothing of thoſe things, that are without it; and

no

no knowledge is naturally within it, but what God hath reuealed to it. His concluſion is. [m] *Hæc partis ſenſitiuæ facultas propinqua eſt intellectiuæ, & huic ſuppeditat materiam cogitandi, intelligendi, & denique omnia ſua officia faciendi. This facultie of the ſenſitiue part, is placed neere vnto the intellectiue, and miniſtreth thereunto matter of Cogitation, vnderſtanding, and performing all her dueties.*

[m] Zanchius de operibus Dei part. 3 lib. 2. cap. 3. Theſi. 2. de phantaſia.

In inward tentation to euill, Saint Iames rule doeth generally take place. [n] *Euery man is tempted being drawne away, and entiſed by his owne concupiſcence. And luſt conceiuing bringeth foorth ſinne.* So that luſt naturally dwelling in vs, *and conceiuing and bringing foorth ſinne*, is the very mother and nurſe of all ſinne in vs. Auſten maketh two chiefe rootes of ſinne in man, *deſire*, and *feare*. [o] *Omnia peccata duæ res faciunt in homine, cupiditas & timor. Cogitate, diſcutite, interrogate corda veſtra, perſcrutamini conſcientias, videte vtrum poſſint eſſe peccata niſi cupiendo aut timendo. Two things cauſe* ALL SINNES *in men, deſire and feare. Bethinke your ſelues, diſcuſſe, examine your hearts, ſearch your conſciences*, and *ſee whether there can poſſible bee any ſinnes, but by deſiring or fearing.* Where leaſt Auſten making two fountaines of all ſinnes, *deſire*, and *feare*; ſhould iarre with Saint Iames, that ſetteth downe luſt for the firſt ſpring of euery tentation to ſinne: we muſt either take tentation, of which Saint Iames ſpeaketh, for a delightfull prouocation to ſinne, reſting within vs; and terrour, which Auſten addeth, for a violent and externall induction thereto proceeding from others: or elſe wee muſt deriue, deſire and feare from the loue of our ſelues, which originally dwelleth in vs, and luſteth after euery thing that liketh vs: or laſtly wee may ioyne the one as a conſequent to the other; ſince the naturall deſire wee haue of our owne eaſe and welfare, breedeth in vs that diſlike and feare of euill, which ſo much vrgeth and forceth vs. If then *deſire and feare*, be the motiues and inducements to ALL SINNES, that men commit; as moſt reſolutely Saint Auſten auoucheth; and theſe two *deſire* and *feare*, on which depend the reſt of our affections, be paſsions of the ſenſitiue part of the Soule permixed in this life with corporall ſpirits: certainely all ſinnes in men haue their prouocations and incitations from and by bodily ſenſes, ſpirits, or motions.

[n] Iam. 1.

[o] *Auguſt. in Pſal 79.*

[p] διὰ τῦ σωματικῦ ἄρα πνεύματος διεγείρεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἐπθυμεῖ, ἥδεται, ὀργίζεται, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν πρὸς τὰς πράξεις διὰ τῦτο πορεύεται τὰ κατ' ἔννοιάν τε καὶ διάνοιαν. *By bodily ſpirits* (ſaith Clemens Alexandrinus) *man hath ſenſe, deſire, reioyceth*, and *kindleth to anger; yea and by the ſame* (ſpirits) *doe the thoughts* and *reſolutions of the minde proceede to action.* [q] τῦ δίκαιον, τὰς μὲν ὁρμὰς, καὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς, ἔτι δὲ φόβους καὶ λύπας ἀπὸ τῦ σώματος ἔχειν ἢ κίνησιν, &c. *Where is it iuſt*, ſayth Athenagoras, *that* DESIRES, *pleaſures*, FEARES and *ſorrowes ſhould haue their motion* (or riſing) *from the body*, and *the ſinnes occaſioned by them*, and *the puniſhments for the ſame ſinnes ſhould lie on the Soule alone?* Damaſcene defining the paſsions or affections of the Soule, ſaith. [r] πάθος ἐστὶ κίνησις τῆς ὀρεκτικῆς δυνάμεως ἀἰσθητή, ἐπὶ φαντασίᾳ ἀγαθῦ ἢ κακῦ. *A paſſion* (or affection of the Soule) *is a ſenſible motion of the deſiring or appetitiue facultie, vpon the imagination of good or euill.* In which deſcription are three plaine proofes, that the paſsions of the ſoule (which by the confeſsion of Damaſcene, and all other Diuines are [r] DESIRE, FEARE, *ioy and ſorrow*) doe not mooue in this life without the body. Firſt in that they are *ſenſible* motions, they muſt be perceiued in the body; next in that they riſe from the *ſenſitiue appetite*, they are conioyned with the body; thirdly in that they come vpon the phantaſiue *imagination* of good or euill, they are kindled from the ſenſes of the body. What ſenſible motions theſe affections of the ſoule doe raiſe in the outward and inward parts of man, we ſhall anon perceiue, when we come to the impreſsions, that the ſoule maketh on the body: in the meane time it is not amiſſe to know, how Satan, who hath that name from his deſire and power of *tempting*, worketh and preuaileth in his temptations vpon men.

[p] *Clemens Alexand. Stromat. lib.6.*

[q] *Athenagoras de reſurrectione mortuorum.*

[r] *Damaſcenus orthodox. fidei li. 2. cap. 22.*

[r] *Ibidem, li. 2. cap. 12.*

It is euident by the Scriptures, that God alone *ſearcheth*, and *changeth* the heart of man, becauſe he alone is the maker of it; and therefore Satan, though he be a ſpirit, yet can hee not by himſelfe either diſcerne the thoughts, or alter the will of man; but in the one he obſerueth the ſecret impreſsions of the ſoule on the bodie; and in the other he ſtirreth and vſeth the ſpirits and affections of the bodie againſt the ſoule. So

that

that when he will put any euill thoughts into the hearts of men, as he did into [t] Iudas and [u] Ananias, and dayly doth into the children of diſobedience, and often times into the godlie themſelues, when he is ſo permitted; he can not of himſelfe turne and winde the heart as pleaſeth him, that is proper to God alone; but he abuſeth our eares and eyes, or els he ſtirreth the humors and ſpirits of the bodie, and by tempering and mixing the reſemblances of things receiued from the ſenſe, and reſerued in mans imagination, he obiecteth to the mind what he liſteth, and incenſing the affections, that are likewiſe bodilie, he trieth whether he can draw the heart to conſent. Which he diſcerneth not by any inward power of his owne, but by the different motions of the heart, where the will of man is ſeated, and according as he findeth his temptations to be either refuſed, or admitted in the heart of man, ſo he either deſiſteth from his loſt labour, or perſueth the ſuggeſtion once allowed, till the ſinne be performed. S. Auſten diſcuſsing how diuels could diuine at mens thoughts, and induce mens hearts, ſayth: [x] *Suadent miris & inuiſibilibus modis, corpora hominum non ſentientium penetrando, ſeſeq; cogitationibus eorum per quædam imaginaria viſa miſcendo, ſiue vigilantium, ſiue dormientium:* The diuels *perſuade by maruellous & inuiſible meanes, entring the bodies of men when they feele it not, and by certaine reſemblances or ſights of the imagination intermingling themſelues with the thoughts of men, either waking or ſleeping.* Of diſcerning our thoughts, the writer of Eccleſiaſticall opinions amongſt S. Auſtens works, ſayth: [y] *Internas animæ cogitationes diabolum non videre, certi ſumus, ſed motibus eas corporis ab illo, & affectionum indicijs colligi, experimento didicimus. We be ſure the diuell ſeeth not the inward thoughts of the heart, yet finde we by experience, that he collecteth them by the motions of the bodie, and the ſhewes of mens affections.* To which S. Auſten agreeth: [z] *Sicut apparet concitatior animi motus in vultu, vt ab hominibus quoq; aliquid foriſecus agnoſcatur, quod intriſecus agitur: Ita non debet eſſe incredibile, ſi etiam leuiores cogitationes dant aliqua ſigna per corpus, quæ obtuſo hominum ſenſu cognoſci non poſſunt, acuto autem dæmonum poſſunt. As a vehement motion of the minde appeareth euen in the countenance, that men may outwardly perceiue what is inwardly purpoſed; ſo ought it not to be incredible, that the lighter thoughts of men giue ſome ſignes by the bodie, which can not be deſcried by the dull ſenſe of men, but yet may be diſcerned by the quicke ſenſe of diuels.* By themſelues then diuels can not infuſe any thoughts into vs; that onely belongeth to the ſpirit of God; immediatly to inſpire the heart of man; neither can they ſo much as diſcerne our ſecret thoughts, which none can do, but he that framed the heart; yet as the ſoule getteth her knowledge by reſemblance and informance of things carried from the ſenſes to the imagination, and thence preſented to the minde: ſo the diuell hath his meanes to worke in the outward and inward ſenſes, which haue corporall ſeats and ſpirits, and by the ſimilitudes and ſhewes of things there found, to offer ſuggeſtions to the minde of man. Whether it be therefore the *world* without vs, the *fleſh* within vs, or the *diuell* both without and within, that tempteth vs; our ſenſes, imaginations and affections are the meanes which are vſed by all thoſe three; and theſe haue ſuch vnion and communion with the bodie, that after death there is no meanes for new temptations to be offered, nor new ſinnes to be committed, but ech man ſhall receiue iudgement for the things done in the bodie, and not after or before the bodie.

[t] Iohn 13.
[u] Act. 5.

How the diuell may diſcerne and incenſe our affections.

[x] *Auguſt. de Diuinatione Dæmonum. cap. 5.*

[y] *De eccleſiaſt. Dogmatibus. cap. 80.*

[z] *Auguſt. de Diuinatione Dæmonum. cap 5.*

That all the thoughts of man, be they neuer ſo light, giue ſignes in the bodie, I by no meanes affirme: for ſo the diuels ſhould eaſily diſcerne thoughts; and S. Auſten wiſely did moderate that aſſertion, and make ſome doubt, [a] how thoughts are knowen to diuels; but in ſinnes, (of which I ſpeake, not of thoughts) it is more manifeſt, that the diuell hath his meanes to ſee, whether his temptations take place in the heart or no. For when S. Iames ſayth, [b] *Reſiſt the diuell, and he will flee from you*; ſurely the diuell muſt ſee when he is reſiſted in the heart of man, els how ſhall he flee? [c] *Giue no place to the diuell*, ſayth Paul. Then doth the diuell perceiue, when place is giuen vnto him, that he may enter and poſſeſſe the heart; neither are his temptations ſo vainly offered, that he can not diſcerne when the heart imbraceth them. The ſoule therfore

[a] *Auguſt. retract. li. 2. ca. 3.*
[b] Iames. 4.
[c] Ephe. 4.

pleaſed

pleaſed or diſpleaſed with euill, cauſeth certaine naturall motions and impreſsions on the bodie, by which the wicked ſpirits obſerue the inclination of the heart; and that to them is as cleere, as the outward carriage of the countenance is to men, or the inward feeling of our affections is to our ſelues.

Of outward motions and impreſsions Ieſus the ſonne of Syrach ſayth: [d] *The heart of man changeth his countenance, either to good or euill.* [e] *A cheerefull face is the token of the heart for good:* and when the countenance falleth, the heart is diſpleaſed. *Why is thy* [f] *countenance caſt downe,* ſayd God to Cain, reprouing his diſlike, that Abels ſacrifice was preferred? And when Labans heart altered towards Iacob, *Labans* [g] *countenance was not as it was before.* [h] *I haue ſeene thy face, as the face of God, becauſe thou haſt accepted me,* ſayd Iacob to Eſau; and vſually in the Scriptures, *to finde grace in the eyes,* noteth a fauourable and louing reſpect had to any. Nature teacheth vs as well as Scripture, that *anger* and *fauour*, *ſorrow* and *ioy*, *feare* and *ſhame*, and all the affections of the heart appeare in the verie faces of men, and ſo doe *pride*, *enuie*, *luxurie*, *auarice*, *impudencie*, and ſuch like vices betray themſelues *by the very lookes. The* [i] *loftie eye of man ſhall be humbled,* that is, his pride ſhall be abaſed. *The* [k] *wicked enuieth to ſee with his eye, and turneth away his face; and the eye of the couetous is not ſatisfied with any part.* Of wantons Peter ſayth, *They haue* [l] *eyes full of adulterie.* By what outward ſignes of *face*, *eyes*, *geſtures* and *motions* of the bodie, the inward affections and diſpoſitions of the minde may be gathered, would be long to deliuer. Tertullian ſayth truly; [m] *Facies intentionum omnium ſpeculum eſt. The face is the glaſſe of all (our) intentions or affections.* And Ambroſe: *Habitus mentis in corporis ſtatu cernitur. The diſpoſition of the minde is perceiued by the ſtate of the bodie.* [n] τί γὰρ ἀνιαρότερον καὶ ἀηδέστερον ψυχῆς ἐμπαθοῦς. *What is more deformed* (ſayth Baſil) *and more diſpleaſing euen to the ſight, then the ſoule when ſhe is in her affections? Obſerue an angrie man, and the fierceneſſe of his looks. Marke a man ſorrowing, and the baſeneſſe and deiection of his ſoule. One that is ſubiect to luxurie or gluttonie, or amazed with feare, who can endure to beholde?* διαβαίνουσι μέχρι τῶν πρόσω τοῦ σώματος τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς διαθέσεις. *The diſpoſition of the ſoule piercing to the very outſides of the bodie, euen as the prints of the ſeemlineſſe of the ſoule appeare* ἐν τῇ κατασκευῇ, *in the compoſed behauiour and geſture of the godly.*

[d] Eccleſ. 13.
[e] Ibid. v. 27.
[f] Geneſ. 4.
[g] Geneſ. 31.
[h] Geneſ. 33.
[i] Eſa 2.
[k] Eccleſ. 14.
[l] 2. Pet. 2.
[m] *Tertullianus de reſurrectione carnis.*
Ambroſ. officio. li. 1. cap. 18.
[n] *Baſil. in Pſal. 29.*

All affections make ſenſible alterations in the hart.

The alterations of the bloud, and motions of the ſpirits within the bodie, which the ſoule raiſeth in all her affections, are not ſo open to the eye as the former, yet are they the cauſes of all outward mutations, and ſenſible enough to the parties themſelues, when they grow any thing vehement. For this is Gods ordinance in all things which haue ſenſe or reaſon, that good any way perceiued, ſhould delight, ſtirre, and inflame the will and appetite of beaſts, men and angels, with deſire and loue thereof: and euill contrariwiſe ſhould not onely auert and quench the will and appetite with hatred, but offend and oppreſſe the patient with feare and griefe. When then the ſoule of man vnited to her bodie, liketh any thing obiected or apprehended vnder the ſhew of good; ſhe kindleth and moueth her ſelfe to attaine her deſire, and therewithall incenſeth the vitall and animall ſpirits, which warme the bloud, enlarge the heart, and diffuſe themſelues to perſue, or embrace the good that is approching or preſent. And when ſhe ſeeth any euill which ſhe can not decline, but muſt endure, ſhe ſtaggereth, and ſincketh for feare, which quencheth the ſpirits, cooleth the bloud, and cloſeth the heart, depreſsing all three with a ſlacke, colde, and heauie remiſſneſſe. If ſhe may withſtand or requite the euill that is towards, ſhe raiſeth her ſelfe to anger, which maketh the bloud to boile, the heart to ſwell, and the ſpirits to flie to the outmoſt parts, as readie to reſiſt or reuenge. So that Love and Hatred of *good* and *euill* obiected to the ſenſe or minde of man, are the two chiefe ſprings of all his affections and actions; and the branches thereof, which are *deſire*, *feare*, *ioy*, *griefe* and *anger*, moued either by the ſenſe or vnderſtanding, haue their manifeſt or ſecret alterations of the bloud, and motions of the heart, by the intenſion or remiſsion of the ſpirits kindled, or quenched more or leſſe, according as the obiect of good and euill is greater or nearer. By this meanes the ſoule affected and mooued with good or

euill, affecteth and moueth her bodie, and ſheweth her inward diſpoſition and inclination to either; and the heart of man, which is the ſeat of will, hath his naturall and different motions raiſed by the ſoule, vpon her liking or diſliking of good or euill, perceiued by ſenſe or by vnderſtanding.

Theſe alterations and motions naturally impreſſed by the ſoule on the bodie, not onely Philoſophers and Phyſitians haue obſerued, but the Diuines of all ages, that haue waded therein, haue fully confeſſed. Ariſtotle by the rules of nature collected and inferred thus much: [o] *ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως τὸ ἐν τῷ ζωτικῷ διωκτὸν καὶ φευκτόν: ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἢ ἀκολουθεῖ τῇ νοήσει ἢ τῇ φαντασίᾳ αὐτῶν θερμότης καὶ ψύξις. The beginning of motion is that, which in our actions muſt be perſued or declined*; and *of neceſſitie heat and cold do follow vpon the cogitation or imagination* of either. *That which is grieuing, is declined; that which is pleaſing, is perſued. Howbeit, in ſmall things this is ſcant ſenſible.* [p] *So that almoſt all things grieuing and pleaſing (vs) bring with them a* (ſenſible) *kinde of colde and heat; as it is euident by our affections*; the parts *enlarging by heat*, and *ſhrinking with colde. This alteration, either the ſenſe, or the imagination, or the cogitation can make. Wherefore ſome ſhake and feare onely vpon the cogitation of things.* The euill or good which grieueth or pleaſeth vs, bringeth naturally colde or heat to the bloud, and ſo enlargeth or ſhrinketh the heart; which alterations do come as well vpon cogitation and imagination, as vpon ſenſe. Galene an exact and skilfull obſeruer of mans bodie, writeth that the firſt and principall cauſe of ſhaking is the [q] *recourſe of the naturall heat to the inward and outward parts, which is found in manie affections of the ſoule*; *and with the ſame are as well the ſpirits as the bloud caried ſometimes inward to the fountaine* (of the heart) *and there compreſſed; ſometimes extended to the outward parts, and there diffuſed. Thoſe ſpirits and bloud, together with the heat that is in either or both, the ſoule vſeth for her firſt inſtruments in all her operations, or els dwelleth in them; and thoſe motions of the ſoule we may plainly beholde in manie other things, but chiefly in the affections of the ſoule. For feare preſently drieueth the ſpirits and the bloud to the inward parts, and preſſeth them to a narrow roome by cooling the outſides of the bodie. Anger doth haſtily ſend forth, diffuſe, and heat* (the bloud and ſpirits) *and therefore the beating of the arteries and the heart, in them that feare, are ſmall and weake; but very great and vehement in them that are angrie.*

That feare doth ſtraiten and contract the hart, and ioy dilate it and make it leape, and the ſignes of either preuaile and appeare in the body; the auncient Father Saint Baſile did long ſince obſerue. [r] *Teares* (the effect of griefe) doe riſe, ſaith he, *when an impreſſion againſt our wils doth ſtrike the Soule, and draw it together, the ſpirit about the heart being compacted and ſtraitned. Ioy is as it were the leaping of the Soule exulting* (or aduancing it ſelfe) *for things anſwerable to our mind. Wherefore the Soule ſheweth ſignes in the Body accordingly. For in thoſe that ſorrow the maſſe of fleſh is pale, wanne, and cold. In thoſe that reioyce, the habite of their body is flouriſhing and ruddy, the Soule euen leaping, and for pleaſure offering to ruſh to the outmoſt parts.* Thomas Aquinas a man well learned, though led with the errors of his age, very truely noteth; Firſt, *Quod in* [t] *omni paſſione anima additur aliquid vel diminuitur a naturali motu Cordis, in quantum cor intenſiùs vel remiſſiùs mouetur: That in all the paſſions of the Soule ſomewhat is added to, or diminiſhed from, the naturall motion of the hart, in as much as the hart mooueth either ſwifter or ſlacker.* Secondly, that [t] *From the loue of temporall things all ſinne proceedeth; all* (our) *affections being cauſed by loue, which* [u] *melteth and mollifieth the hart, that the thing loued may pearce it, contrary to coldneſſe and hardneſſe of hart, which is a diſpoſition repugnant to loue*, whoſe perfection is to be zealous and feruent. The cauſe of all ſinne then, which is the loue of our ſelues and of temporall things delighting vs, ſo flameth in our harts, that it ſeeketh all occaſions, and vndertaketh all actions to content our appetites; and this heate and motion of loue being impreſſed in the hart by the ſoule, it is manifeſt that the conſent of ſinne is communicated from the Soule to the Body. Leonardus Fuchſius a learned Phiſitian of our time, and a profeſſor of true Religion, in his inſtitutions of Phiſicke ſheweth, that ioy [x] *ſorrow, hope, deſperation, confidence, feare, loue, hatred, mercie, enuie, anger, wrath, waſpiſhneſſe, rage, ſhamefaſtneſſe, bluſhing, ſtaggering,*

[o] *Ariſt. de animalium motione. cap. 8.*

[p] *Ibid. cap. 7.*

[q] *Galenus de cauſis Symptomatum. li. 2. cap. 5.*

[r] *Baſil. Homil. 4. de gratiar. Actione.*

[t] *Thomas 1. 2. quæſt. 24. art. 2. ad 2.*

[t] *Quæſt. 81. art. 1. in reſponſ.*

[u] *Quæſt. 25. art. 2. quæſt. 28. artic. 5.*

[x] *Fuchſius inſtitutio medicinæ. li. 1. Sectio. 7. cap. 4.*

ſtaggering, haſtineſſe, humanitie, moroſitie, and ſuch like haue their MOTIONS *in the hart,* heating or cooling it, and ſo dilating or contracting it more or leſſe, according to the differences and degrees of their impreſsions. Zanchius a wiſe and worthy Diuine treating of the parts of the Body, ſaith; [y] *The ſecond vſe of the hart is to impart vitall ſpirits ſpecially to the head, in which the mind properly worketh, and ſo to miniſter matter whence the ſenſitiue ſpirits are produced in the braine; by which, motion, ſenſe, and cogitations are ſtirred. The third vſe of the hart is that it ſhould alſo be the ſeate, fountaine, and cauſe of all our affections. For there are in the hart two motions, the one of pulſe, to maintaine life by the ordinary breathing in and out of the ayre: the other of affection, which followeth the thought of man, and is made by the extraordinarie dilating of the whole hart, as in ioy; or compreſſing it, as in ſorow. With ſorow and griefe we pine away, with ioy we reuiue. Whereupon the hart in one affection is opened and cheered, in the other it is ſhut and dryed. Hereby we perceiue why the Scripture by the name of the hart vnderſtandeth the* WILL *and all the affections of man, as by the name of the minde it noteth all the thoughts and knowledge of man. Wherefore as motion, ſenſe, and cogitations ſpring from the braine or head, ſo all affections from the hart. Then [z] from the hart aſcend to the braine vitall ſpirits, whence ſenſitiue ſpirits are engendred. By theſe ſenſitiue ſpirits thoughts are mooued, and knowledge planted in the mind. Againe, thoſe ſenſitiue ſpirits by cogitations and conceptions ſtrike the whole hart, and kindle diuers affections, and raize diuers motions in it. And this hath great profit in Diuinitie. For beſides that we vnderſtand how the Soule vſeth the Body, and worketh by the Body; two cheefe points of true godlineſſe are illuſtrated by this Doctrine: the* KNOVVLEDGE *and* LOVE *of God, whence commeth obedience and the obſeruance of all his commaundements. For the holy Ghoſt ſliding into our harts firſt lightneth the minde, which worketh in the head, and with that effectuall knowledge kindleth in our hart the affection of loue. And from thence commeth the motion* (of all the parts) *to performe the will of God. By this meanes God truely dwelleth in our mind, in our hart, and in our whole Body.*

[y] Zanchius de operibus Dei part. 3. li. 2. cap. 1. Numer. 7.

[z] Ibidem.

There is then neither good nor euill affection in the ſoule of man, which is not ſomewhat communicated to the hart of man, & expreſſed by the very motions of the hart; that the body may iuſtly be drawen by conſenting and ſeruing in either, to the reward and puniſhment of either.

The READY SVBIECTION of the Body to the Soule in all ſinne is the laſt point that I mentioned of their mutuall communion. For though vnderſtanding and will were giuen at firſt with all facilitie to rule and gouerne the other powers and parts of Soule and Body; yet the corruption of ſinne once entering, not onely diuided the Body againſt the Soule, but euen the Soule againſt it ſelfe. So that in good things this corruptible Body is now an heauie burden loading the Soule, when it is lightned with grace; and the inferiour and ſenſitiue powers of the Soule rebell and ſtriue againſt the ſpirit, which renueth the inward man of the hart. Some ignorance, infirmitie and ſelfeloue remaine ſtill in the mind, as defects, till we come to the place, where our knowledge and loue ſhall be made perfect; but when we would doe good, euen then *the Law of ſinne in our members* [a] REBELLETH *againſt the Law of our mind, and leadeth* (vs) *captiue to the law of ſinne, that is in our members. The* [b] *fleſh luſteth againſt the ſpirit and the ſpirit againſt the fleſh, and theſe are repugnant the one to the other, ſo that we can not doe the things which we would.* For which cauſe the Apoſtle profeſſed of himſelfe, that he did [c] *preſſe downe his body, and bring it into ſubiection*; leaſt (the Body rebelling and preuailing againſt the ſpirit) *he ſhould become a caſt-away.* This ſharpe and ſtrong reſiſtance, which our earthly members make againſt the mind and will delighting in the law of God, and guided by his ſpirit, ſheweth the willingneſſe and readineſſe of the fleſh to conſpire and ioyne with the WILL in the ſeruitude of ſinne; to make her members the weapons of vnrighteouſneſſe; ſo that the will no ſooner conſenteth to any euill, but the ſenſitiue and motiue powers of the Soule permixed with the bodily ſpirits, attend with delight and forwardneſſe to promote and execute ech ſinfull purpoſe. This is that [d] *greedineſſe,* which the Apoſtle noteth in ſome to vn-

[a] Rom. 7.
[b] Galat. 6.
[c] 1. Cor. 9.
[d] Epheſ. 4.

 cleanneſſe,

cleanneſſe, from which if either feare or grace reſtraine, it is not without ſome ſenſible griefe to the fleſh, diſappointed of her deſires and luſts.

We ſee the manifeſt and manifold coniunction and communion of the ſoule with the bodie as well in good as in euill; which is ſtrange to none, neither Philoſophers, Phyſitians, nor Diuines, but onely to this Diſcourſer, to whom all ſound and true learning is ſtrange. For not onely vertues and vices are common to both;, but ſpirituall graces, as *faith, hope, and loue*, the ſoule in this life receiueth, perceiueth, and practiſeth together with her bodie, and by her body. [c] *Vertue* and *vice*, ſaith Athenagoras, *can not ſo much as be conceiued in the ſoule without the bodie. For the vertues, that are, we know to be the vertues of men, (as alſo the vices that are contrarie) and not to be in the ſoule apart from the bodie, or conſiſting by her ſelfe.* Of faith we ſaid before, *it commeth by* [f] *hearing:* and ſo doth *hope*, ſince that is expected which is beleeued. Touching *loue*, God by his law commandeth himſelfe to be loued [g] *with all our mind, with all our heart, with all our ſoule, with all our ſtrength*; not making an emptie variation of words, but binding all the parts and powers of bodie and ſoule, capable of that affection or ſeruiceable to it, with one common duetie to perfourme him loue. The ſoule then beleeuing and louing the promiſes and graces of God, openeth the heart and diffuſeth the ſpirits to accept and imbrace the goodneſſe of God in like maner, as ſhe did before dilate it to entertaine the deſires of earthly things; and God deteſting an [h] *hard* and [i] *frozen heart*, as voyde of all loue, requireth to haue *the* [k] *bowels mooued* towards him, and the heart kindled with a *vehement* [l] *flame:* deſcribing *zeale* and *deuotion* by the naturall motions and paſsions, which are felt in the heart, when it is affected with vehement and ſtrong loue. So in repentance the ſoule depreſſeth and humbleth the heart, raiſing it againe with hope, which before was *exalted* with pride, and *incenſed* with ſelfe loue; by the ſame naturall meanes and motions teſtifying the one, that ſhe did the other, and drawing the body with the powers and parts thereof to the obedience of faith, ſo farre as the law of ſinne luſting in the fleſh will permit, and the meaſure of grace giuen vs doth preuaile.

[c] *Athenagoras de reſurrectione mortuorum.*

[f] Rom. 10.
[g] Marke 12.
[h] Marke 16.
[i] Sopho. 1.
[k] Cant. 5.
[l] Cap. 8.

Againſt this doctrine you would ſeeme to bring many obiections; but they are ſuch as will proue you either to vnderſtand nothing at all beſides your owne fanſies; or to play with ſhadowes, when you moſt profeſſe to be ſerious and earneſt. Your firſt is; [m] *Hereſies, Turciſme, and Atheiſme are committed and determined ſimplely in the mind, without any neceſſarie imployment of any parts of the bodie.*] If you can tell me what religion you were of in your cradle, before you did ſpeake or vnderſtand; your inſtance were of ſome waight. But if men be taught as well errors as trueth, by their parents and maſters, then this is a wodden reaſon to make vs beleeue, that hereſies are inſpired without teaching or hearing. S. Paul ſaith, [n] *Faith commeth by hearing*; and ſo I truſt you did firſt learne it, and not by reuelation. If we be not borne Chriſtians in knowledge, but muſt be taught; no more are any men borne Iewes, Turkes, or Heretikes, but their eares and hearts muſt be firſt infected with the tongues or pennes of others. This is one of your ſureſt weapons, wherewith you thought to doe great workes: but put it vp; at ſuch ſtrawes children will not ſtumble. *The firſt inuenters of hereſies*, you will ſay, *were not taught.*] The firſt authors of errours ſhut their eyes or eares againſt the trueth offered them, and ſo declined from trueth to falſehood, by leaning rather to their owne corrupt iudgements grounded on earthly reaſons, then to the voyce of God directing them aright. For why doe men disbeleeue and impugne the word of God, as all heretikes do; but becauſe they meaſure diuine things, that paſſe their reach, by humane ſenſe and experience, which are not gathered without the bodie? *The Turkes are ſtrangers* (you thinke) *to the word of God*, and *Atheiſts are vtter deſpiſers of it.*] The Turke deſtitute of trueth, and ſo not able rightly to iudge of Gods fauours in this life, bendeth his eyes on the worldly miſeries of Chriſtians, and comparing them with the victories and felicities (as he thinketh) of his owne nation, condemneth the faith of Chriſt, as diſpleaſant to God, by reaſon of the manifold afflictions

Our naturall knowledge commeth by ſenſe.

[m] Def. nec. pag. co. 19.

[n] Rom. 10.

afflictions of the faithfull, and preferreth his owne profeſsion, and *Mahomet* the firſt erector of it as moſt acceptable to God, becauſe they haue their deſires in this world, and are conquerors ouer Chriſtians, not knowing the finall reward of the one and of the other after this life. Atheiſts are caried with almoſt the ſame reſpects to denie or deſpiſe the power and prouidence of God. For they being earthly minded, and ſeeing the wicked and prophane perſons not onely free from puniſhment, but moſt to flouriſh in this life, doe hence collect, there is no God; whoſe patience and iuſtice they deride, becauſe hee diſpenſeth not tranſitorie things according to their expectation.

[o] *Further as the Angels ſinned in the beginning by their meere ſpirituall conceit againſt God, ſo nothing letteth but that man in his Angel-like nature (the reaſonable ſoule) may ſinne likewiſe, without any bodily meanes thereunto.*] This is another of your reaſons not much vnlike the former. For in Angels, which now are deuils, their vnderſtanding and will might and did ſinne, becauſe they were ſpirits, and other eſſentiall partes in them we doe not know. In men that cannot be, becauſe they conſiſt of bodie and ſoule, and haue many powers of the ſoule permixed with the bodie, and ſo muſt ſin in both the parts of their nature, before they can ſin, as the Angels did, that is, in their whole ſubſtance. If then you ſee no difference betweene Angels, that are only ſpirits, and men, that muſt haue bodies as well as ſoules, before they can be men; your Angel-like nature is not very bright. If you ſee the difference, and yet vrge your conſequence; that is a meere ſpirituall conceite of yours, but vtterly voyde of all reaſon. For as well men as Angels muſt ſinne in their whole natures, leaſt whiles you place one part in hell as nocent, and the other in heauen as innocent, you bring vs as ſtrange iudgements, as you doe doctrines. In Gods iudgement, [p] *Ea ſolummodo quæruntur, quæ cum corpore geſſit; thoſe things onely are required,* (ſaith Cyrill) *which* (man) *committed with his bodie.* Neither will this ſerue your turne, that the bodie is the inſtrument of the ſoule. For as whiles man liueth, many faculties of the ſoule are tempered with the bodie; ſo when man ſinneth, the whole ſoule is not guiltie, if the ſenſitiue powers and affections of the ſoule be exempted from ſinne. And ſince by Gods ordinance after Adams fall, the corruption of ſinne firſt riſeth in the bodie, the information and tentation to ſinne commeth from the bodie, and the conſent of the ſoule to ſinne is impreſſed on the bodie, as alſo willing ſubiection to ſinne is yeelded by the bodie; this is let ſufficient, why the ſoule alone neither can, nor doeth ſinne in this life without her bodie.

[q] *Alſo as we can thinke well without vſing our bodie, God ſo inſpiring vs: ſo may we thinke ill (which is ſinne) our inborne corrupt vnderſtanding, and reaſon, and will mouing vs only.*] If Gods power be not tied to the courſe of nature preſcribed vs, will you thence inferre, that we are likewiſe freed from it? He that framed the heart, can open it, and alter it as pleaſeth him; but that is no charter, for vs to chalenge any knowledge, ſaue what is naturally gathered with our eyes, or with our eares, or ſupernaturally reuealed to vs. Wiſedome infuſed from our cradles we haue none; *we* KNOVV *not our right hand from our left*, till by time we be taught; and our teachers, be they men or Angels, muſt vſe our outward ſenſes, or our inward imaginations to direct and inſtruct vs: otherwiſe we can neither conceaue nor vnderſtand, what they ſay or ſhew, ſince they can not lighten our hearts. And when God doth inſpire vs with that which is good, he not onely openeth our hearts, but filleth them with the loue of his truth & goodneſſe, without which [r] *all knowledge is nothing.* Now the loue of God diffuſed in our hearts here on earth, raiſeth the ſelfe ſame inward and naturall motion of the heart, which is incident to that affection; and which other kindes of loue doe; leaſt our hearts ſhould be colder and ſlower in louing God, who requireth all the partes and powers of ſoule and bodie to be deuoted to his loue, then they were in affecting and louing the world. So that firſt your Antecedent is falſe; for things inſpired muſt be embraced with the whole heart, before they can pleaſe God; and your conſequent is worſe; ſince God worketh aboue nature in things that be good, and leaueth vs in

[o] Defenc. pag. 61. l. 4.

[p] Cyrill. in Ioan. lib. 1. cap. 9.

[q] Defenc. pag. 61. l. 8.

[r] 1. Cor. 13.

things that be euill, to the naturall courſe of our corrupt condition, which receaueth ſinne from the ſoule and bodie, and imparteth it vnto both, that neither ſcape vnpuniſhed.

f Defenc. pag. 62. li. 29. [f *If the Soules operations were ſo neceſſarily tied to the faculties and inſtruments of the body, as you doe auouch, I greatly doubt how the Soules immortalitie will be defended againſt the effect of your aſſertion.*] I giue the body no eſſentiall cooperation with the Soule in vnderſtanding and will; I giue it a prouocation, impreſsion, ſubiection, and execution in euill, which argueth a communion with the Soule in ſinne, though vnderſtanding and will bee the proper actions of the Soule. Now if the ſoule, ſo long as ſhee is ioyned with her body, communicate her ſinfull operations to the body, is that any proofe ſhee can not bee ſeuered from the body? Children in their cradles haue no knowledge of good and euill. Shall they therefore remaine children for euer in minde, and not diſcerne either their happineſſe in heauen, or their wretchedneſſe in hell? What here they want becauſe the ſoule is coupled with the body, ſhall there be ſupplied, when the ſoule is parted from the body. Here the ſoule ſeeth with the eyes, heareth with the eares, and ſpeaketh with the tongue; but after this life our Sauiour teacheth vs, that the Soule ſhall *ſee*, *heare*, and *ſpeake* after an other maner, as ſpirits doe, though ſhee want *eyes*, *eares* and *tongue*. Here the ſoule can not mooue from place to place, but with her body: when ſhee is ſeuered, ſhee ſhall be caried to Paradiſe, or hell without her body. Here the paſsions of the Soule, deſire, ioy, feare, and ſorrow are common to both parts of man: hereafter they ſhalbe proper to the ſoule, ſo long as ſhee abideth vncoupled to the body. Here fooliſhneſſe, madneſſe, forgetfulneſſe, ſickneſſe, wearineſſe, do hinder the operations of the ſoule: there ſhall bee no ſuch thing. Here the ſoule ſinneth, repenteth, and beleeueth: there is no place, nor power to commit new ſinnes, nor to repent the olde. S. Auſten ſayth thereof.

t *Auguſt. in Enchirid. cap. 111.* [t *Iſtis voluntas, illis facultas non poterit eſſe vlla peccandi. The Saued can haue no will, the Damned no power to ſinne.*] So that the condition of the Soule ſeuered from the body, much differeth from the ſtate of the ſoule ioyned with the body; and though ſhee communicate her actions good and bad in this life to her body, yet in the next ſhee ſhall vſe her vnderſtanding and will, and feele her affections and paſsions without her body.

s Defenc. pag. 62. li. 32. [s *Surely it bringeth in the hereſie of Pope Iohn the two and twentieth, and of certaine Anabaptiſts, that the Soule hath no being till ſhee reſume her body at the laſt day.*] Your ignorance is no argument to bring the ſoule a ſleepe, till ſhee reſume her body. Shee hath no ſeueral being from her body in this life, for that Man conſiſteth of ſoule and body vnited and ioyned together. Shall ſhee therefore not bee ſeuered, or haue no being, when ſhee is ſeuered? Are you a Diuine and doe not know, that God hath ſo framed the Soule, that ſhee may be vnited to the body, and alſo ſeuered from the bodie, without loſſe of her eſſentiall powers, which yet during this life are ſeated in the body, and in ſome ſort aſsiſted by the body? The very faculties of ſenſe and motion, which are permixed with the body, and can not be exerciſed but in the body, retaine their roote and force ſtill in the Soule, when their operation ceaſeth for want of the body. *To gather knowledge*, and *declare conſent*, the Soule heere vſeth the ſpirits and parts of the body; yet after this life her vnderſtanding and will ſhall not onely perſiſt

s 1. Cor. 13. the ſame, which they were, but be exceedingly encreaſed and confirmed. *For* s *now we ſee through a glaſſe darkely, but then face to face. Now we know in part; but then ſhall we know, euen as we are knowen.* Yea *loue* and *ioy*, which here are diſcerned by the motion of the heart, and alteration of the ſpirits, ſhall there bee moſt perfect, and *neuer fall away*. So that your doubt of Pope Iohns hereſie to be conſequent to my poſition, is a drowſie ſlumber of your diſtempered braine, it hath no coherence with any concluſions or aſſertions of mine.

r Defenc. pag. 62. li. 35. [r *Hence is it, that you ſay, Gods iuſtice puniſheth the ſoule* (onely) *by the body, that is, not till the reſurrection.*] You can hatch errours foule enough, and faſt enough, if you may be ſuffered to adde and alter, what pleaſeth you, in other mens words. Betweene the

profeſsions of Arians & Chriſtians, there was but a diphthongs difference, *oi* for *e*. Atheiſts holding there is (NO) *God*, ſwarue but one ſillable from the truth. What hereſie then may you not coine by adding (ONLY) to my words, which I preciſely did decline; and made a manifeſt exception againſt it, leſt any ſhould ſuſpect it? Giue me the like libertie in your words, and I will find you holes in euery leafe to harbor the groſſeſt hereſies, that euer were heard of in Turke or Pagan. But Sir, this is the diuels occupation, plainely to peruert the words, that otherwiſe containe nothing in them but the trueth. *That the* [a] *iuſtice of God both temporally and eternally puniſheth the ſoule by the bodie*, which are my words, is a notorious and manifeſt trueth: for he puniſheth temporally in this world, and eternally in the world to come after that ſort; ſo that no man is ſo doltiſh as to doubt thereof. That God neuer puniſheth otherwiſe in this life, nor the next, but (ONLY) ſo, this is your exorbitant imagination, it is no concluſion depending on my words, much leſſe any part expreſſed in them. [b] *In trueth thus you muſt needs affirme and holde, you can not auoid it, if you will hold your maine queſtion.*] In trueth your Maſterſhip is miſ-ſighted; I do not ſee, nor you do not ſhew, how any ſuch thing is conſequent to my queſtion. The abſurditie, with which you would intangle me, that [b] *els God did not properly puniſh Chriſt for our ſins*, is weaker than a ſpiders webbe. The proper puniſhment of ſinne, without reſpect to perſons, is *ſpirituall, temporall*, and *eternall* death; which Chriſt could not ſuffer. The full ſatisfaction and puniſhment of our ſinnes in Chriſtes perſon, was the death of his bodie ſuffered on the croſſe, with thoſe paines preceding and accompanying it which are deſcribed in the Scriptures. And this is ſo euident and eaſie, that beſides ſuch conceited Sirs as you are, few do or need doubt it.

[a] Concluſ. pa. 254. li. 34. & pa. 255. li. 1.

[b] Defenc. pa. 62. li. 38.

[b] Defenc. pag. 63. li. 3.

[c] *If I grant this point of heathen Philoſophie, that the Soule taketh occaſion to thinke all things, which ſhe thinketh, vniuerſally from the Body and bodily obiects, yet it followeth not, that ſhe taketh occaſion to miſ-thinke from thence alſo.*] Doe you call that *heathen Philoſophie*, which is ſo plainely perceaued by nature, ſo fully confirmed by Scripture, and ſo vniuerſally confeſſed on all ſides, that the very Heathen could not gainesay it? Tell vs I pray you, if you haue lately lighted on any new way, how Man may come to knowledge, but either from ſenſe, or by reuelation. Our Sauiour knew no more waies, when he ſaid to Peter, [d] *Fleſh and blood hath not reuealed it vnto thee, but my Father which is in Heauen.* Where men, that are teachers or learners, are called *fleſh* and *blood*, becauſe without the Body the Soule learneth nothing in this life, but what is reuealed vnto it by the ſpirit of God. Saint Iohn knew as few. [e] *That* (ſaith he) *which we haue ſeene, and heard, declare we vnto you, that you alſo may haue fellowſhip with vs.* This a man would thinke were plaine enough, that all knowledge muſt be either naturally *infuſed* in vs, as it was in Angels; or *collected* of vs by ſenſe and experience, or *reuealed* to vs from God. For if we be borne voide of all knowledge, as the Scripture expreſly teſtifieth we *know not* (at firſt) *our right hand from our left*; then muſt we get it by meanes. And meanes to come by the knowledge of particular and externall things, what can you aſsigne beſides the ſenſe? If therefore the Heathen ſaw this, and you ſee it not, you prooue your ſelfe to haue leſſe vnderſtanding then the Heathen. The Soule indeede by the power of vnderſtanding and reaſon wherewith ſhe is endued of God, doth in continuance obſerue, diſcerne, and compare the agreements and contrarieties of things, as alſo their cauſes and conſequents; and what of her ſelfe ſhe can not perceaue, ſhe learneth with more eaſe of others, who are longer and better acquainted therewith, and whoſe phantaſiue ſpirits are thinner and quicker to pearce into the depth of things. The differences then and defects of mens wits doe cleerele witneſſe, that not onely the inſtruments of ſenſe, but the Imaginatiue ſpirits muſt concurre to attaine and encreaſe knowledge in this life, vnleſſe God inſpire the Hart aboue nature; which he doth when and where pleaſeth him.

[c] Defenc. pa. 61. li. 11. *The meanes of mans knowledge.*

[d] Matth. 16.

[e] 1. Ioh. 1. v. 3.

Theſe may be the meanes of thinking, and yet not the cauſes or occaſions of miſthinking.] The naturall meanes of thinking muſt ſtill be the meanes of well and ill thinking: they varie not, howſoeuer the minde varie in her reſolutions. What or how

how manie may be the cauſes or occaſions of ill thoughts, maketh nothing to this queſtion; it ſufficeth for my purpoſe, to make the bodie liable to the puniſhment of euery ſinne, that the parts, powers, or ſpirits of the Body haue any communion with the ſuggeſting, admitting, or performing of ech ſinne. For in all ſinne not onely the Doers, but the leaders, directors, aduiſers, helpers, conſenters, allowers, and reioycers are in their degree partners with the principall. Yea all the inſtruments are iuſtly deteſted, where the crime is worthily condemned. But whence ill thinking commeth, can you tell? A man may thinke and ſpeake of all the errors and hereſies in the world, and yet not ſinne. It is the liking and embracing of them, that maketh the offence, and not thinking or reaſoning of them. The *will* then cauſeth thoughts to be good or euill, the vnderſtanding doth not. Now the *will* muſt haue ſomewhat to lead it, which is either the *ſhew* of truth, or the *loue* of ſome other thing, which doth preiudice the truth. There is no truth but in the *word* of God, which we muſt either *heare* or *read*, before we can apprehend. If we ſtop our eares againſt the word of God, ſhall not that wilfull deafeneſſe of ours turne to the deſerued deſtruction of Body and Soule? If we open our eares, but not our harts to the voice of God, doth not the *loue* of ſome earthly *good*, or *feare* of ſome temporall *harme* cloſe our harts againſt the truth? Both which, as well *loue* as *feare*, come from the bodily ſenſes and affections, and make their manifeſt impreſsion on the hart, leading the will to conſent to their law. For where all ill thoughts are againſt *veritie*, *charitie*, or *temperance*; men are ledde from the truth, by [f] *commoditie*, *glory*, *ſoueraignetie*, or *credulitie*, as Auſten obſerueth; whereto if we put, *eaſe*, *enuie*, and *luxurie*, we ſee the cauſes of all ill thoughts, which haue no place in the Soule apart from the Body.

[f] *Auguſt. de vtilitate credendi. ap* 1.

[g] Defenc. pa. 62. li. 15. *Prouocations and pleaſures come by the ſenſes.*

[g] *The proper prouocations and pleaſures of ſinne, are often times not outward at all, but the meere peruerſitie and malignitie of our euill mind is vſually the very cauſe of ill thoughts, and ill determinations.*] You would ſay ſome what, if you could tell how. Doth any thing *properly prouoke* it ſelfe? Doth the fire prouoke it ſelfe to burne, or the Sunne prouoke him ſelfe to ſhine? Lameneſſe maketh a creeple to halt, it prouoketh him not. And ſo doth pitch defile the hands, and not prouoke them to fowleneſſe. The next and neceſſarie cauſes of things are called efficients, and not *prouocations*. So that will you, nill you, prouocations are externall either to the perſon, or to the part, that is the principall, or ſpeciall Agent. The Apoſtle teacheth you how to vſe the word properly, when he ſaith, [h] ἀλλήλους προκαλούμενοι, *prouoking one an other*. The very compoſition of the word proueth as much, προκαλεῖσθαι, or *prouocare*, is *firſt to call* or vrge a man to any thing, before he him ſelfe be willing. Then the naturall and inward corruption of the minde is no prouocation, but the cauſe efficient of ill thoughts; and if there be any prouocations, they muſt be externall to the part, or partie prouoked. And did you know the principles of learning, or grounds of nature, you would ſoone perceaue, that as well the will of man, as his deſire is led with reſpect of ſomewhat, that is good, or at leaſt ſeemeth good, which prouoketh and draweth both ſenſe, and will to performe her actions. Now though the deſire Antecedent, and delight conſequent be inward and inherent, yet the good things which we affect, and would attaine, are then externall when we purſue them; and when we vſe them or enioy them, they are but conioyned with vs in poſſeſsion or opinion, which contenteth both Body and Soule.

[h] Galat 5.

As you do not vnderſtand what PROVOCATION meaneth; ſo do you leſſe perceaue what PLEASVRE is. You mingle Soule and ſenſe, head and heeles together to make ſome ſhew of oppoſition; but in the end you bewray your preſumptuous ignorance, and daube it ouer with your wonted words of PROPER & MEERE, which are as much to this purpoſe, as ſalt to make ſugar. *The* PROPER *prouocations and pleaſures of ſinne are often times*, you ſay, *not outward at all.*] I vſed not the word *outward*; but ſayd, *the* [i] *ſoule tooke from the bodie all* PROVOCATIONS and PLEASVRES *of ſinne* (brought to effect) *and committed all* ACTS *of ſinne by her bodie*: you neither marke the reſtraint which I made in the beginning of that ſection, *of all ſinnes*

[i] Conclu. pa. 254. li. 32.

* *brought*

[k] *brought to effect*, neither ſee the words following in the ſame ſentence, which expreſſe as much, the [l] *acts of ſinne* committed; but rouing quite from the matter, you ſnarle at my words without iudgement or memorie. For as you fumble about prouocations, ſo do you about pleaſure, which you would make to be meerely ſpirituall. But notwithſtanding your toying with termes, that is properly PLEASVRE, which the ſoule taketh by or from the bodie. Cicero the father of the Latine tongue diſputing of *pleaſure*, ſayth reſolutely: [m] *Omnes iucundum motum, quo ſenſus hilaretur, Græcè* ἡδονὴν, *Latinè voluptatem vocant. All men both in Greeke and Latine call that pleaſing motion wherewith the ſenſe is delighted, Pleaſure.* And againe: [n] *In eo voluptas omnium Latinè loquentium more ponitur, quum percipitur ea, quæ ſenſum aliquem moueat, iucunditas. That is called pleaſure by the vſe of all that ſpeake Latine, when any delight is felt which moueth ſome of the ſenſes.* Plato in his Dialogue called Protagoras, referreth [o] εὐφραίνεσθαι, ἀντὶ τῆ διανοίᾳ, ἥδεσθαι, αὖτῶ τῷ σώματι; *gladneſſe to the minde, and pleaſure to the bodie.* Ariſtotle, though he often extend the name of pleaſure with ſome addition to other delights, yet plainely confeſſeth the word alone ſignifieth bodilie pleaſure. [p] εἰλήφασι γὰρ τῷ τῆς ὀνόμα]ος κληρονομίαν αἱ σωματικαὶ ἡδοναὶ. *The pleaſures of the bodie haue obtained the inheritance of that name.* So Clemens Alexandrinus: [q] *By bodily ſpirits a man hath* SENSE and PLEASVRE. And Athenagoras likewiſe: [r] *Deſires and pleaſures haue their motion from the bodie.* Zanchius no meane Philoſopher and Diuine, ſayth: [s] *Affectuum omnium duo ſunt capita, voluptas & dolor. Pleaſure and paine are the two chiefe heads of all the* (ſenſitiue) *affections.*

And did not the word *pleaſure* alone without addition ſignifie the delights of the ſenſes, as by theſe Philoſophers and Diuines we ſee it doth; yet the ſoule taketh no delight, which the Scriptures do properly call *gladneſſe* and *ioy*, but ſhe doth communicate the ſame to her bodie; inſomuch that the Scriptures expreſſe the delight and ioy of the ſoule by the mouing and leaping of the heart, as it doth ſorow by the ſhrinking and gathering together of the heart. That the heart is the ſeat of ioy and ſorow, is euident by the word of God. [t] *Your heart* (ſayth Chriſt) *ſhall reioyce.* [u] *Thou haſt giuen gladneſſe into mine heart*, ſayth Dauid to God. And againe: [x] *Wherefore mine heart reioyced.* And that the affection of ioy in the ſoule is diſcerned by the motion of the heart, is there as manifeſt; [y] *Mine heart leaped*, that is, reioyced *in the Lord*, ſaid Anna, when ſhe had obtained Samuel at the hands of the Lord. [z] *Let not thine heart leape*, ſayth Salomon, that is, reioyce not *at the fall of thine enemie.* [a] *My heart leaped* (for ioy) *in thy ſaluation*, ſayth Dauid. And God promiſing comfort and ioy to his people, ſayth; [b] *Their hearts ſhall be glad, as with wine; yea their heart ſhall leape* (with ioy) *in the Lord.* Which motion Dauid aſcribeth to his ſoule, ſaying; *My* [c] *ſoule ſhall leape* (for ioy) *in the Lord*: and the virgin Marie to her ſpirit, where ſhe ſayth; *My* [d] *ſpirit hath leaped* (for ioy) *in God my Sauiour*: thereby ſhewing that the ſpirit and ſoule of man affected with ioy and gladneſſe, doth raiſe and ſtirre the heart to a ſenſible kinde of dilating and leaping; euen as in ſorow ſhe contracteth and gathereth the heart together. *I wrote vnto you*, ſayth Paul, *in much* [e] *compreſſion*, καὶ συνοχῆς καρδίας, *and ſhrinking of the heart*, that is, ſorow, which contracteth and ſhrinketh the heart together. A better proofe, that ſoule and bodie do communicate together in ioy and griefe, we can not haue, than that life and death thereon doe depend. [f] *The ioy of heart is the life of man, and ſorrow hath ſlaine manie.* Which Salomon confirmeth, ſaying; [g] *A ioyfull heart preſerueth* (the [h] bodie) *like a medicine, but a grieued ſpirit drieth the bones.* So that all delight of the minde in ſinne, which you call pleaſure, if it affect the ſoule, it is communicated to the bodie: if it be ſo ſmall, that it pierceth not the ſoule, nor moueth the heart, it deſerueth none of thoſe names.

In examining the acts of ſinne, you keepe the ſame courſe that you do in the reſt; you light on a licentious phraſe, and publiſh that for a proofe. For where I ſayd, *all acts of ſinne the ſoule committeth by her bodie*, by acts noting deeds, which the ſoule can not performe without her bodie; you tell vs, *the ſoule can* [i] *act manie ſinnes meerely in it ſelfe, without the cooperation of the bodie.* And though I do not denie, the ſoule hath her

[k] Ibid. li. 20.
[l] Ibid. li. 33.
[m] Cicero de finibus bonorum & malorum. li. 2.
[n] Ibidem.
[o] Plato in Protagor.
[p] Ariſt. ethicon. li. 7. ca. 14.
[q] Stromatõn li. 6.
[r] De reſurrectione mortuorum.
[s] Zanchius de operibus Dei parte 3. li 2. ca. 3. th. ſ. 8.
[t] Iohn 16.
[u] Pſal. 4.
[x] Pſal. 16.
[y] 1. Sam 2.
[z] Pro. 24.
[a] Pſal. 13.
[b] Zach. 10.
[c] Pſal. 35.
[d] Luc. 1.
[e] 2. Cor. 2.
[f] Eccleſ. 30.
[g] Pro. 17.
[h] Chaldaica paraphr. in Pro. 17.
[i] Defenc. pag. 61. li. 3.

her kinde of *action* in all ſinne, which is actuall, whence the name of *actuall ſinne* reacheth to *thoughts, words,* and *deeds*; yet thoughts are no acts, neither by the rules of Philoſophie, nor of Diuinitie. Cicero a man no way to ſeeke in the true proprieties of words, preſcribing the maner how hiſtories ſhould be written, ſaith; [k] *In rebus magnis memoriâq; dignis conſilia primum, deinde acta, poſtea euentus expectantur. In reporting of weightie matters and worthie of memorie, firſt the counſels, then the acts, laſtly the euents are expected.* Where counſels containe purpoſes and determinations, and acts, [l] *quid actum, aut dictum ſit, what was ſayd, and what was done.* Ariſtotle a man too well learned to miſſe his termes, ſayth; *the* [m] *end of ſpeculatiue knowledge is trueth,* θεωρητικῆς δ' ἔργον, *and of actiue knowledge the worke.* Damaſcene noting their difference, ſayth; [n] ἰστέον ὅτι, ὡς ἄλλο ὄν ἐνέργεια, καὶ ἄλλο ἐνέργημα. *We muſt know, that an action is one thing, an act is another thing.* And though the words be often vſed one for another by liberty of ſpeech, yet in proprietie, ἐνέργημα, τὸ τῆς ἐνεργείας ἀποτέλεσμα, *an act is the performing of the action.* [o] ὁ νοῦς γὰρ προθεωρήσας τὸ ἐσόμενον, ἔπειτα διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἐργάζεται. *For the minde firſt diſcuſſing the euent, then worketh by her bodie*; and that he defineth to be τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα, an act. See we not the ſame confirmed by the Scriptures? The *Acts of the Apoſtles* written by S. Luke, do they declare the ſecret thoughts, or open words, and deeds of the Apoſtles? The Acts likewiſe of Councels, as the Acts of the Councell of Epheſus, expreſſe they what the Biſhops there inwardly thought in their mindes, or what they publikely ſpake and decreed? So that the ſignification of the word ACTS, which I followed, was neither deuiſed nor abuſed by me, but your new kinde of ſpeech, that the *ſoule* ACTETH *manie ſinnes meerely in it ſelfe*, is a vaine and idle oppoſition, ſince the ſoule muſt worke by the bodie before it can be an Act.

[k] Cicero de Orat. li. 2.
[l] Ibidem.
[m] Metaphyſ. lib. 2. ca. 1.
[n] Damaſcen. Orthodox. fid. li. 3. ca. 15.
[o] Ibidem.

[p] *I graunt that occaſion is often taken from the outward ſenſes. But it is meerely taken by the corrupt and peruerſe minde, not giuen by the ſenſes. Which though they be otherwiſe corrupt, yet ſimply in ſeeing naturall things they ſinne not.*] You be very like to handle a Queſtion well, when you doe not ſo much as vnderſtand the words therein contained. When it commeth in queſtion, whether in all *prouocations, pleaſures*, and *acts* of ſinne, the Soule vſe her body or no; you anſwer, the mind is the principall agent in ſinne, and not the body; as if that were any way pertinent to this matter. Who doubteth but *life, ſenſe*, and *motion* come from the Soule to the body, and in euery of them the Soule is the chiefeſt agent? in ſo much that theſe faile, when the Soule departeth from the body? yet that doeth not prooue, that in all theſe things the Soule doeth not vſe her body. You ſay, [q] *occaſion of ſinne, is not giuen by the ſenſes, but taken by the minde.*] Then doeth the world, which onely offereth things to the ſenſes, giue leſſe occaſion to ſinne; and Saint Iohn had no cauſe to ſay, [r] *All that is in the world, the luſt of the fleſh, the deſire of the eyes, and pride of life, is not of the Father, but of the world*; and the [s] *whole world lieth in euill.* For the things, which are in the world, are the good creatures of God, and by their firſt inſtitution ſerued to ſhew the bountie of God, and to prouoke man to thankfulneſſe, and expectation of better things, which ſhall not periſh. But man poyſoned with ſinne abuſeth them all, and turneth his deſire and loue from God to tranſitorie and earthly delights. And ſo now conſidering his corruption, they are not onely occaſions, but *prouocations* to induce and intiſe him to ſinne. And therefore God knowing vpon the fall of Adam, what ſnares they would become vnto Man, for whoſe ſake they were made, [t] *ſubiected them all to vanitie*, calling Satan the [u] *Prince and* [w] *Ruler of this world*; for that by infecting man with ſinne, he had altered and inuerted the vſe and ende of the whole world. If then the creatures, which in themſelues are ſenſeleſſe and altogether innocent, bee now baites to drawe men from God, and ſo made occaſions of ſinne, how much more are the ſenſes of man allurements to ſinne? which not onely preſent theſe pleaſures to the minde, but inflame the affections to perſue them, and worke the will to imbrace them? *The corruption*, you ſay, *is properly and principally in the minde, which being firſt ſinfull, abuſeth their operation.*] As if all the powers of the Soule obeying the will, that is euill, were not ſubiect and ſeruants to ſinne, as well as the minde? Or the ſenſes and affections of man rebelling againſt the

[p] Defenc. pa. 61. li. 18.
[q] 1. Iohn. 2.
[r] 1. Iohn. 5.
[s] Rom. 8.
[t] Iohn. 12.
[u] Epheſ. 16.

minde,

minde, and incenſing the will with their delights and deſires, were not ſinfull as well as the minde? It is the Soule, that taketh her pleaſures of ſinne, as well by her ſenſes, as by her vnderſtanding; and to that end ſetteth her ſenſitiue powers on worke; the naturall action of the vnderſtanding is no more ſinfull in it ſelfe, then is the ſenſe; but the corruption of the Soule abuſeth them both in their kinds to content her ſinfull appetites. Though then the ſenſes bee not the very cauſes of ſinne, which reſteth chiefely in the will, yet ſince the Soule ioyneth her ſelfe vnto the powers of ſenſe by them to imbrace and enioy the pleaſures of this life aboue or againſt the loue of God, at leaſt they muſt be occaſions of ſinne, if they be no more.

For [x] *you to affirme that the Soule committeth all acts of ſinne by the body, and that God did not forbid Adam to like or deſire that fruite, is more then ſtrange doctrine.*] In you nothing is ſtrange, no not new hels, new heauens, new deathes of the Soule, and new redemptions of mankind, vnknowen to the Scriptures and all the fathers of Chriſtes Church; but vnto you euerie thing is ſtrange, that fitteth not your diſtempered taſte. My words, *that the ſoule committeth all acts of ſinne by her bodie*, what differ they from Cyprians, which I cited, *that the* [y] *ſpirit by the fleſh performeth whatſoeuer it affecteth?* What diuerſitie finde ye betwixt them, ſaue that I ſay *ſoule* for *ſpirit*, *bodie* for *fleſh*, *all* for *whatſoeuer*, and *acts* for *things* affected? my words being ſomewhat plainer and eaſier than Cyprians, and for ought that I ſee, hauing no diſagreement? The other words, that *God did not forbid Adam to like the fruit*, ſmell of your owne forge, which reporteth nothing truely. For to prooue, that Adam tranſgreſſed the commandement with more than his minde, I obſerued, that God did not ſay to Adam, *Thou ſhalt not like it, which the ſoule of Adam did, but Thou ſhalt not eat thereof.* Which precept ſince Adam did wholly violate, it followeth, he ſinned with his hand & mouth, and not with his minde alone. You clippe off that which I concluded; and neglecting the affirmatiue which I adioyned, you note the negatiue, which I did not ſimplie exclude, but augmented with an addition of another part, that Adam ſinned alſo with his bodie, and therefore not with his ſoule alone, or without his bodie.

[x] Defenc. pag. 61. l. 28.

[y] *Cyprianus in Prologo de natiuitate Chriſti.*

The [z] *place of Scripture which Tertullian*, as you ſay, *pointeth vnto, that out of the heart come euill thoughts, being conſidered, will prooue the contrarie. For Chriſt heere meaneth not by heart any part of the bodie, but meerely the minde and ſoule of man, and that with oppoſition to the bodie in this caſe of ſinning.*] You found in your Note-booke, that the heart of man is taken in the Scriptures for his will and affection moued with knowledge either from the vnderſtanding or from the ſenſe; but the reaſon why it is ſo vſed, you neuer read, or doe not remember. For if a man ſhould aske you, why the *hart* of man rather then his *hand* or his *heele* doth import in the Scriptures his knowledge and will, what anſwere would you frame? That it is a figure of ſpeech without all reaſon or cauſe? Such indeed are your figures, but the holy Ghoſt vſeth no ſuch. The Scriptures by the parts of mans body expreſſe the powers of mans ſoule, there ſeating, and there working: as ſight, by the *eye*; hearing by the *eare*; ſpeaking, by the *tongue*; going, by the *feete*; doing, by the *hand*; luſting, by the *raines*; and many ſuch. The very ſame reaſon cauſeth the hart of man to be taken in the Scriptures for his will, which is ſeated in that part, and by which all his cogitations, affections, and Actions are made good or euill. So that the vſe of the hart in the ſacred Scriptures well conſidered, doth firſt plainely prooue, that the chiefe Seate of the Soule is the hart; and next that there it worketh, where it dwelleth, euen in the hart, and on that part impreſſeth all her affections & reſolutions, when they once grow to be liked or diſliked. And this is ſo farre from oppoſition to the Body in cauſe of ſinning, that it doth manifeſtly communicate ſinne vnto the Body.

[z] Defenc. pag. 61. li. 35.

In [a] *effect* (Chriſt) *ſaith not the Body ſinneth by taking in, but the Soule by ſending out; that is to ſay, the Soule onely properly ſinneth, and not the Body at all; no not in groſſe facts, except as the Body is the Inſtrument, the Soule being the Agent.*] Your expoſition of our Sauiours words, and your illation vpon them, doe well become one the other. Our Sauiour doth not ſay, the Body ſinneth not; But [b] *that which goeth into the mouth*, or eating

[a] Defenc. pa. 62. li. 2.

[b] Matth. 15.

eating with vnwaſhed hands, *defileth not the man.* Now this muſt be your reaſon, if hence you make any. Eating or *meate defileth not a man. Ergo* the Body ſinneth not. How good this argument is, I leaue to your friends and your ſelfe to conſider. But you farder inferre; *That which commeth out of man, defileth man, ergo, the Body ſinned not at all, no not in groſſe facts, except as an Inſtrument.* This is figuratiue Logicke, to make the conſequent cleane contrarie to the Antecedent. Out of our Sauiours words, *that which commeth out of man, defileth man,* it rightly followeth, that ſinne comming from the hart defileth man, to wit, the whole man, and ſo both Body and Soule. For man is not this or that part of man, but the perſon compoſed of both. Who then beſides you vpon theſe words of Chriſt, that *murders, adulteries, thefts, lyes, and ſlaunders defile a man,* would conclude that theſe defile not the Body, or elſe though they defile the Body, yet that ſinneth not, as if Chriſt ſpake here of any pollution, but of ſinne? *The Body* you ſay, *ſinneth not, except as an Inſtrument.*] How the Body ſinneth we neede not diſcuſſe, ſo long as it is cleere by our Sauiours voice, that the ſinne of the hart defileth the Body, as well as the Soule, that is the whole man; more I doe not affirme, nor require. And ſo much doe euill *thoughts,* no leſſe then euill *deeds* by the poſition of our Sauiour; euen they defile the man, as well as *adulteries, thefts, murders,* and ſuch like. Your admitting at laſt the Body to be an Inſtrument of ſinne, doth rather ſtrengthen then weaken mine Aſſertion. For ſince the Body is no dead but a liuing inſtrument, and ſo capable of pleaſure in ſinne, as alſo of paine in puniſhment, it iuſtifieth my Collection, that ſinne is common both to Body and Soule, and the ſatisfaction for ſinne muſt likewiſe be common to both. But yet as I obſerued, the ancient Fathers haue in this Queſtion compriſed in the name of the Body the powers of life and ſenſe permixed with the Body, as alſo the ſenſitiue deſires and affections, which ſometimes obey, and ſometimes rebell againſt the mind; and theſe in man are not onely capable of ſinne, but the cauſes of ſinne; and in that reſpect the Body with his ſenſitiue powers and deſires is more then an Inſtrument.

[a Defenc. pa. 62. li. 13. *That which you adde of bodily infirmities letting the operation of the Soule, as in Lethargies, Apoplexies, ſleepe, frenſie, &c. Peraduenture then it thinketh and conſidereth more freely in it ſelfe, and by it ſelfe, then when the Body ſetteth it on worke otherwiſe as other times.*] To let the ſimpler ſort ſee that the Soule doth not ſinne in her vnderſtanding and will without coniunction with her Body, and ſome concurrence of her Body; I ſpecified three or foure caſes open to all mens eyes, as *ſleepe, frenſies, Lethargies, Apoplexies,* which are often ſo ſtrong that they leaue in man no vſe of *ſenſe, reaſon, memorie, nor will,* whereby he may or doth ſinne. To this you anſwere, *Peraduenture* (the Soule) *then conſidereth more freely in it ſelfe and by it ſelfe, then when the Body ſetteth it on worke.*] A Reſolution without peraduenture agreeable to the reſt of your Doctrines; that men depriued of their ſenſes, wits, and memories, perhaps perceiue more, iudge righter, and remember better, then when they were indued with all three. Surely if madneſſe with you may be *ſobrietie,* if *Lethargie* may be *memorie,* if the ouerwhelming of ſenſe, reaſon and remembrance as in ſtrong Apoplexies, may be the encreaſing of them, you ſhall doe well to profeſſe this new Phiſicke, with your new Diuinitie, that it may ſhew the perfection of your puritie. Many ſuch Concluſions will driue vs to thinke, that your conſiderations are wiſer, when you ſleepe, then when you wake. If this conceite be true, you were beſt perſwade men to runne out of their wits, or to deſire and procure Lethargies and Apoplexies as much as they can, that their Soules may be then more conſiderate. What it pleaſeth God ſometime to reueale or ſhew to men in ſleepes and traunces, we are not to meddle with; they are things to vs vnknowen; the naturall and ordinarie courſe of vnderſtanding and remembring appointed by God for men is that, which we reaſon of; and that is often ſo ſtopped and hindred by ſickneſſe or violence, that neither reaſon, memorie, nor will can rightly performe their functions. Which is ſo well knowne not onely to Philoſophers and Phiſitians acknowledging *ſtrong Lethargies* and *Apoplexies* to be the *decay,* and ſometimes the ouerthrow of reaſon and memorie, but vnto Diuines, that

with

with one consent they grant men oppressed with violent furie, or naturall follie not alwayes to sinne in their actions, no not of murder, adulterie, theft, and blasphemie, for want of iudgement and memorie to direct their willes.

But how commeth this sudden change in you now to confesse, that the bodie setteth the soule a worke in her thoughts or considerations, good or badde, who not ten lines before vtterly denied, that *the bodie sinned at all, no not in grosse facts*, otherwise then as an instrument? Doth the axe set the hewer on worke? or the saw the drawer? or the penne the writer? The Agent moueth the Instrument, the Instrument setteth not the Agent on worke. And if the bodie *setteth the soule on worke*, I hope it is to do euill as well as good, vnlesse you will defend, that from the bodie commeth nothing but that which is good. Why then, if the bodie set the soule on worke, when we are waking and well aduised, shal not the bodie haue communion in sinne with the soule, which is the verie point you here impugne; and yet here you acknowledge before you be ware?

[d] *It can neuer be proued, that the soule* (in those accidents and infirmities) *vtterly ceaseth operation, and can doe nothing.*] If it could not, what is that to this purpose? The operation of the soule is so hindered by them, that often it doth not sinne, and that is sufficient to proue all sinne to be common to soule and bodie, which is our question. Let the soule principally and properly sinne (if in the soule you comprise all the powers of *reason, sense*, and *life*, which proceed from the soule) and the bodie be only her instrument, yet so long as the soule can not actually sinne, except the bodie haue life and sense, it is euident that in sinne the bodie must concurre with the soule. Now if we adioyne life and sense to the bodie, which is the subiect of both, though the cause of neither, as the learned and ancient Fathers doe; and the Scriptures likewise, when they speake of the temptation and rebellion of the bodie and the members therof, conteining no more in the soule of man, then the will and vnderstanding, which they call the minde, or the inward man: then apparently the bodie is not only the instrument or occasion of sinne by his desires and pleasures, but the first and last seat of corruption in this life, and the continuall Agent and Atturney for sinne and Satan during this life: insomuch, that infecting and subiecting the soule to the lusts of the flesh, it maketh the soule be called flesh, which she can not be in substance, but in coherence and obedience to the flesh. [e] *Credimus carnis resurrectionem, non tantum quia reparatur anima, quæ nunc propter carnales affectiones caro nominatur, sed hæc etiam visibilis caro, quæ naturaliter caro est, cuius vocem anima non propter naturam, sed propter affectiones carnales accepit. We beleeue the resurrection of the flesh*, sayth Austen, *not only because the soule is repaired, which now is called flesh for her fleshly affections, but euen this visible flesh, which is naturall flesh, whose name the soule taketh, not by admitting the nature, but the affections of the flesh.* So Ambrose: [f] *Victa anima libidine carnis sit caro. The soule ouercome with the lust of the flesh, becommeth flesh.* And againe: [g] *Qui secundum corporis appetentiam viuit, caro est. He that liueth according to the desires of the body, is flesh.* For [h] *flesh is vnderstood to be sometimes the world, sometimes the bodie of man, or the soule it selfe following bodily vices.* Ierome likewise: [i] *Anima inter humum & ignem, hoc est inter carnem spiritumq; consistens, quando se tradiderit carni, caro dicitur, quando spiritui spiritus appellatur. The soule consisting in the middle betweene earth and fire, that is, betweene the flesh and the spirit, when she yeeldeth her selfe to the flesh, she is called flesh, and when she yeeldeth her selfe to the spirit, she is then termed a spirit.* And shewing more largely, that by the flesh is meant the body, he addeth; [k] *The flesh feareth colde, disliketh hunger, is thinned with watching, burneth with lusting, mollia quæq; & iucunda desiderat; desireth all ease and pleasure.* So that the delights and desires of the bodie, which are sensuall and carnall, do not onely draw the soule to sinne, but causeth the soule to be called flesh, in that she yeeldeth or giueth her selfe to the lusts and pleasures of the flesh.

Yet can it not be prooued, you thinke, *that the soule vtterly ceaseth her operation.*] So long as the bodie liueth, the soule can not vtterly cease all her operations of reason, sense, and life; for then of force she must depart her bodie: but in extreame madnesse

[d] Defenc. pag. 62. li. 17.

[e] *August. de fide & symbolo. ca. 10.*

[f] *Ambros in Epistol. 1. ad Corinth. ca. 5.*

[g] *Ibid. in Psal. 118. serm. 4.*

[h] *Idem in epist. ad Rom. ca 6.*

[i] *Hier. li. 3. in epist. ad Gal. ca. 5.*

[k] *Ibidem.*

and forgetfulneſſe of all things, as Lethargies, Apoplexies, and euen in ſound ſleepe ſhe vtterly ceaſeth from actuall operation of ſinne, for want of vnderſtanding and remembring what ſhe doth. The puniſhment of Nabuchodonoſor deſcribed in Daniel, is an euident proofe, that all operations of reaſon and memory may vtterly ceaſe in the ſoule of man heere in this life, though the faculties or powers thereof can neuer
[l] Dan 4. v. 13. faile. The Scripture ſayth of him; *Let* [l] *his heart be changed from a mans, and the heart of a beaſt giuen him.* Which was performed by the madneſſe and furie that Nabuchodonoſor fell into, as all ſorts of writers, prophane and Chriſtian, do witneſſe. Euſebius
[m] *Euſeb. præparat. euangelicæ. li. 9. ca. 4.* citeth two marueilous ancient and prophane Hiſtoriographers, [m] *Abidenus* and *Megaſthenes*, that Nabuchodonoſor was [m] *furore diuinitus captus .ſtroken from heauen with a madneſſe.* Ierome ſayth, Nabuchodonoſor *was ſo* [n] *furious and madde, that he remembred not the good which God promiſed him* for his reſtitution. Theodoret ſayth of him,
[n] *Hieron. in ca. 4 Danielis.* [o] *Theodoret. in ca. 4. Daniel.* *he was* [o] *caſt from men for his diſeaſe: who being taken with furie and madneſſe would haue done infinite miſchiefe.* Beda. Nabuchodonoſor the King *was* [p] *turned to a brutiſhneſſe of minde, when by Gods iudgement his habitation is written to haue beene with beaſts ſeuen yeeres.* Lyra. Nabuchodonoſor loſt *the* [q] *vſe of reaſon by madneſſe, and ſo became as a*
[p] *Beda in Iob. ca. 12.* [q] *Lyra in ca. 4. Daniel.* *beaſt; and during the time of his madneſſe abode in the fields with beaſts.* Munſter expounding the words of Daniel touching Nabuchodonoſor ſayth; *Let humane reaſon be taken from him, and the ſenſe of a beaſt giuen him. For* [r] *growing madde with the change of his imaginatiue power, he caried himſelfe as a beaſt.* Whether it were with *madneſſe* or
[r] *Munſt. Annot. in ca. 4. Daniel.* *brutiſhneſſe* that Nabuchodonoſor was ſtrooken, I greatly force not; it is certaine by the words of the Scripture, that humane reaſon and ſenſe was taken from him for ſeuen yeeres; and conſequently, the ſoule of man may vtterly ceaſe all operation of reaſon and vnderſtanding euen in this life.

This will not be ſtrange to him that rightly conſidereth the ſtate of men poſſeſſed with diuels, and reported euen in the Scriptures. The madneſſe of him whom the Goſpell deſcribeth in the coaſt of the Gadarens, that no chaines could holde him,
[f] Marc. 5. but [f] *he liued among the graues,* [t] *naked, and* [f] *cried night and day,* [f] *ſtriking himſelfe with*
[t] Luc. 8. *ſtones, and* [u] *fiercely aſſaulting all that paſſed by the way*, ſheweth that all humane reaſon
[u] Matth 8. and memorie were quite baniſhed from him by Satan, turning and toſſing the corporall imaginations and affections of the poſſeſſed as pleaſed him, and diſtracting the wits and ſubuerting the remembrance, ſo that the furious perſon in apprehenſion and operation differed nothing from a raging beaſt. A learned and publike profeſſor of
[x] *Dominicus Leonus artis medendi li. 2. ſect. 1. ca. 9.* Phyſicke writeth thus of raging frenſie: [x] *Madneſſe is an hurt in the braine corrupting all morall vertues; and firſt the imagination it ſelfe; (for they imagine thoſe things that are not:) ſecondly, the verie cogitation and reaſon of man; for with them there is no diſtinction betwixt honeſt and diſhoneſt, good and euill, friend and foe: thirdly, it corrupteth memorie, ſo that they preſently forget the thing euen then ſeene or heard.* And what maruell to ſee this performed by diuels and diſeaſes, when the defects of nature do often leaue to men neither vſe of reaſon nor remembrance? S. Auſten ſayth of naturall fooles; [y] *Quidam tanta ſunt fatuitatis vt non multùm à pecoribus differant; Some are ſo ſottiſh, that they*
[y] *Auguſt. epiſt. 28.* *differ not much from brute beaſts.* Which Galene confirmeth, where he ſayth, that the euill affection of the braine is much intended, [z] ὁπόταν τὴ μνήμη συναπόλλυται ὁ λογισμὸς, ὅ τε ὀνομαζόμενος μάρωσις; *when together with the memorie reaſon is aboliſhed, as in ſottiſhneſſe.*
[z] *Galenus de loc. affect. li. 3 ca. 4.* ἀπόλλυται γὰρ ἀμφω ταῦτα, καὶ ἔτι τὰς ληθάργους τε, καὶ τὰ καρώδη πάθη πάντα. *For both theſe* (reaſon and memorie) *are loſt in lethargies, and all ſleepie affections.* If the ſoule haue no communion with her bodie in thinking and remembring, how can the defects or diſtempers of the braine with heat or colde take away the *operation* and *vſe* of reaſon and memorie; which both learning and experience doe manifeſt? Yea go no farder then ſound ſleepe, which is the proper affection and ligation of the ſenſitiue faculties; and if the ſoule do freely *thinke* and *will*, when the bodie ſleepeth, why ſhould we not as vſually ſinne in ſleepe, as when we wake? but that is repugnant to the principles of
[a] *Tertull. de Anima. ca. 45.* trueth, as Tertullian well obſerueth; [a] *Et bona facta gratuita ſunt in ſomnis, & delicta ſecura: non magis enim ob ſtupri viſionem damnabimur, quàm ob Martyrij coronabimur.*

Both

Both good deeds are thankeleſſe in ſleepe, and offences blameleſſe : for we ſhall be no more condemned for dreaming of adultery (committed) then we ſhall be crowned for dreaming of martyrdome (ſuffered.) It is euident therefore, that in ſinne the ſenſe hath ſuch a communion with the ſoule, that without it the ſoule doth not ſinne.

If by naturall dreames you would prooue the perpetuall operation of the ſoule, euen when the bodie is at reſt, (for celeſtiall dreames come not often, and but to few;) remember firſt, that all ages and perſons do not dreame. [b] ἤδη δέ ποτι συμβέβηκεν, ὥστε μηδένι εὐθύπνιον ἐωρακέναι κατὰ τὸν βίον. *It hath hapned to ſome*, ſayth Ariſtotle, *that they neuer dreampt in all their life.* Plinie and Plutarch confirme [c] the ſame. [a] *To ſome* (ſayth he) *dreames happen when they grow in yeeres, who before that time neuer dreamed.* Next in thoſe that vſe it, *ſtraight vpon meat*, (whiles ſleepe is ſound) *they dreame not*, but vpon diſtribution and reuocation of the naturall heat vp to the head. Thirdly, in dreames (except they be from God) it is certaine that mens imaginations, which haue corporall ſpirits and ſeats, worke as well as their minde; and ſo the operation of the ſoule in ſleepe is no way continuall, nor excludeth the bodie, though the outward and common ſenſe be bound and oppreſſed with ſleepe. And euen the firſt ordaining of ſleepe for man by God proueth, that in meditation & contemplation the ſpirits of the braine (which are aeriall, yet corporall) are vſed by the ſoule in this life. For with inward and earneſt intenſion of the minde and vnderſtanding thoſe ſpirits waxe hoat and drie, and therefore of neceſsitie muſt be cooled and tempered with ſleepe; otherwiſe if men lacke ſleepe long, frenſie diſturbeth both reaſon and remembrance. By the maner of curing *Lethargies, Apoplexies, Epilepſies, Frenſies*, and ſuch like, Galen reſolutely concludeth, that *the* [c] *diſcourſe of reaſon and remembrance of ſenſitiue imaginations haue their ſeat in the bodie of the braine*, τὸ δ' ἡγεμονικὸν ὄργανον εἰς ἁπάσας τὰς αἰσθητικάς τε, καὶ προαιρετικὰς ἐνεργείας εἶναι τὸ κατὰ τὰς κοιλίας αὐτῆς πλῆμα; *and the firſt inſtrument of the ſoule to all ſenſible and voluntarie operations is the ſpirit, that is in the hollowneſſe* (or celles) *of the braine.* Damaſcene being a Diuine, ſayth as much: *The* [f] *power of imagination receiuing* (the reſemblances of) *naturall things from the ſenſe, deliuereth the ſame to the cogitation and conſultation of the minde, (for they both are one;) which taking them and iudging of them, ſendeth them to the memorie.* [g] *The inſtrument (of the cogitatiue and conſultiue part* (of the ſoule) ἡ μέση κοιλία τῆς ἐγκεφάλου, καὶ τὸ ψυχικὸν πνεῦμα τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ, *is the middle celle of the braine, and the animall ſpirit that is there: and the* [h] *inſtrument of the part memoratiue is the hinder celle of the braine, and the animall ſpirit that is in it.* Where the inſtrument is taken for the *ſeat* in which the ſoule worketh, *and obiect*, from whence the ſoule receiueth the repreſentations of things, on which ſhe worketh.

[b] *Ariſt. de inſomnijs. ca. 3.*
[c] *Plinius naturall. hiſt. li. 10. ca. 75.*
[c] *Plutarch. de oracul. defect.*
[d] *Ariſt. ibid.*
[c] *Galenus de locis affectis. li. 3 ca. 5.*
[f] *Damaſcen. Orthodoxæ fidei. li. 2. ca. 20.*
[g] *Ibid. ca. 19.*
[h] *Ibid. ca. 20.*

If the ſoules operations hang ſo neceſſarily on the bodie, the doubt is how ſhe may be ſeparated from the bodie.] The power, by which the ſoule diſcerneth and iudgeth of things offered by ſenſe, or by reuelation, is internall and eſſentiall, ſo that when ſhe is ſeuered, ſhe is fully poſſeſſed of that faculty as part of her nature. The *meanes*, by which ſhe commeth to the knowledge of externall and particular things in this life, are naturally her *ſenſes* and *ſpirits*, by which ſhe worketh in the body; ſupernaturally the power of God, which now and hereafter lightneth the eyes of the ſoule, and not onely continueth her knowledge here obtained, but increaſeth the ſame, and repreſenteth to the mind and conſcience all things good or bad here obſcured, neglected, or forgotten. The ſeparation of the ſoule from the bodie, and her knowledge after this life, depend not vpon her naturall power and ſtrength, but vpon the worde and hand of God, who can [i] *diuide the ſpirit from the ſoule* euen in this life, and either take or giue both ſenſe and reaſon, from her or to her as pleaſeth him. From Nabuchodonoſer God tooke all cogitation and operation of humane reaſon and ſenſe; hee doth the ſame to others, when it liketh him. Paul liuing was rapt [k] *into the third heauen*, whether *in the bodie, or out of the bodie, he could not tell*; (but either way was eaſie to God:) as alſo Iohn, when he was in the bodie, was willed *to* [l] *aſcend vp* to heauen, and was there *in his* [l] *ſpirit*, his bodie not dying in the meane ſpace, whiles his ſpirit was abſent.

[i] *Heb. 4.*
[k] *2. Cor. 12.*
[l] *Reuel. 4.*

ſent. To children that vtterly know nothing in this life, God will giue exact and perfect knowledge of their States, by reuealing vnto them either his mercies, or their miſeries. In vs all God will [m] *lighten the ſecrets of darkeneſſe*; and as he is trueth, ſo ſuffer no trueth to lie hid in his preſence. We ſhall not onely remember all the *workes of our hands*, and [m] *counſels of our hearts*, which now we haue forgotten, but we ſhall ſee each others deedes and thoughts, which is no way poſsible for our naturall abilitie, ſo farre as ſhall be needefull for the declaration of his iuſt iudgement. For [n] *nothing is ſecret, that ſhall not be open, neither is there any thing hid, that ſhall not be knowen, and come to light*. Therefore neuer doubt, whether the ſoule hauing left her naturall and corporall meanes of knowledge ſhall ſleepe till the day of reſurrection, ſhee ſhall haue an other manner of knowledge, then here ſhee had, either to her euerlaſting comfort or confuſion. She ſhall then perceiue and diſcerne the things, which [o] *eye neuer ſawe, nor eare euer heard*, nor *euer aſcended into the heart of man* here on earth. Howbeit neither the ſeparation nor intellection of the ſoule pertaine directly to this queſtion. I ſpeake not of cogitations, nor of operations of the ſoule, except they be ſinnefull, and thoſe ceaſe after this life, though the knowledge of the ſoule remaine; and in this life when *ſenſe, diſcretion*, or *memorie* doe wholy faile, (vnleſſe it be by our owne fault, as in gluttonie, drunkenneſſe, immoderate paſsions of loue, or anger, and ſuch like) there alſo the committing of actuall ſinne faileth.

[m] 1. Corin. 4.

[n] Luke 8.

[o] 1. Cor. 2.

[p] Defenc. pag. 63. l. 9. [q] Li. 36. [r] Pag. 64. l. 20. [p] *Further you commit two grieuous faults:* 1 *Tertullian the principle ground, which you haue for your opinion here, is wonderfully ill vſed:* 2 *you are ſtrangely contrarie to your ſelfe in your verie winding vp of the matter.* [q] *It ſeemeth that Tertullian cited before the reaſon of the Heretikes, holding that the ſoules ſlept till the day of iudgement, and receaued no reward at all in the meane time for want of the ſocietie of their fleſh; but* [r] *Tertullian anſwereth and renounceth all the ſame. And ſo thoſe were the Heretikes words againſt Tertullian, which you alleage out of him in ſteede of Catholikes.*] It is no fault in you to reade ſo looſely and erre ſo groſſely, that you ſee neither Tertullians *intent, methode*, nor *proofes*; but wilfully taking the words that are his owne, and common to him with the reſt of the ancient and Catholike Fathers, as if they were the wordes of Heretikes, to blurre him and the reſt with the ſpot of hereſie, when they ſpeake a trueth receiued and beleeued in the Church of Chriſt. *It ſeemeth*, you ſay, *Tertullian cited the reaſons of the Heretikes houlding the ſoule ſlept till the laſt iudgement.*] It is paſt ſeeming, that either your eyes were not open, when you reade that place of Tertullian, or your wits ſo weake, that you could not vnderſtand your Authour. Tertullian in that booke ſpeaketh not one word of the ſleeping or not ſleeping of the ſoule till iudgement; hee directeth his whole diſcourſe againſt ſuch as denied the reſurrection of the fleſh, and therfore held the ſoule alone after this life ſhould euerlaſtingly be rewarded, or puniſhed without the ſocietie of her bodie. To reprooue that hereſie, which is the ouerthrowe of all Chriſtianitie, Tertullian diuideth his Treatiſe into two principle parts; the *reaſons* inducing, and the *promiſes* in the Scriptures aſſuring the reſurrection of the bodie. The reaſons inducing it he recalleth to three chiefe ſtemmes. For where the Heretikes to diſcredite the reſurrection of the fleſh, oppoſed the 1 *baſenes* of the fleſh vnworthy to riſe; 2 the *diſtruction* of the fleſh by fire, water, deuouring, rotting and ſuch like, as impoſsible to be reſtored; 3 the *dulneſſe* of the fleſh, as hauing neither *will, wiſedome*, or *ſenſe* of it ſelfe, but being onely the veſſell of the ſoule, and ſo ſubiect to no puniſhment, in that it is guiltie of no ſinne: Tertullian to ſurpriſe them in their owne principles, produceth the number of *honours* that God hath done to mans fleſh in this life, the examples of Gods *power* reuiuing things dead, and reſtoring things periſhed, and the rule of Gods *iuſtice*, which muſt not acquit the bodie, that is partner with the ſoule in all her actions. The firſt part he concludeth in theſe words. [t] *To ſumme that I haue ſaid; the fleſh, which God framed with his owne hands after his image, which hee quickned with his breath after the ſimilitude of his lifefulneſſe; which he aduanced to poſſeſſe, vſe, and gouerne all his workes, which he adorned with his Sacraments and diſciplines, whoſe cleannes he loueth, whoſe correction he approoueth, whoſe ſuffering he holdeth precious, ſhall it not riſe againe,*

[t] *Tertull. de reſurrectione carnis. cap. 9.*

againe, that ſo many waies belongeth to God? The ſecond part he bindeth vp in this wiſe: [t] *All things returne to the ſtate which they loſt; all begin when they ceaſe, and therefore are ended, that they may be renued. Nothing periſheth, but to be kept. This whole courſe of things* (in heauen and earth) *is a witneſſe of the Reſurrection of the dead. God did firſt worke it, before he did write it; he declared his power, before he ſpake the word. He ſent nature to teach thee, that thou mightſt the more eaſily beleeue propheſie, being firſt the Diſciple of Nature; and not doubt, that God could raiſe the fleſh, whom thou knoweſt to reſtore all things. And if all things riſe againe to man, for whom they were made, and not to man, except to his fleſh; what an abſurditie is it, that the fleſh ſhould vtterly periſh, for whoſe ſake, and to whoſe vſe nothing periſheth?* [t] Tertullianus ibidem. ca. 12.

Before he entreth the third part, he maketh this preface. [u] *Exorſi ſumus ab* AVTHORITATE *carnis, de hinc proſecuti de* POTENTIA *dei: velim etiam de* CAVSA *requiras: quia ſubeſt dicere, & ſi caro capax reſtitui, & ſi diuinitas idonea reſtituendi, ſed cauſa reſtitutionis præeſſe debebit. We began with the* ESTIMATION *of the fleſh, whether that being periſhed were meete to be reſtored; we then handled the* POVVER *of God, whether that be ſo great, as vſeth to repaire things decayed: Now if both thoſe bee admitted, I would haue you require the* CAVSE, *whether there be any ſo waightie, as to make the reſurrection of the fleſh neceſſarie, and euery way anſwerable to reaſon; for that wee may ſay, though the fleſh be fit to be reſtored, and God able to reſtore it, yet there ought to be a cauſe why it ſhould bee reſtored.* The cauſe of reſurrection, Tertullian perſueth plainely, pithily, purpoſely in three whole Chapters; expreſly and directly teaching, that the whole man muſt bee iudged, to wit both body and ſoule, becauſe the whole man liued, and ioyned in euery action. [x] *This is the whole cauſe* (ſaith he) *yea the neceſſitie of the reſurrection, moſt agreeable to God, the appointing of iudgement. For that, which muſt bee iudged, muſt be raiſed. The iudgement of God we affirme muſt be beleeued to bee full and perfect, as it is finall, and euer after perpetuall; and therefore the fulneſſe and perfection of iudgement not to be without the repreſenting of the* WHOLE MAN. *Now the whole man conſiſteth in the mixture of two ſubſtances, and ſo muſt bee preſented to iudgement in both, ſince the whole muſt be iudged. Such then as he liued, ſuch muſt he be iudged, becauſe he muſt bee iudged for his doings whiles he liued.* Deſcending then to ſhew that the Soule and body ioyned in all things good and bad here on earth, and taxing his aduerſaries the heretickes as abſurd, for diuiding the body from the Soule in the actions of this life; hee thus chalengeth them in the very next words: [y] *Age iam ſcindant aduerſarij noſtri carnis animæq; contextum priùs in vitæ adminiſtratione, vt ita audeant ſcindere illud etiam in vitæ remuneratione. Negent operarum ſocietatem, vt meritò poſſint etiam mercedem negare. Non ſit particeps in ſententia caro, ſi non fuerit & in cauſa. Goe on then, let our aduerſaries firſt ſeuer the ioynture of body and Soule in the adminiſtration of this life, that ſo they may dare to part the ſame in the Remuneration of this life. Let them denie the fellowſhip of actions, that they may iuſtly denie the reward thereof. Let not the fleſh bee partner in the ſentence* (of iudgement) *if it were not companion in the cauſe* (or deſert.) *But ſo farre is it, that the Soule alone did paſſe this life, that we doe not exempt thoughts, though ſole, and not brought to effect, from the communion of the fleſh. For in the fleſh, and with the fleſh, and by the fleſh, is that done of the Soule, which is done in the hart. This part of the fleſh, as the chiefe caſtle of the Soule, the Lord taxeth, when he reproueth thoughts,* (ſaying) *Why thinke you euill in your harts?* And againe, *He that beholdeth a woman to deſire her, hath committed adulterie in his hart. So that thought without deed or effect, is the act of the fleſh. Neuer is the Soule without the fleſh, ſo long as ſhe is in the fleſh. She doth euery thing with the fleſh, without which ſhe is not. Looke then whether thoughts alſo be adminiſtred by the fleſh, which are outwardly perceiued by the fleſh. Let the ſoule reuolue any thing* (with her ſelfe,) *the countenance maketh ſhew thereof. Let them deny the fellowſhip of facts, when they cannot deny the fellowſhip of thoughts,* (betweene the Body and the Soule.) Thus ſtand Tertullians words. I aske now the ſimpleſt Reader that is, whether the ancient writer erneſtly purſue his maine and coherent matter againſt his Aduerſaries the Heretikes, or whether he alleadge their reaſons againſt himſelfe. The Diſcourſer could not ſee the wood for trees; but like a

[u] Tertullianus ibidem. ca. 14.

[x] Ibid. ca. 14.

[y] Tertullianus ibidem. 15.

babie mistaketh the full and continuall text and proofes of Tertullian for his Aduersaries words, though Tertullian himselfe expresly auouch the contrarie.

His Aduersaries reasons if you would faine know, Sir Discourser, you may reade
[a] *Ibidem ca.16.* them in the next Chapter, as like yours, as if the one had hatched the other. [a] *Dicent carnem nihil sapientem, nihil sentientem, per semetipsam, non velle, non nolle, de suo habentem, vice potius vasculi apparere animæ, vt instrumentum, non vt ministerium. Itaque animæ solius iudicium præsidere, qualiter vsa sit vasculo carnis: vasculum verò ipsum non esse sententiæ obnoxium. These* (Hereticks) *will say, that the flesh hauing neither vnderstanding nor sense of it selfe, and neither will nor nill of his owne, is added to the Soule as a* VESSELL, and INSTRVMENT, *not as a* SERVANT. *And therefore the Soule alone must answere in iudgement, how she hath vsed her vessell; but the vessell it selfe is in no danger of*
[a] Defenc. pa. 62. li 4. *sentence.* Is not this the very roote of your reason, when you say, [a] *the body sinneth not at all, no not in grosse facts, except as it is the instrument; Otherwise the body sinneth not at all?* And if the Body be free from sinne, then certainly it is free from condemnation. For neither part of man is condemned, but for sinne. And Tertullians inference is as good against you, as it was against those Hereticks which denied there was any cause
[b] *Tertullianus de resurrectione Carnis, ca 16.* for the flesh to rise againe to iudgement. [b] *Iam ergo innocens caro, ex parte qua non reputabuntur illi operæ malæ: & nihil prohibet innocentiæ nomine saluam eam fieri. Then surely the flesh is innocent, in as much as euill works shall not be imputed to it, and there is no let why the flesh should not be saued in respect of his innocencie,* (though the Soule be damned.) Wherefore you must bring the Body within the communion of sinne, or cleere it in iustice from all condemnation, and so frustrate the cause of resurrection. The last is the error, which Tertullian so much impugned; the first is the thing, which Tertullian and I affirme, and you would seeme to withstand as *exceeding hurtfull and vntrue.* Howbeit your slender shifts auoide not Tertullians proofes, much lesse doth your rash censure preiudice his assertion, that was common to him with the best learned in Christs Church, as I haue shewed. The difference betwixt an *instrument, and a seruant*, Tertullian forgetteth not: [c] *Euery vessell or instrument is altogether of an other matter*
[c] *Tertullianus Ibidem.* *from the substance of man. But the flesh, that was at first sowed in the wombe, framed, and borne together with the Soule, Etiam in omni operatione miscetur illi, is ioyned with the same in euery action. The Body is called by the name of a vessell for that it receaueth and holdeth the Soule; but it is also man by communion of nature, who hath the flesh in his operations not as an Instrument, but as a seruant. The Apostle knowing this, that the flesh doth nothing of it selfe which is not imputed to the soule, notwithstanding determineth the flesh to be sinfull, least it should be thought to be free from iudgement, in that it is lead by the Soule. Otherwise not so much as reproofe could agree to the flesh being voide of fault.*

[d] Defenc. pa. 62. li 2. But Tertullian afterward [d] *renounceth*, you say, *all this same.*] If you spake of your selfe, I would easily admit, that you would faulter in your words, and for want of iudgement or truth, vnsay that which before you said; but Tertullian in this place is farre from it. He ratifieth that which he affirmed from the beginning, it is onely your bluntnesse, that rightly conceaue him not, as you doe nothing else. For he doth not exclude the body from the communion of ech sinne, to which he fastned it before, but he noteth, that as the Soule when she sinneth with her Body, *beginneth* with *desire, thought*, and *will of her owne*, BEFORE the Body yeeldeth seruice and assistance to accomplish the sinne, so it is not repugnant to iustice, that after this life the Soule should BEGIN to suffer, BEFORE the Body be restored to her. This is not my imagination of Tertullians speech, it is his owne explication and restriction to the wordes
[e] *Tertull. Ibidem ca. 17.* which you bring. [e] *Idcirco pro quo modo egit, pro eo & patitur apud Inferos; prior degustans iudicium, sicut prior induxit admissum. Therefore the Soule suffereth in hell after the same manner, which she obserued in sinne, first tasting iudgement, as she first induced the sinne.* Euery child seeth, that PRIOR in Tertullians words applied to the Soule, must haue relation to POSTERIOR intended to the flesh, and consequently that ech sinne must be common to both; yet so that the soule first beginneth it by *thought, will*, and *desire*, and the bodie followeth with *subiection* and *seruice*. This distinction or distribution

bution between the soule & the body, but still IN THE SAME SINNES; Tertullian obserued before, when he sayd, [i] *Etsi anima est quæ agit & impellit in omnia, carnis obsequium est. Though the soule be that which leadeth and vrgeth to euerie thing, yet the flesh is it which yeeldeth seruice.* [g] And againe: *Animæ imperium, carni obsequium distribuimus. We assigne the rule and direction* (in good and euill) *to the soule; the seruice* (or attendance) *to the flesh.* So sayth he in the words which you bring, though mistranslated and misapplied: [h] *Quantum ad agendum de suo sufficit, tantum & ad patiendum. How much* (the soule) *brought of her owne towards the action, so much she bringeth towards the suffering*: and not as you translate, [i] *forasmuch as it sufficeth by it selfe to doe somewhat.* Where you commit two faults, to make the words sound somewhat to your sense; the first in rendering *Quantum, how much*, very doubtfully, as if it were *Quandoquidem, forasmuch as*; the second in Englishing *de suo, by it selfe*, of purpose to exclude the concurrence of the bodie; which Tertullians *de suo* doth not. For in a ioynt action that is common to manie, men may bring some things *de suo, of their owne*; and yet that barreth not the others to bring likewise *de suo*, some things also *of their owne.*

[i] Defenc. pag. 63. li. 19.

The like course you keepe in the rest: for where Tertullian sayth, *Ad agendum autem minus de suo sufficit; habet enim de suo, solummodo cogitare, velle, cupere, disponere: ad perficiendum autem operam carnis expectat. To do ought, the soule of her owne is not sufficient; for of her owne she hath only thought, will, desire, and disposition, but to performe any thing, she expecteth or needeth the helpe of the flesh.* You forget, that *minùs* in Latine is a negatiue, and heere standeth to the Verbe; which you make a comparatiue, and put to the Gerund; and so where Tertullian sayth, *the soule is not sufficient of her owne to do any thing* (he meaneth *perfectly* or *fully*, by which words he after expoundeth himselfe) you make him say, *the soule is sufficient by it selfe to do the lesse; for it is able of it selfe only, to thinke, to will, to desire, to dispose.* Where the word *solummodo*, ONLY, which is added to the Verbes following, you cut from them with a point, and ioyne it to the Pronoune precedent, saying, *it is able of it selfe only*; meaning without the body, thereby to exclude the bodie from all communion and impression of the thoughts, which Tertullian before did impart to the bodie. And thus by wresting Tertullians words, you make him contrarie to himselfe, because he should not seeme contrarie to you; which is the course of your vnlearned skill, vsed euery where by you, when any thing standeth in your way. Otherwise Tertullians words are plaine enough after his maner, and no way repugnant to that which went before, but haue in them rather an exposition, what *seruice* and *subiection* the bodie yeeldeth to the soule in sinne, without which the soule can accomplish no sinne. For though *desire, cogitation*, and *will* are in the soule as her owne, and come from the soule to begin euery sinne, yet she can *perfit* no sinne without *her bodie.*

[g] Ibid. ca. 15.

[h] Ca. 16.

[i] Ca. 17.

Likewise your collection out of Tertullian, *that the* [k] *soule now without the flesh receiueth iudgement for such actions, as of it selfe it was sufficient to doe*,] hath neither any trueth in it nor concordance with your authors sense or words: for Tertullian confidently pronounceth, that the [l] *iudgement of God must be beleeued to be* FVLL, FINALL, and PERPETVALL; none of which agree to the iudgement that you pretend for the actions of the soule alone without the bodie. It is NOT FVLL, because the one halfe of man is absent: it is NOT FINALL, because an other iudgement and sentence shall follow after: it is NOT PERPETVALL, because it dureth but till the resurrection, when both soule and bodie shall be cast into euerlasting fire: it is NOT GENERALL, because such of the wicked, as liue when Christ shall come to iudge the quicke and dead, shall not haue their soules punished apart from their bodies. This doctrine therefore is verie false, *that sinnes meerely spirituall*, as you terme them, namely, *Heresies, Turcisme*, and *Atheisme*, shall not be punished in, or after the last iudgement, when the bodie shall be reunited to the Soule, because their punishment the soule alone must suffer, since she alone committed them, as you say, without any consent or communion of her bodie. Neither doth

[k] Defenc. pag. 63. li. 30. *The foretast of iudgement in hell is neither full, finall, perpetuall, nor generall.*

[l] *De resurrect. carnis. ca. 14.*

doth Tertullian call this puniſhment of the ſoule without the bodie ſimplie or abſolutely IVDGEMENT, but the TASTE or SHEVV of iudgement. Hilarie ſaith rightly of it. [m] *The day of iudgement is the repaying of eternall ioy or paine. The time of death in the meane ſpace hath euery one tied to his ſtate, dum ad iudicium vnumquemque aut Abraham reſeruat, aut pœna; Whiles either Paradiſe, or puniſhment keepeth euery man for iudgement.* So Tertullian [n] *Cur non putes animam & puniri & foueri in inferis ſub expectatione vtriuſque iudicij in quadam vſurpatione & candida eius? Why ſhouldeſt thou not thinke the Soule to be comforted and puniſhed below in the earth vnder the expectation of either iudgement* (of eternall happineſſe or curſedneſſe) *in a kind of vſurping and foreſhewing thereof?* That Tertullian here calleth [o] *deguſtans iudicium, a foretaſting of iudgement*, but no *full, finall, perpetuall* or *generall* ſentence, which are the properties of Gods iuſt iudgement againſt all ſinnes of *thoughts, words*, or *deeds*.

[m] *Hilarius in Pſal. n. 2.*

[n] *Tertull. de anima, cap. 58.*

[o] *De Reſurrect. carnis, cap. 17.*

Tertullian confeſſeth that *the Soule doth* [p] *not diuide all her works with the miniſterie of the fleſh, and that the Diuine cenſure doth purſue the onely thoughts and bare Wills of men.* And therefore he ſaith, [q] *Senſus delictorum etiam ſine affectibus imputari ſolent animæ. The very purpoſes* (or deſires) *of ſinne without their effects are imputed vnto the Soule.*] When Tertullian ſpeaketh of ſinne *committed by the Soule alone* without the Body or the helpe thereof, he meaneth without any EXTERNALL PART of the Bodie concurring thereto; as in outward facts, when hands, or feete, or other members of the Body are imployed to bring the ſinne to a ſenſible act and effect. Take his owne example in both theſe places. [r] *Qui viderit ad concupiſcendum, iam adulteraut in corde. He that ſeeth a woman to deſire her, hath committed adulterie in his hart.* Is any man ſo childiſh as to thinke, the Soule can *ſee* or *deſire* a woman without corporall *ſenſe* or *concupiſcence*? There is then in that caſe plainly the concurrence of the eyes and affections, which are bodily; but yet becauſe the Act is not accompliſhed, the ſinne remayneth in the hart alone, and proceedeth not vnto the DEEDE. And ſo diuiding ſinnes into *thoughts, words*, and *deeds*, as Saint Auſten and other Diuines doe, when words and deeds are forborne, they often ſay that men ſinne in *thoughts alone*; but this doth not exclude the inward coniunction and communion of the Soule with the Body in ſinne, which is denied to be corporall, becauſe it is not open to the ſenſe Notwithſtanding the powers of the Soule vſed therein are permixed with the ſpirits of the Body, which are corporall in compariſon of the Soule, though ſpirituall in reſpect of the groſſenes of the fleſh, in that they are aeriall, and approch the nature and purenes of *ayre*, to which the word ſpirit is vſually applyed. So that the diuerſe taking of the Body, ſometimes for the outward maſſe of fleſh ſubiected to ſenſe, ſometimes for the inward powers of life and ſenſe tempered with the body, cauſeth this difference of ſpeech in Tertullian and the reſt of the fathers; who all concurre in this, that except the body haue life and *ſenſe*, the Soule can commit no actuall ſinne. For we muſt not onely be *liuing*, but *awaked* and *aduiſed*, before wee can voluntarily runne into ſinne. Of ſleepe, which bereaueth vs of ſenſe, I haue ſpoken before; of death, which taketh life from vs, it is alſo certaine that thereby ſinne ceaſeth in vs.

[p] *De anima, cap 58.*

[q] *Ibidem, ca. 40*

[r] *Ibidem. cap. 40. & 58.*

[r] Rom. 6.

[s] *Chryſoſt in cap. 6. ad Rom.*

[t] *Hieron. in 6. caput ad Rom.*

[u] *Ambroſ. de bono mortis. cap. 7.*

[x] *Epiphanius hæreſ. 59. contra Catharos.*

[y] *Hilarius in Pſalmum 51.*

[z] *Theophylact. in 6. ca. ad Rom.*

[a] *Bullingerus in 6 cap. ad Rom.*

[b] *Martyr in 6. cap ad Rom.*

[c] *Caluinus in 6. cap. ad Rom.*

[r] *He that is dead is freed from ſinne*, ſaith the Apoſtle, that is, ſinneth no more; ſo Chryſoſtome expoundeth it. [s] ὁ ἀπεθανὼν ἀπήλλακται τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἁμαρτάνειν. *He that is dead is deliuered from ſinning any more.* And Ierom. [t] *Mortuus omnino non peccat. The dead doth by no meanes ſinne.* Ambroſe. [u] *Impius ſi moriatur, peccare deſinit. The wicked when he dieth, ceaſeth to ſinne.* Epiphanius. [x] *In the next world after a man is dead, there is no righteouſneſſe, nor repentance:* ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐγκλημάτων ἔργα, *nor any workes of ſinne.* For as Hilarie obſerueth, [y] *Decedentes de vita, ſimul & de iure decedimus voluntatis. When we depart this life, we are withall cut off from all libertie of Will.* Theophylact. *The* [z] *Apoſtle ſpeaketh thus of euery man. For he that is departed from this life, is iuſtified from ſinne*, to wit, *he is looſed and deliuered from it.* Our new writers affirme no leſſe. Bullinger. [a] *This is a generall Rule, the dead doth not ſinne at all*; yea, *he can not ſinne.* Peter Martyr vpon the ſame place. [b] *The dead ceaſe from their euill actions, in which before they liued.* Caluine. *The* [c] *Apoſtle reaſoneth from the proprietie of death, which aboliſheth*

all

all the actions of this life; Beza. *The* [c] *Apoſtle ſpeaketh of the effect of death, which maketh vs when we are dead, neceſſarily to ceaſe from the actions of this life, and conſequently from ſinne.* So that Ieroms concluſion is very true. *The* [f] *dead are able to adde nothing to that, which they brought with them out of this life. For neither can they doe well, nor ſinne, neither encreaſe vertues nor vices.* If then the Soule can not ſinne, except the body haue life and ſenſe, (for neither in death, nor ſleepe men doe ſinne) without queſtion the body muſt concurre to the committing of all ſinne; and the action is common to both. And if not onely life and ſenſe be required in the body, but intelligence and remembrance to diſcerne good from euill, muſt remaine vnperiſhed, before the Soule can ſinne, (for otherwiſe *Infants*, *mad men*, and others ſtroken with Lethargies, Epilepſies, and Apoplexies, ſhould doe nothing but ſinne, by continuall omitting of good, if not committing of euill) and theſe naturall infirmities, or violent diſtempers of the braines come from the body, and ouerwhelme the actions of reaſon and memorie; how can the body bee excluded from the communion of all ſinne, whoſe parts and ſpirits, if they bee inflamed or obſtructed, doe excuſe men from ſinne, by hindering the iudgement of good and euill? And where no ſinne is committed, but that which is either embraced with loue and delight, or elſe inforced with feare and diſlike; and all theſe haue their ſenſible impreſsions and motions in the heart; how ſhould the body bee free from any ſinne, which hath his manifeſt delectation and contentation in euery ſinne, bee it neuer ſo inward and ſpirituall? Howſoeuer then your vnlearned and vnbridled humour pronounce this Doctrine to bee *exceeding vntrue and hurtfull, and more then ſtrange*, and euen *hereticall*; it is a faire, plaine, and Chriſtian trueth, that all ſinne in man is common to body and Soule, and that as both parts do ioyne in the committing of each ſinne, ſo ſhall both bee coupled in the puniſhment of each ſinne; though the Soule, as ſhee firſt beginneth, and moſt affecteth ſinne, whether by her ſenſe, or vnderſtanding; ſo ſhall ſhee firſt taſte, and moſt feele the iuſt iudgement of God againſt ſinne.

[c] *De Anno-tat. o. in 6. caſus ad Romanos.*

[f] *Hierony. in Eccleſiaſt. ca. 9.*

Laſtly you contradict your ſelfe. For you graunt, that *the Soule hath* [g] *ſome ſufferings in this life and the next, which come not by the body.*] I graunt it indeede; and therefore your impudencie is the more, who by adding (onely) to my former words would make mee ſay the contrarie. I [h] *ſuppoſe you denied before the Soules puniſhment without the body.*] Where and what are my words that make the deniall? You and your friends haue skanned them often, and neere enough; ſhew them, or elſe your ſuppoſing will prooue by your leaue but a ſhameleſſe inforcing. The ſtrongeſt words, that I haue ſounding that way, are theſe; [i] *The iuſtice of God both temporally and eternally puniſheth the Soule by the body.* Which words are apparently ſound and true; and therefore you could not falſifie them, but by putting (onely) of your owne vnto them, which was no part of my ſpeech nor intent. [k] *Seeing now you graunt it, therefore it followeth by your owne words, that the wicked ſinned meerely in and by their Soules.*] It is a world to heare a man conclude ſo much, and conceiue ſo little. For firſt though the Soule bee puniſhed without the body, yet is that not the full puniſhment of ſinne (which is and muſt bee eternall) for want of the body; and therefore this reaſon is rightly returned on your owne head. For if the body (as you ſay) doe not ſinne at all, then ſhould the Soule euerlaſtingly bee puniſhed without the body. But that is expreſſe hereſie, gainſaying the reſurrection and condemnation of the body to euerlaſting fire. Since then the puniſhment of the Soule is not full without the body, it is a neceſſarie point of Chriſtian truth, that the body did ſinne as well as the Soule; otherwiſe it ſhould vniuſtly be puniſhed together with the Soule. Againe, what if the body before Iudgement bee not puniſhed in the ſame place, nor with the ſame paine that the Soule is; is that a conſequent, the body is free from all puniſhment of ſinne? As though priuation of life, corruption to duſt, ſubiection to the curſe, and obligation to eternall fire were no puniſhments, which are allotted to the body for the time, till the day of generall reſurrection and iudgement. Wherefore this reaſon alſo recuyleth vpon you. For if the bodies of the wicked, when they bee ſeuered from their Soules,

[g] Defenc. pa. 64. li. 10.

[h] Ibidem li. 15

[i] *Concluſ. pag. 254. li. vltima.*

[k] Defenc. pag. 64. li. 19.

Soules, are not exempted from some punishment of sinne; that rather inferreth the body was partner with the Soule in sinne, then vtterly innocent, as you would haue it.

[1] Defenc. pa. 64. li. 23. *How* [1] *sound this is I wot not, where you yeelde none other reall and positiue punishment now to the Damned, but remorse and remembrance of sinne onely, as it seemeth.*] What talke you of soundnesse, till you shew your selfe to haue more sense in matters of Religion? To repeate all the paines, which the damned doe suffer, would trouble your wits; and if I could doe it, to what purpose were it? I said, the Soule seuered from her Body was punished in hell with the [m] *remembrance of sinne*, gnawing the conscience; [m] Conclus. pa. 257. li. 19. [m] *losse of Gods fauour*, afflicting the mind; [m] *besides the paine of fire*, which torment is vnspeakable. Your eyes did not serue you to see those words, *besides the paine of fire*; You vouch, I yeeld no punishment to the damned now but *remorse and remembrance of sinne* ONLY.] Let your discrete Reader iudge, what dealing this is, and how well you deserue to be beleeued vpon your word. *The fire of hell* you will say, *is no reall nor positiue punishment.*] The triall of that will cost you deere, you were best forbeare your dreames, till you bring your proofes. You would haue, if I ghesse right at your meaning, immediate paine from the hand of God tormenting Soules in hell: but when you prooue, that God is not able as well with meanes to punish the Soules of the wicked, as without meanes; and that the fire of hell so often threatned in the Scriptures, is but a figure of speech to make vs afraid, we wil harken after your new reall and positiue punishments, which you so highly esteem, because they are deuised by your selfe.

[n] *Paine proper to the Soule, is not by and by the paines of hell.* [n] Defenc. pa 64. li. 26. In saying *that Christ was not free from some proper punishments to his Soule, as sorow and feare in his Agonie,* [n] *If you meane as you speake, then it followeth euidently from your owne words, that Christ suffered proper punishment in his Soule from the very wrath of God, which in a word is the granting of our whole Question.*] He that will follow you in your fansies and follies, shall haue some what to doe. That *sorrow* and *feare* for what causes soeuer are punishments of our first sinne inflicted on Adam and all his posteritie, whiles here they liue, is newes to none, but to you. Saint Austen saith, [o] *Sunt duo tortores animæ, Timor & Dolor. There are two tormentors of the Soule, sorrow and feare.* Now torment without sinne the Soule should neuer haue had. Finding then [p] *sorrow* and [p] *feare* in the Soule of Christ by the witnesse of the Gospell, though the cause thereof be not expressed, I resolued that Christ tasted these, which were punishments of sin by their first institution, as well as other our infirmities of Soule and Body. What followeth hereupon? *That* [q] *these were proper punishments inflicted on* Christ *by Gods very wrath.*]

[o] *Augustl de verbis domini secundum Iohannem Sermo. 42.*

[p] Mark. 14.

[q] Defenc. pa. 64. li. 28. Who saith so? You or I? They are your words in deed, but no way mine. *It followeth*, you say, *euidently from my words.*] As how? *Christ was not free from* SORROVV and *feare*; and these were punishments of our first offence; *ergo*, what? *Ergo, the whole Question is granted in a word.*] *Ergo* fooles might flee, but for want of wings. The Question is, whether Christ died the death of the Soule, or suffered the paine of the damned. You heare me say Christ *sorrowed* and *feared*; as also he *hungred* in the desert, and *thirsted* on the Crosse, which likewise came into mans nature as punishments of sinne; will it hence follow, that *hunger* and *thirst* are the paines of hell? No more doe *sorrow* and *feare* inferre the whole Question, except in a mad moode you will auouch, that no man can *feare*, or *sorrow*, vnlesse he suffer the paines of the damned, and death of the Soule. [*But Christ suffered these as a punishment of our sinnes*, you will say.] And so did he those. For though euery thing, which he suffered, did not yeeld satisfaction for our sinnes, because death was required to make the full paiment thereof; yet euery infirmitie and miserie, that he felt consequent to our condition, were receaued in him as punishments for sinne fastned to our nature and state.

[r] Defenc. pa. 64. li. 30. [r] *I feare you meane his holy affections, as deuotion to God, and compassion to men.*] Were there any sufferings in Christ, that were vnholy? Would you haue him afraid, that he was or should be *reiected* and *condemned* of God? Or sorrow for the losse of Gods grace, and fauour in him selfe? That were vnholinesse in deede, to be in any sort so affected, and without hainous blasphemie you can not suspect that of Christ. But *his paine*, you thinke *was infinite.*] Then was his patience and obedience the more religi-

ous

ous and pretious in Gods ſight, whereſoeuer he felt the paine, either in Soule, or in Body, or in both. And when you haue ſaid what you can, and deuiſed what you will, except you will weaken Chriſts *faith, hope* and *loue* in God, which without ſinne can not be, you muſt leaue *feare* and *ſorrow* in him to be naturall and holy affections, and no way defiled with our ſinne. The obiect or cauſe of Chriſts feare is that you would ſpeake of, if you could tell what to make of it; but you dare not depart from your couert of Gods *very wrath* and *proper puniſhment* for ſinne, leaſt you ſhould vtter as many abſurdities as ſyllables. That *feare* and *ſorrow* then were affections in Chriſt, I thinke no man doubteth beſides you; and that they were in him moſt holy, you dare not deny, leaſt to folly you ſhould ioyne hereſie; and ſo notwithſtanding your feare what I meane; ſorrow and feare in Chriſt were moſt holy affections, whatſoeuer the occaſions of his feare and ſorrow were. *If they were affections common to Body and Soule, how then were they puniſhments proper to the Soule.*] I vſe not PROPER, as you doe, for that which is peculiar to the Soule, and not imparted to the Body; for ſo no feare nor ſorow is proper to the Soule in this life; and leaſt of all Chriſts; whoſe Body no doubt was afflicted with the feare of his minde; which as you thinke *aſtoniſhed and ouerwhelmed all the powers of Chriſts Soule, and ſenſes of his Body*; but I take proper for that, which firſt beginneth in the Soule, though it after offend the Body. Otherwiſe the Body feeleth nothing, which doth not affect the Soule, neither is there any feare or ſorrow in the Soule, which is not impreſſed on the Body. *The ſorrow of this world worketh death,* ſaith the Apoſtle, which it could not do but by changing and decaying the Body; and *godly ſorrow*, for ſinne, though it make a deepe impreſsion in Soule and Body, yet the pardon of ſinne, and comfort of grace doe more reuiue the ſpirits, then ſorrow doth quench them; and ſo that hurteth not mans life, as worldly ſorrow doth. [f] 2. Cor. 7.

But why cite I the Fathers, that Chriſt did not feare either death or hell?] Forſooth becauſe you and your friends make that the cauſe of Chriſts feare and Agonie, though now you hide it vnder the name of *Gods proper wrath*. And if it be an *abſurd, impudent,* and *impious* aſſertion to ſay that Chriſt trembled or doubted for feare of hell, as due to him, or determined for him, what is it then to defend, that he did and muſt ſuffer the very paines of the damned and of hell, before we could be redeemed? If he did not feare it, how could he ſuffer it, ſince he was not ignorant what ſhould befall him? *A naturall feare*, you ſay, *he had of death and hell.*] A diſliking and declining of hell Chriſt might haue as well for him ſelfe, as for vs, that were ioyned in one Body with him; but a doubtfull feare, what ſhould be the end of him ſelfe or his ſufferings, he could not haue. The weakneſſe of mans nature might alſo iuſtly tremble and ſhake at the might and power of God prouoked with our ſinnes, which were to be anſwered and ranſomed by his Body; but other feare Chriſt could haue none, and theſe I truſt be religious ſubmiſsions, and not amazed confuſions, ſuch as you put in the Soule of Chriſt.

You come now to your fortifying of your ſpeciall reaſons, not ſpeciall for any more excellencie in them, then in the reſt, which you may ſafely ſweare; but for that they more ſpecially touched the queſtion, as you ſay, though you neuer offered to come neere it. To the words of Eſay the Prophet by you cited, that Chriſt [t] *bare our iniquities, and ſuſtained our ſorowes themſelues*, I anſwered ſhortly: the words made nothing to your purpoſe; the text did not expreſſe, whether Chriſt ſuſtained *all* or *ſome*. What now replie you? [u] *I meane all and euery whit, ſo farre as poſſibilitie will admit.*] Keepe your meaning to make ſawſigies: as I aske not after it, ſo I little regard it. How prooue you the Prophet meant ſo? Not by his words; for they are not generall: what other helpe you haue to come by his meaning, I would gladly heare. [x] *The verie text expreſſeth* (ſo much) WITH GREAT EMPHASIS: *Chriſt bare our ſorowes themſelues.*] You ſhew your skill, when you come to your proofs: for firſt this is no Emphaſis; and were it, how prooue you, that an Emphaticall propoſition is all one with a generall? The words, if you did rightly tranſlate them, are not, *he bare*

[t] Treat pag. 34.

[u] Defenc. pag. 65. l. 13.

[x] Ibid. li. 17.

our

our ſorowes themſelues; the affixe cleaueth to the Verbe and not to the Noune, but *our ſorowes he bare them.* Where the Pronoune (them) is a ſuperfluous addition, as the beſt learned in the Hebrue tongue obſerue in the like; and not an emphaſis, as you would haue it. *Foſter* in his rules before his Hebrue Lexicon, ſayth, the Hebrues often [f] *put the Noune before, whoſe caſe they after repeat by a Pronoune affixed to the Verbe*: as in Iob. 3. verſe. 6. *That night, let darkeneſſe oppreſſe it*: and in the 90. Pſalme, *The dayes of our life, they are ſeuentie.* Pagnine likewiſe in his Hebrue Inſtitutions teacheth, that [g] *many things in the Scriptures are redundant* (or ſuperfluous) *as touching the ſenſe, which yet grace the ſpeech*: as in Geneſis ca. 1. verſe. 30. *Euery creeping thing, in which is the breath of life in it*: and ſo Exodus ca. 25. verſe. 29. *Thou ſhalt make baſons, with which to couer with them.* Petrus Martinius in his Hebrue Grammar noteth, that [h] Pleonaſmus, which is a ſuperfluous addition, is *much vſed* in Hebrue: as in the firſt Pſalme; *The wicked are as the chaffe*, WHICH *the winde toſſeth it.* And Iunius; [i] *There is in the Hebrue tongue a pleonaſmus* (or ſuperfluitie) *of the Pronoune ioyned with the Verbe*: as Ierem. 5. verſe. 5. *I will goe, I, to the great men.* Cornelius Bertrame in his table of things worthie to be obſerued, ioyned to Pagnines Hebrue Lexicon newly augmented by Mercer, Ceuallere, and himſelfe, ſayth, *The* [k] *Relatiue, and euen the affixe are often redundant* (or ſuperfluous) in Hebrue. Whereof the learned Reader may ſee many examples in the theme *Bachar*; as, *the* [l] *citie, which I haue choſen it*, and [m] *Dauid, whom I haue choſen him*, and elſwhere, which I omit for breuities ſake. S. Peter doth imitate that phraſe in Greeke, when he ſayth, [n] *By whoſe (his) ſtripes you are healed.* Our Engliſh tongue admitteth the ſame kinde of ſpeech: as if we ſhould ſay; our dayes, we waſte *them* in vanitie; our bodies, we weaken *them* with intemperance; our foes, we flatter *them*; our friends, we neglect *them*; and ſuch like: where the Pronoune following the Verbs, repeateth only the words, and directeth the caſes that went before, as the Hebrue affixe doth, but addeth no force vnto them. Yet grant it were an emphaſis; doth not an emphaſis ſtand as well to a *ſingular* or *particular propoſition*, as to a *generall*? My Redeemer, ſayth Iob, [o] *I my ſelfe ſhall ſee, and mine eyes ſhall beholde, and none other.* Here is a triple emphaſis, and yet the propoſition ſingular. [p] *Our ſoule, it is exceedingly filled with the mockes of the wealthie.* Where there are three more emphaticall vehemencies, and yet no proofe, the propoſition ſhould be generall.

f Foſter in Præfat. lexici Hebraic. Regul. 42.

g Pagninus Inſtitut. Hebraic. li 4. ca. 17.

h Martinius Grammatica Hebraæa li. 2. de Syntaxi.

i Junius Gram. Hebr. li. 3 ca. 7.

k In Inuitere tum ad Lexicon Hebraicum editum anno 1575.

l 1. Reg. 11. verſ 32.

m Verſ. 34.

n 1. Pet. 2.

o Iob. 19.

p Pſal. 123.

[q] *This we conclude the rather, becauſe the ſenſe of paines and ſorowes onely was the ranſome ordained by God in Chriſt, that by them our ſinnes ſhould be ſatisfied.*] This ſuppoſall is not true, and yet were it admitted, it concludeth not that which you vndertooke to proue. For there muſt be more in mans *ranſome, than the ſenſe of paine and ſorow only*: otherwiſe euerie man might haue beene a Redeemer as well as Chriſt. You exclude by your adding of ONLY, the chiefeſt waight and worth of our redemption, which was the *dignitie* and *innocencie* of the perſon that ſuffered. For as Gods holineſſe was infinitely deſpighted, and diſpleaſed with our diſobedience in Adam, and his Iuſtice thereby infinitely prouoked; ſo in the ſatisfaction for ſinne his Holineſſe was to receiue an infinite recompenſe, which was the obedience of his owne Sonne; and his Iuſtice to finde a ſufficient barre to breake off the extremitie and perpetuitie of vengeance due to our ſinnes. Both theſe the Scriptures expreſſe in mans ranſome, as well as the paines. [r] *The Church of God, which he purchaſed with his owne bloud*, ſayth Paul. Where the perſon of the Purchaſer giueth full force to the price that was payd, ſince the bloud of none but of him that was God and man, could performe ſo much. Againe, in the very price it ſelfe, the innocencie of the Sufferer is a part, as well as the patience. So Peter auoucheth: [s] *You were redeemed with the precious bloud of Chriſt, as of a Lambe vndefiled and vnſpotted.* It ſufficeth not, that he was a Lambe, he muſt be *vnſpotted and vndefiled*, before he could be accepted for our ſinnes. Wherefore not the *ſuffering alone*, but the [t] *offering himſelfe without ſpot to God through the eternall ſpirit*, purged our conſciences from dead workes. This you are not willing to heare of, who auouch Chriſt to be [u] *ſinfull, defiled, hatefull, and accurſed by our ſinnes*; but I truſt there

q Defenc. pa. 65. li. 19. *More required in our ranſom then only paine.*

r Act. 20.

s 1. Pet. 1.

t Heb 9.

u Treat. fol. 42 li. 20.

there are few, that will forget the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, that Christ must be [o] *holie, innocent, vndefiled, and separate from sinners*, (before his sacrifice could be accepted for vs) to giue eare to your vaine, if not wicked illations. But admit, that suffering onely were the ransome of our sinnes; what will follow? *Ergo*, Christ suffered all the verie same punishments that were due to vs, or which the damned doe suffer? Who reasoneth thus, but he that is neither acquainted with trueth nor reason? I speake not how blasphemous and impious your conclusion is, but I aske how it any way hangeth to your antecedent.

[o] Hebr. 7.

[p] *Whatsoeuer in this life might be painfull, and was due to mankinde generally for sinne, and in it owne nature was no sinne, that Christ suffered wholly and altogether for vs, euen the same which els we should.*] This lacketh a faire deale of your generall and emphaticall collection, which you would force out of Esay, as if *Christ had borne (all) our sorowes themselues*, that is, all the same which we should haue borne. You of your owne head make here three recantations of that vniuersall proposition, which you goe about to proue. And if your authoritie stretch so farre, I hope I haue as good right to put in S. Peters limitation, that Christ [q] *bare our sinnes himselfe in his bodie on the tree*: and S. Iohns; that Christ *was* [r] *full of grace and trueth, of whose fulnesse we all haue receiued*: and S. Pauls; that Christ *was* [s] *deliuered for our sinnes* ([t] into the *hands* of sinners) to do [u] *whatsoeuer the hand and counsell of God had before determined to be done*. Put these exceptions to your generall assertion, which haue as good interest as any of yours, and better than some of yours, and inferre what you can. Your emphasis will not doe you a penie woorth of good, nor me a farthing of hurt. For as the death of Christes soule doth defile him with sinne, and exclude him from God; so the true paines of hell can neither be suffered in this mortall life, nor *at mens hands*, nor *leaue* in Christ any sparke of *grace* or trueth, which are absurdities and impieties enough to breake the greatest beame that is in your building. But let vs see how handsomely you contriue your exceptions. *Whatsoeuer in this life might be painfull, and was due to mankinde generally for sinne, all* that and euen *the same Christ suffered wholly for vs.*] *Due to mankind* in this life for sinne, are all and all sorts of corporall griefs and plagues, as blindnesse, dumbnesse, sickenesse, and such like defects and distempers of bodie and minde as naturall and extreme follie, frensie, lethargie, and many moe. Did Christ suffer all and the very same in this life *wholly and altogether*, as you auouch he must? DVE perhaps you take for that which is appointed, and inflicted on all men generally for sinne. Is no more due to any man for sinne than he suffereth? dealeth God fully with euerie man according to his sinnes? This is doctrine false enough: but wrest wordes to your will, for that is your strength; was all that and the very same which Christ suffered, determined and appointed for all men to suffer? were all men to be whipt, crowned with thornes, and hanged on a tree as he was? If you vse to flappe men in the mouthes with such manifest falsities in stead of your holy verities, they will thinke you suffer somewhat that Christ neuer suffered, though you would indanger aswell his wits as his merits for the time of his agonie.

[p] Defenc. pag. 65. li. 22.

[q] 1. Pet. 2.

[r] Ioh. 1.

[s] Rom. 4.

[t] Mark. 14

[u] Act. 4.

That which you conclude, *is* [x] *mine owne plaine confession* (you say) pag. 138. 286.] The Reader by this time is so much vsed to your fittens and fansies, that he will trust neither your collections nor assertions vpon my words. I vtterly say no such thing, I spake indefinitely: that [y] *smart, paine and griefe of bodie or minde, be it neuer so great, will commend the obedience and patience of Christ, so it haue no sense of damnation, or separation from God.* And in the next place, when you had obiected, *the head* (Christ) *must suffer what the members doe*; (where I hope you meane in this life, for the members of Christ suffer not the paines of hell after this life; I answered, [z] *The punishment of sinne which proceedeth* (in this life) *from the iustice of God* (vpon the members of Christ) *and is no sinne, that Christ might and did beare, but in no wise those terrours and feares of conscience, which proceed from sinne, and augment* SINNE, and sometimes light on the members of Christ for a season to humble them. What maketh either of these places for Christes suffering the paines of hell? If you see so much in them, you see

[x] Defenc. pag. 65. li. 25.

[y] Conclus. pa. 1. 38

[z] Conclus. pa. 138.

more than I did at the first vttering of them, or yet doe vpon better reuiewing them. I did and do grant, that Christ suffered the *same punishments* which Gods iustice *inflicted on all mankinde* for sinne, during the *time of this life*, and haue *no sinne* nor sinfull adherents in them, as *doubting*, *distrusting*, and *despairing* haue; if you vrge no more, we shall soone agree. Where then is the death of the soule, which without sinne can not lose her life in God? and where are the true paines of the damned, which are not inflicted on all mankinde, though they were due to all; nor imposed on any during the time of this life, since this corruptible flesh and mortall condition of man is not capable of those violent and terrible iudgements which God had reserued for another world, where bodie and life shall dure for euer in eternall torments?

* Defenc. pag. 66. l. 3. * *All these our due sorowes, and all this our sharpest deserued paine, euen Gods owne immediate hand smiting the soule for sinne, (which farre exceedeth and comprehendeth all other paine) Christ without any dispensation or qualification whatsoeuer endured for vs.*] If Esay had sayd so much, it would make somewhat for your matter; but since it hath no better warrant than *you say*, you shew vs how full you are of idle and vaine conceits, and how ready rather to turne *heauen*, *earth*, and *hell* vpside downe, than to faile of your fansies. But to me and others that rest our faiths not on your sleights, but on the sacred Scriptures, you multiply monsters in all these your newest deuised, and sharpest supposed paines from the immediate hand of God smiting the soule of Christ. That all paines here and in hell are ordeined and strengthened by the power of Gods hand, I make no doubt; but that in all temporall or eternall paines due to the soule for sinne, God vseth his immediate hand on earth and in hell, I wholly reiect this as a fantasticall error of yours, and giue it no place neither in the soule of Christ, neither in the soules of the damned. We see how easie and vsuall it is for God, by the bodie to afflict the soule, and to make it feele the force and rage of euery griefe. He likewise maketh the soule afflict her selfe, as well with feare and sorow, as with remembrance, intelligence, and conscience of her sinnes past, and paines to come. The same God is able with the same power to make the weakest creature torment and punish both soules and diuels, since hee giueth strength to men and angels; and taketh it from them, when pleaseth him. That therefore *euerlasting fire prepared for the diuell and his angels*, into which all the wicked shall be cast, is nothing but a *secret smiting of the soule by the immediate hand of God*, I auouch is a palpable errour contrarie to the plaine words of the Scripture, and to the whole Church of Christ, as I haue formerly shewed. And that the soule of Christ was so smitten in his pasion, is a bolde and bare presumption of yours, lately broched to deriue your new-found hell to the soule of Christ, without any trueth or shew of sacred Scripture. And yet all this being admitted, it will not proue the paines of hell, nor the proper wrath of God in the soule of Christ. For put the case, that Christ suffered as much paine in this life as was possible for man to suffer; so long as he suffered it *patiently*, *willingly*, with *full assistance of grace*, and *assurance of Gods fauour and loue toward him and his*, it is euident this is not the paines of the damned, nor properly the wrath of God. So should all Martyrs and others of the godly, whose soules are wrested from their bodies with extreame and intolerable torments, be in the true paines of the damned, which is a falshood flatly repugnant to the word and promises of God. And that a finall separation from God, confusion, desperation, and eternall damnation shall torment and afflict the soules of the damned, no more than a positiue paine doth the faithfull in this life, not exceeding the strength of man, or ending this life with the sharpnesse thereof in hope and comfort of eternall blisse; this is such a brutish position putting no difference betwixt comfort and confusion, hope and despaire, blessednesse and cursednesse, saluation and damnation, the fauour and terrour of God, nor giuing any more ease nor ioy to the one than to the other, that I thinke few men besides you will runne on these rocks. First then, that God is not able to punish the soule seuered from the bodie by meanes, but himselfe must be the immediate and onely tormentor of soules in hell, this hath no trueth in it. Next, that Christes soule was thus tormented and

pressed

pressed with the immediate hand of God, hath no ground besides the giddinesse of your head. Lastly, if both those were receiued, yet was there great distance betweene the feare and sorow of Christ suffering in perfect affiance, and expectance of eternall ioy and honour from God; and the terrors, griefs and torments of the damned, reiected and condemned of God to perpetuall and vnsufferable paines; so that your conceits in this place are weake, false and wicked.

The smiting of the Soule by Gods immediat hand, farre exceedeth and *comprehendeth, as it were, all other paine; and that Christ suffered without any dispensation or qualification whatsoeuer.*] You need no Qualification to holde as many absurdities, as your pen can heape together; you dispense with your selfe. That your new hell, which of your owne head you make to be the smiting of the Soule with Gods immediate hand, farre exceedeth all other paines; you speake the words, but where are the proofes and deeds? The true paines of hell, which God hath ordained and denounced in his word, farre exceede the power and patience of men and Angels; neither can they be suffered in this mortall flesh, and feeble life of ours; which fainteth vnder extreme anguish, and parteth the Soule from the body by farre lesser paines, then hell hath any. Chrysostome saith of them truely, [b] *Name fire, sword, deuouring beasts, and if any paine bee more grieuous* (in this life) *attamen ne vmbra quidem sunt hæc ad illa tormenta, And yet these are not a shadow to those torments.* Now your new made hell, that so farre exceedeth and comprehendeth all other paine (as you pretend,) not onely Christ did suffer with quietnesse and patience, but the members of Christ, that are no more then men, and the wicked, that are the worst and the weakest of all men, in respect of inward strength, endure the same, as you affirme in this life. Yea, so terrible are your late deuised *paines and sufferings of Gods wrath, which* as you say [c] *alwayes accompanie them that are separated from the grace and loue of God,* that they neither end the liues, nor waste the flesh, nor breake the sleepe of the wicked. This *exceedeth*, you say, *and comprehendeth all other paine.*] But the pains of hell indeed haue an other maner of torment and terrour in them, then to suffer men to eate and sleepe. These be your mockeries of Gods wrath, and not the hell which he threatneth. If it comprehend all other paines, that are *mediate*, and those as well *priuatiue*, as *positiue*; how is it then immediate? Can it both comprehend all paines that haue meanes, and yet bee without all meanes? But what may not you say, that without any dispensation take vpon you to found a new hell, and subiect the Soule of Christ vnto it as a principall part of our Redemption?

[a] *Thus Ierom also expoundeth this very Text, against whom you may turne your vaine and friuolous insultation for his indefinite speech, to whom it pertaineth in this case, as well as to me.*] If you could prooue, that Ierom intended a generall conclusion, as you doe, then were Ieroms indefinite proposition somewhat too short to declare his meaning; but who saith that Ierom meant so, besides your selfe? Ieroms proposition therefore to his purpose is sober, and sound; and yours ouer-reaching the trueth of Ieroms Assertion, hath neither veritie, nor sobrietie in it. [e] *In learning and reason an indefinite proposition, is to be taken as vniuersall in a necessarie matter.*] But if the *matter* be not plainely *necessarie*, that the Assertion may be fully generall; to conclude a generall vpon an indefinite, is inexcusable ignorance, and oftentimes intollerable madnesse. If it bee simply necessarie, then is it as true in all, as in one. But how commeth this to bee a matter wholly necessarie, that whosoeuer will redeeme or deliuer a prisoner, must suffer all things without exception, which the prisoner should? I troe, if that were true, few prisoners would bee ransomed amongst men; and in Christ it is not only most vntrue, but furious and heynous blasphemie, to say hee must, or did suffer all the same, which was due to vs. For so Christ must bee excluded from all *grace* and *glorie*, and subiected to euerlasting confusion and damnation, as wee should haue beene. And if you make this a matter simply necessarie in Christ, before we could bee redeemed, I know not what you may adde to augment this franticke impietie. [f] *It is a necessarie matter*, you say, *yet but* [f] *so farre as knowen possibilitie admitteth, and indeede no farder.*]

[b] *Homil. 49. ad Populum Antiochenum.*

[c] *Treatis. pag. 77.*

[a] *Defenc. pag. 66. l. 8. & 10.*

[e] *Ibid. li. 18.*

[f] *Ibid. li. 21.*

– Well fare your learning, that in one and the ſame ſentence auouch this to be neceſſarie, and not neceſſarie; and ſo generall, and not generall. Theſe bee the flowers of your beſt digeſted doctrine. But Sir, if the generall Aſſertion be blaſphemous, then is it no way neceſſarie, except you haue a qualification to make blaſpemie a neceſſarie matter. If the Aſſertion may not be generall, leaſt it be hereticall and worſe, why labour you ſo earneſtly againſt the words of the Text, to faſten the generall not on Ierom onely, but on Eſay alſo? Will you needes make the Prophet a blaſphemer for companie? But you will delay the blaſphemie with a knowen *poſſibilitie*.] If there be knowen impoſsibilities to hinder this generall Aſſertion, as indeede there be many, how commeth it to be a matter ſo neceſſarie, as you make it? Be impoſsibilities generall, and neceſſarie with you? This is the firſt rule of reaſon and Art, that I heard come from you, ſince you entred this queſtion; but if your iudgement ſerue you no better to diſcerne betweene matters neceſſarie and vnneceſſarie, I would wiſh you to keepe the reſt of your Logicke for Loyterers hall. Did you thinke Sir Diſcourſer, with a vaine bragge of a neceſſarie matter to outface the Reader, where if you could prooue it to be neceſſarie, you need not flie for helpe to any rules of reaſon? Your Rule therefore is ſenſibly falſe in earthly Ranſomming of priſoners; and much more falſe and impious in the Sonne of God, who would and might taſt by his man-hoode the miſeries of this life, but in no wiſe be partaker of our *inward, or euerlaſting pollution, or confuſion*.

[g] Defenc. pag. 66. l. 31. & 28. Though you added (malediction) to Ieroms words, yet that is you ſay, [g] *None other but an honeſt falſifying of your Author, to expreſſe his meaning; and a ſilly deuiſe of mine to turne off Ierom without an anſwere.*] Your proofe of Ieroms meaning is as weake, as your addition to his words was falſe. The words cited by Ierom immediatly before, are theſe, *the chaſtiſement of our peace is vpon him*; and not as you vntruely auouch, (the Apoſtles words) *He was made a curſe for vs*. That indeede goeth before, but before alſo goe the *miſiudging*, *wounding*, and *hanging* of Chriſt on the Croſſe. Now the relatiue following, (QVOD *enim*) muſt either be referred to all that went before, and ſo not to *malediction* apart from the reſt, or to that which went next before, which is the chaſtiſement of our peace. And ſo either way you were ouer bold with your Author, to referre his words whether pleaſed you. And farder anſwere to Ierom there needed none. For to no prooſe needed no anſwere. And yet what better anſwere could you haue, then for Ieroms meaning, ſince his words are not generall, to haue Ieroms con-

[h] Concluſ. fo'. 350. l. 4. cluſion in that very place [h] *brought* you, which beſt ſerueth to ſhew Ieroms intent? Of Chriſts hanging on the Croſſe Ierom ſpeaketh, noting that to be a curſed kinde of death out of the Apoſtle, which I am farre from denying. So doth he of digging Chriſts hands and feete out of the Pſalme, and of the reſt of Chriſts wounds and ſtripes, by which we were healed, out of the Prophet, whom hee expoundeth; All which Chriſt ſuffered for vs, being in deed due to vs for our ſinnes. Leaue out your falſifying of Ieroms words and ſenſe, that (*whatſoeuer curſe*) was due to vs for our ſinnes, Chriſt ſuffered for vs, and I ſee no cauſe why Ieroms words ſhould neede any anſwere.

[i] Defenc. pag. 66. l. 32. [i] *That this place of Eſaie, and the whole Doctrine, which I auouch, touching theſe ſufferings of Chriſt, may be the better receaued, let vs note that the publike Doctrine appointed by Authoritie to be taught throughout England expreſſeth the ſame; Namely, Nowels Catechiſme.*] Since the Scriptures, which plentifully and plainly teach vs the true price and meanes of our ſaluation, giue no warrant of your new found Doctrine, and the whole Armie of Auncient and learned Fathers, who could ill inſtruct the people committed to their charge, if they themſelues were ignorant of the true meaning of their Creed and Catechiſme, neuer heard nor thought of your late deuiſed Redemption by Chriſts ſuffering the very paines of hell, and the ſame which the damned doe ſuffer, without any diſpenſation or Qualification, for ſo it liketh you to ſpeake; if you could produce moe new writers of your mind, then you doe or can, they muſt pardon me for not admitting any Doctrine touching our Redemption, but what I ſee grounded

grounded on the plaine euidence of the Sacred Scriptures; and ſo receaued in the Church of Chriſt before our Age. I liſt not to deuiſe or approue a new Saluation vnknowen till our time, and if any man be otherwiſe minded, he ſhall goe alone for me. God grant me to be a member of that Church, which hath reuerently receaued and faithfully beleeued the ſimplicitie of the Scriptures touching our Redemption by the death and bloud of Chriſt Ieſus. Howbeit I ſee many men ſpeake diuerſly, that meane nothing leſſe then your late found hell, inflicted by the immediat hand of God on the Soule of Chriſt. Where then you dreampt in your Treatiſe, (as you ſtill doe in your Defence,) that whoſoeuer named *the wrath of God* in Chriſts ſufferings, or called his *Croſſe a curſed kinde of death*, was wholy of your ſide; I did in few lines reprooue that folly of yours, and ſince you quoted no ſpeciall words neither out of Maſter Nowels Catechiſme, nor out of the Bible appointed publikely to be read in the Churches of this Realme, nor out of the Booke of Homilies, that were worth the ſtanding on; there was no cauſe why I ſhould waſt time to hunt after your meaning. If you would haue an anſwere, it was meete you made your Arguments, and preſſed your Authorities, as well as you could; and then you ſhould ſoone ſee what I ſaid vnto them. But as I then foretold, ſo you now performe; Your buzzing head no where findeth *the wrath of God, or horror of Iudgement* againſt our ſinne to be *apprehended by Chriſt*, but you ſtraightway conclude all your conceits from the firſt to the laſt. Theſe words when I reade them in any man, offend not me, as they helpe not you, except you wreſt them after your manner to hide vnder them your new found hell, and the reſt of your preſumptuous and irreligious humours. Begin with the Catechiſme, and ſee what choiſe you haue made thence.

[k] *There it is thus taught. He payd and ſuffered the paine due to vs, and by this meanes deliuerd vs from the ſame. With Chriſt as our ſuretie God dealt as it were with extremitie of law. Chriſt therefore ſuffered, and in ſuffering ouercame death, the paine appointed by the euerliuing God for mans offence.*] What of all this? What one worde is here ſounding towards the death of the ſoule, or the death of the damned after this life? The Catechiſme in the very ſame ſentence expreſſely ſpeaketh of the painefull and reprochfull death, which the *Iewes inflicted* on Chriſt, the manner whereof is orderly deſcribed in the next anſwere before. *Theſe things* (ſayth the Catechiſme) the Iewes did *vnto him cruelly, maliciouſly, and wickedly*; *but Chriſt willingly of his owne accord ſuffered* ALL THOSE THINGS (from the Iewes) *to appeaſe with this moſt ſweete ſacrifice his father offended with mankinde, vtque pœnas nobis debitas dependeret & perſolueret, atque nos ex illis hoc modo eximeret: and to pay and ſatisfie the puniſhments due to vs, thereby to exempt vs from them. Cum Chriſto quaſi ſponſore, pro nobis ſic paſſo, Deus ſummo quaſi iure egit. God dealt after a ſort ſeuerely with Chriſt as with a ſurety, ſuffering thus for vs; but to vs, whoſe ſinnes, deſerued puniſhments, and due paines (tranſtulit in Chriſtum) hee transferred on Chriſt, God ſhewed ſingular mercie and clemencie.* All this is plainely referred to the puniſhments and paines, *which Chriſt ſuffered at the hands of the Iewes* by the ſecret counſell and appointment of God, that thereby he might pacifie the wrath of his Father, and deliuer vs from the ſhame, paine, and death due to our ſinnes, which God *tranſferred* and *remoued* from vs to Chriſt, that he might ſuffer them, and we be freed both here, and hereafter for them. Wherein great fauour and mercie were ſhewed to vs; and Chriſt as it were a *Suretie* ſubiected for vs *after a ſort* to the rigour of the Lawe. What hurt is there in theſe wordes, if you leaue haling and pulling them from their right ſenſe? The Authour of the Catechiſme warily forbeareth the generall, which you ſeeke after ſo greedily, and when hee commeth to the places that might ſeeme harſh, he qualifieth them with *quaſi, as it were*, not meaning to preſſe thoſe phraſes, as you doe, to the vttermoſt. Wherefore he ſaith that Chriſt was, *quaſi ſponſor, a kinde of ſuretie* ſuffering for vs, and that God dealt with him, *Quaſi ſummo iure, as it were with rigor*, in reſpect of the lenitie ſhewed to vs. Which ſpeeches if you poyſon them not with your bitter conceits, I miſlike not, ſo long as they be ſtretched no further, then to, SIC *paſſo pro nobis*, Chriſt THVS *ſuffering for vs* at the hands of the Iewes;

[k] Defenc pag. 66. l. 37.

to which the writer of the Catechisme wisely restraineth his wordes of Christs sufferings in that whole Section. The death therefore, which hee saith Christ suffered as the punishment appointed by God for haynous offences, or for mans wickednesse, and thereby conquered the deuill, who had the rule of death; was the cruell and shamefull death, which the Iewes put Christ to on the Crosse, which was the death that God either allotted to all men for sinne; or prescribed specially for grieuous offences, as an accursed kind of death, euen in this life, where Christ suffered, though euerlasting death did ensue the wicked in the next world, from which Christ was free. Neither can the deuill be said to be the ruler of the second death, if it be inflicted as you would haue it, by the immediat hand of God, except you make the deuill ruler and gouernour of Gods immediate hand, which is notorious blasphemie.

[1] Defenc. pa. 67. li. 7.

It is there also written, *that Christs* [1] *will was to suffer all extreamitie for vs, who had deserued all extreamitie, and all these things being taken vpon him, hee destroyed them all.*] You sliely slippe your Authors words in the question prefixed, which is the cause of this answere, and lighting on a Latine phrase, which you scant vnderstand, you pursue that to the pit of hell. The question proposed in the Catechisme is this. *Since Christ had power in himselfe to choose what kind of death he would, why would he rather be fastned to the Crosse, then suffer any other kind of punishment?* The answere is. *Vltima omnia pati voluit pro nobis, quia vltima omnia eramus commeriti. Christ would endure for vs in all things the vttermost* (which the Iewes could doe vnto him) *because in all things we had deserued the vttermost.* And that the phrase, *vltima omnia, the vttermost in all things*, is referred to the Iewes, to note the worst they could doe vnto Christ, appeareth by that which is added as a reason of those words. For *the Crosse* (saith he) *was of all others a detested and abhorred kind of death, which yet Christ would chiefly sustaine* (at the Iewes hands) *for vs, that he might receiue on him the grieuous curse, which our sinnes had fastned to vs, and by this meanes deliuer vs from it. All despightes, all reproches, and punishments* (offered him by the Iewes) *Christ counted light for our saluation, and endured to be contemned, and abiected* (by them) *as the basest* (or vilest) of all men. So that the Catechisme had no intent to say, that Christ willingly would suffer the worst that *God could doe vnto him*; that were defiance to Gods power and iustice, which was fardest from Christs thought, and must be from the Catechizers words, except you will haue him blaspheme: but in deede our Sauiour did submit himselfe to the worst and vttermost, *that men could doe vnto him*, which was the determinate counsell of God for the satisfaction of his iustice, and redemption of our sinnes; and therefore Christ made choise of the Crosse to yeeld vp his life, that the Iewes might to the last breath loade him with all maner of *despightes*, *reproches*, and *tortures*, which they by Satans instigation failed not to performe. Leaue then your peruerting of other mens words, and subuerting of their meanings, and I see no one syllable yet cited by you out of the Catechisme, that tendeth towards your new found hell, or the death of the damned to be suffered in Christs soule.

But Christ (you thinke) *could deliuer vs from no more then he suffered for vs.*] You might haue learned the contrarie to that out of the Catechisme; where you are plainly taught, that Christs corporall and temporall *wrongs*, *reproches*, and *paines* inflicted on him by the Iewes, did quit vs from all spirituall & euerlasting debts, deaths, feares and paines. [m] *Christ in our name and place vndertooke to his Father to satisfie him for our sinnes, and with the most sweete sacrifice of his obedience, to appease his Fathers wrath conceaued against vs for our obstinacie, and so to restore vs to fauour with God. And therefore Christ the most innocent Lambe of God was bound with cordes to free vs, who for our deserts were deliuered captiues to Satan, sinne, and damnation: Christ, who was vtterly without all fault, was accused, and condemned by the sentence of an earthly Iudge, that he might absolue vs before the heauenly Tribunall, who were euery way guiltie and most worthy of damnation: Christ with his precious bloud shed for vs, did wash and clense the spots and filthinesse of our sinnes: Lastly Christ with the reproches, which he sustained most vndeseruedly, and with the most shamefull, and most sharpe death, which was inflicted on him, deliuered vs from the*

[m] Catech. sinue Alexandri Nowelli Latinè & græcè editus Anno. 1578.

the puniſhment, ignominie, and death euerlaſting, which we had moſt iuſtly merited with our wicked offences: and ſo all our ſinnes were buried in oblition, and remooued farre from the ſight of God by Chriſt. This doctrine if you could brooke, you would not ſo much diſable the ſufferings of Chriſt at the hands of his perſecutours, as you doe; nor ſo haſtily commit the ſoule of Chriſt to the paines of the damned from the immediate hand of God, before you wil acknowledge our redemption to be perfect by the croſſe and death of Chriſt: but as your manner is, you ſteppe by whole leaues that are againſt you, and ſtumble at a word, that happily may be wreſted from his right ſenſe; and that you thinke is ſtrong enough to beare the waight of all thoſe abſurdities, if not impieties, which you would reare.

[a] *Marke alſo what doctrine the Law of this Realme conſonantly publiſheth and commandeth in the homilies of Chriſts paſſion.* The firſt homily maketh *Chriſtes putting himſelfe betweene Gods deſerued wrath and our ſinne, the extreameſt part of his paſſion.*] You alleaged the Catechiſme rather for your pleaſure, then any profit to your cauſe; you do the like now with the booke of Homilies. You cite but little thence, and that to litle purpoſe. That Chriſt *put himſelfe betweene Gods deſerued wrath, and our ſinne*, to appeaſe the iuſt diſpleaſure of God kindled againſt vs, and to auert it from vs, I knowe no man that maketh any doubt thereof; and I maruaile to what ende you alleage it. For what needed a Redeemer, but to ſaue vs from the wrath of God prouoked by our wickedneſſe, and armed with infinite power to take vengeance of mans vnrighteouſneſſe? Or how could Chriſt be a Mediatour, if he did not ſtand betweene vs and the dreadfull anger of God irritated by our iniquities, to quench the ſame, and to keepe vs from euerlaſting deſtruction? But the Homily, you ſay, *maketh that the extreameſt part of Chriſts paſſion, which was a further feeling then the ſenſe of bodily paine onely. And therefore by the Homilie he felt Gods proper wrath ſpiritually which our ſinne deſerued.*] You no ſooner heare the name of Gods wrath, but you run to your old bias, and ſtraightway pitch on your hell paines. There are no ſuch words in all that Homilie, as that Chriſts putting him ſelfe betweene Gods wrath and our ſinne, *was the extreameſt part of his paſſion.* Gods wrath againſt mans ſinne, was indeede the cauſe of all that Chriſt ſuffered, and not the extreameſt part onely of his ſufferings, by which you would extenuate the reſt, as not extreame enough, till that were added. But the Booke of Homilies teacheth you no ſuch Doctrine; that propoſeth the death of Chriſt ſuffered in his Body on the Croſſe for the FVLL and ONLY (*ſatisfaction or*) *amends of all our ſinnes.* Heare the words, that the Reader may ſee what a counterfeite pretence you make of publike Authoritie, as if it were conſonant to your new conceited errours, when it plainly impugneth them. [a] *So pleaſant was this Sacrifice, and oblation of his Sonnes death, which he ſo obediently and innocently ſuffered: that God would take it for the* ONLY *and* FVLL AMENDS *for all the ſinnes of the world. No* [p] *tongue ſurely is able to expreſſe the worthineſſe of this ſo pretious a death. Yea* [q] *there is none other thing that can be named vnder heauen to ſaue our Soules, but* THIS ONLY VVORKE *of Chriſts pretious offering of his Body vpon the Altar of the Croſſe.* The death of Chriſts Body you thinke did not manifeſt the wrath of God againſt our ſinnes; the death of the Soule and paines of hell muſt be added before the wrath of God will appeare in Chriſts Croſſe.] So teach you; but the Booke of Homilies teacheth the cleane contrarie. [r] *Chriſt being the Sonne of God, and perfect God himſelfe, who neuer committed ſinne, was compelled to come downe from heauen, and to giue his Body to be bruſed and broken on the Croſſe for our ſinnes. Was not this a manifeſt token of Gods great wrath and diſpleaſure towards ſinne, that he could be pacified by* NO OTHER MEANES, *but* ONLY *by the ſweete and pretious bloud of his deare Sonne?* Therefore in the Booke of Homilies, as there is no mention, ſo is their no intention, that Chriſt ſuffered ſpiritually the proper wrath of God, which our ſinnes deſerued. Theſe are your phraſes and fanſies added to the booke of Homilies, which neither ſpeaketh nor meaneth any ſuch thing, as you idlely inferre.

[s] *Againe, Chriſt bare all our ſinnes, ſores and infirmities vpon his owne backe; no paine did*

[a] Defenc. pa. 67. li. 9.

[o] *The firſt Sermon of the Paſſion. pag. 5.*
[p] *Paulo poſt. pag. 6.*
[q] *Ibidem.*

[r] *The ſecond Sermon of the Paſſion. pag. 9.*

[s] Defenc. pag. 67. li. 20.

did he refuse to suffer in his owne bodie. But as he felt all this in his bodie, so he must feele the greatest part primarily and much more deeply in his soule: ergo *he refused not to suffer all the paines of the wrath of God both in bodie and soule.*] This kinde of ergoing passeth mine vnderstanding. To the first proposition taken out of the booke of Homilies, *that Christ bare all our sores and infirmities vpon his owne backe, refusing no paine in his owne bodie, to deliuer vs from euerlasting paine*, you put what pleaseth you, without any proofe; and then you inferre what you list, without any sequele of reason or trueth. For how hangeth this geere together? *Christ bare all our sores and infirmities in his owne bodie*, ergo *he suffered all the paines of Gods wrath both in bodie and soule.* Are there none other paines of Gods wrath, but the sores and infirmities of our bodies? And if Christ did suffer all bodily paine incident to men heere on earth, doth it therefore follow, that he suffered all the paines both of bodie and soule, that Gods wrath here and els where hath prouided for sinners? If a man would set himselfe purposely to crosse the booke of homilies, I know not how he might do it more directly then you do, to conclude expretly the contrary to that which is there deliuered. It is no maruell, that so manie writers are of your side, as you say, when you can enlarge them and interlace them after this sort; but you shall doe well to thinke, that your Reader now hearkeneth after the publike doctrine of this Realme authorized by the lawes thereof in the booke of homilies, as you professed; and not after your secret conceits intercepting and peruerting the trueth there taught, by your pernicious and erroneous glozes.

[t] Defenc. pag. 67. li. 20.

Christ, you say, [t] *must feele the greatest part of his bodily paines primarily in his soule.*] Haue you not brought vs monsters enough in matters of faith, but you must hatch vs more? Must bodily paines (for of those speaketh the booke of homilies, as appeareth by the next words; *Christ refused no paine in his owne bodie*; and the first wordes are; *he bare all our sores and infirmities on his owne backe*) must I say bodily paines be felt primarily in the soule? If you shift all sense to the soule, then the bodie beareth, that is, feeleth nothing; and so you refute the booke of homilies, you follow it not. If you allow sense to the bodie, tell vs I pray you how violence *first* offered to the bodie is *primarily* felt in the soule. It may be betwixt *first* in English, and *primus* in Latine, you haue found some deepe difference. *The soule*, you thinke, doth *primarily consider of the paines of her bodie, that you meane by feeling.*] Then leaue you to the bodie a second consideration of his owne paines; and so you giue reason and memorie to the bodie distinct from the soule, which well becommeth a man of your wisdome. That Christ duely considered of the cause for which he suffered, and of the *Iudge* by whose appointment he suffered these things in his bodie from the Iewes, I haue often sayd it, and you haue often reiected it as not sufficient to satisfie the wrath of God against our sinnes; and therefore you euery where vrge the *proper punishment, and iust reward* of sinne due to vs on the soule of Christ; and when you come to proue it, you rest on the religious consideration that Christ had of his sufferings, and call that the wrath of God; as if you might choppe and change the wrath of God to your best liking, and neuer be constant in any thing. Howbeit, the question now is, what the publike homilies teach the people to beleeue of the worke of their saluation; and not how you can shift and sheere wordes, to make them sort with your errours. Shew therefore somewhat out of the booke of Homilies established by the lawes of this realme, that may cleerely confirme, or concurre with your doctrine, and sell vs not the verdiuyce of your owne deuices in stead of good wine allowed by publike authoritie.

[u] Defenc. pag. 67. li. 24.

Christ [u] *tooke vpon him the reward of our sinnes, the iust reward of sinne. But the same homilie sayth, the reward of our sinne was the iust wrath and indignation of God, the death both of bodie and soule. Therefore by the homilie Christ tooke on him for vs the iust wrath and indignation of God, the death of the bodie and soule.*] Your trade of iugling will but shame you, if you can shift hands no cleanlier, then here you doe. Your first and second propositions here cited out of the Booke of Homilies are so curtayled by you, that they seeme nothing lesse then that they are in their right places. The writer of the

Homilies

Homilies hauing taught the people, that *Christ* [x] *came to saue the house of Israell by giuing his life for their sinnes, and that sinne caused the onely Sonne of God to be crucified in the flesh, and to suffer the most vile and slaunderous death of the Crosse*; and consequently willed them *to* [x] *remember how grieuously and cruelly Christ was handled of the Iewes for our sinnes, and to set before their eyes Christ crucified, with his body stretched on the Crosse, his head crowned with sharpe thornes, his hands and his feete pearced with nayles, his heart opened with a speare, his flesh rent and torne with whips, his browes sweating water and blood:* by this *stirreth vp* the hearers *to the* [x] *hatred of sinne, that was so grieuous in the sight of God, that he would not be pacified, but onely with the blood of his owne Sonne.* And though there were a thousand [x] *examples in the Scripture shewing how greatly God abhorred sinne, yet this one is of more force then all the rest*, that *the Sonne of God was* [x] *compelled to giue his body to bee bruised and broken on the Crosse for our sinnes.* After these premonitions follow your words, [x] *Christ hath taken vpon him the iust reward of sinne, which was death*, not the whole reward of sinne, which is an vtter exclusion from all grace and glorie, and the eternall damnation of body and Soule in hell fire, but the *death of his body bruised and broken on the Crosse*, by the cruell rage of the Iewes, which is particularly and plainely before described. Now the death of the body inflicted on all mankind for sinne is the *iust*, though not the *full* reward of sinne; and by suffering that, Christ freed vs from all condemnation of sinne, which otherwise in vs would haue beene euerlasting. And this explication the same Homily addeth to the former words, which you cite, though you purposely suppresse it. [y] *When all hope of righteousnesse was past on our part, and wee had nothing whereby wee might quench Gods burning wrath, and worke the saluation of our Soules; Then, euen then did the Sonne of God come downe from heauen to be wounded for our sakes, to be reputed with the wicked, to be condemned vnto death, to take vpon him the reward of our sinnes, and to giue his body to be broken on the Crosse for our offences.* Here are both the places, which you patch together; the one noting *Death to be the iust reward of sinne*, the other expressing what kind of death Christ suffered for vs as the reward of our sinne, euen the breaking of his body on the Crosse for our offences.

[x] *The second Sermon of the Passion.*

[y] *The second Sermon of the Passion. pag. 5.*

In the second proposition you shew more deprauing of the publike doctrine of this Realme. For where the second Homily saith in expresse words, that our [z] *Grandfather Adam, by breaking Gods commaundement in eating the Apple forbidden him in Paradise, purchased not onely to himselfe, but also to his posteritie for euer, the iust wrath and indignation of God, who condemned both him and his to euerlasting death both of body and Soule*; you transferre this iudgement from Adam to Christ, which the Homily doeth not; and least you should bee taken tardie with open blasphemie, you leaue out the word EVERLASTING, which is euident in the Homily, and vpon those maimed and forged collections you inferre, that *by the Homily Christ tooke on him for vs the death both of body and Soule.*] Why say you not, Christ tooke vpon him EVERLASTING *death both of body and Soule*, which was the iust and due purchase (or wages) of our sinne by the plaine words of that Homilie? You feared blasphemie, and therefore you chose rather to falsifie the place, then to want some defence for your Doctrine. *Christ* you will say, *died that death, which was the reward of our sinne, by the Booke of Homilies.*] To belie publike Authoritie, so grossely, in so great causes, is a quadruple iniquitie. What death Christ died for our sinnes, is openly professed and euen pictured before our eyes in this very Homilie; the words I repeated in the Section before. What death was the wages of our sinne, if the word *euerlasting* did not fully declare, the same Homilie in the same Section, whence your words are taken, doth twice most abundantly teach. [a] *Adam tooke vpon him to eate*, (of the tree forbidden) *and in so doing he died the death*, that is to say, *he became mortall, he lost the fauour of God, he was cast out of Paradise, he was no longer a Citizen of heauen, but a fire brand of hell, and a bond-slaue to the Diuell.* And sixe lines after. [b] *So that now neither Adam, nor any of his had any right, or interest at all in the kingdome of heauen: but were become plaine Reprobates and cast-awaies, being perpetually damned to the euerlasting paines of hell fire.* It would

[z] *The second Sermon of the Passion. pag. 8*

[a] *The second Homilie of the Passion. li. 24.*

[b] *Ibidem.*

would fairely fit your new Doctrine to defend that Christ was a *Reprobate* and a *Castaway*, yea a *fire-brand of hell*, and a *bond-slaue* to the Diuell, *perpetually damned to the euerlasting paines of hell fire*. And though I be perswaded you detest these diuelish impieties, and hellish blasphemies; yet you regard little your cause, or your conscience, which vouch in Print, that Christ suffered that reward of sinne, which by the Booke of Homilies was due to vs; all those things by the same Booke in the same place being due to vs. You will shift of this matter, as if *these things might be granted in substance, not in circumstance, and in our countenance, not in his*. But such shifts are so shamefull and sinfull in this case, that I thinke your owne friends wil altogether mislike your flying to the Booke of Homilies for the death of the Soule, or the iust reward of sinne in all mankind there mentioned, to be suffered in the Soule of Christ.

[c] Treat. pa. 86. li. 33. [c] *Also our great Bible appointed by Authoritie to be read in publike Churches expressly saith as much*] It is a poore pittance, when you finde no helpe for your new made hell in the whole Text of the Bible, to run to the Printers additions set by the sides of the Booke, who often annexe things in the Margine for direction or explication, as they thinke good, which declare the Printers or Correctors, but not the Authors nor Translators mind. Your wits I trust be not so weake, but you can discerne between the English translation of the Text commaunded to be publikely read in the Church, and the Marginall notes added by others without any warrant of publike Authority, for ought that I see. And therefore I take not my selfe, nor any man else, to be bound to those notes, farder then they euidently concurre with the truth of the Text; though they may be sometimes profitable for the opening of hard places. That *Christ* [d] *was in an Agonie*, the Euangelist affirmeth, and the English Translator hath done his duetie in expressing so much; but what the cause was of that Agonie, is beyond the Commission of a Translator to specifie, since the Scripture concealeth it; and so publike Authoritie, which appointed the English Translation to be openly reade in the Church confirmeth not the Marginall appositions, which may not be read in the Church, though they may be receiued so farre as they haue manifest coherence with the Text, or consequence from the Text, in respect rather of their veritie then Authoritie. For these notes at first were not affixed, and in sundry editions they haue been altered, & increased as the Corrector liked, & euen this note which you alleage, somewhat differeth from the Geneuian notes, whence this and the most of the rest were taken. The words of the Geneuian edition vpon this place are these: [e] *The word* (Agonie) *signifieth that horror that Christ had conceaued not onely for feare of death, but of his Fathers Iudgement and wrath against sinne*. The Printer of the great English Bible, or his Corrector, ouer against those words of the Text, *he was in an Agonie*, setteth this obseruation in the Margine; [f] *He felt the horror of Gods wrath and iudgement against sinne*. I refuse not those words as if they gainsaid the Doctrine, which I defend; but I see no farder ground in them then ghesse, when they ayme at the cause of Christs Agonie, which the Scripture suppresseth.

[d] Luke. 22. vers. 24.

[e] *Annot. in cap. 22. Luc. vers. 44.*

[f] *In Luce. cap. 22. vers. 44.*

Howbeit let the words stand in their full strength; though by no meanes I acknowledge either *Authentike* or *publike* Authoritie in them; they rather euert, then support your opinion. The vttermost here ascribed to Christ is HORROR, that is, a *shaking* or *trembling feare* of Gods Iudgement and wrath against sinne, which all the godly finde in them selues, when they enter into the serious cogitation of Gods holinesse displeased, and his Iustice prouoked with their sinnes; but this is farre from the death or paines of the damned, except you make the *vengeance* of the *Reprobate* all one with the *repentance* of the *faithfull*. This therefore is like the rest of your proofes, no way tending to your purpose. The feare of Gods wrath against sinne, which is common to all the godly in this life, though not at all times, hath no fellowship with the feare of the Reprobate, much lesse with the torments of the damned. The one is a religious and godly sorrow for sinne, which worketh saluation, and yet agnileth with *feare* and *trembling* the iustnesse and greatnesse of Gods wrath against sinne: the other is the beholding of the terrible and eternall destruction of Body and Soule

Soule prepared for them without all hope of eaſe or end. In Chriſt there might be a double cauſe of this *horror conceaued* or *felt* by him, as affections are felt in the Nature of Man; the one touching vs, the other touching himſelfe. Chriſt might *tremble* and *ſhake* at the *terror* of Gods Iudgement prouided for vs, which was euerlaſting damnation of Body and Soule in hell fire; and the more tenderly he loued vs, the greater was his horror to ſee this hang ouer our heads; euen as we naturally tremble to ſee the deſperate daungers of our deareſt friends preſent before our eyes. And if Paul ſaid truely of him ſelfe, [g] *we knowing the terror of the Lord*, meaning the terror of the Lords Iudgement againſt ſinne; how much more then did the Sauiour of the world *know the ſame?* the cleare beholding of which might iuſtly worke in him a manifeſt horror, to teach vs to take heede of that terrible Iudgement, at the ſight whereof for our ſakes he did tremble in the daies of his fleſh. An other cauſe of that horror might concerne himſelfe. For ſince the wrath and Iudgement of God againſt our ſinne was ſo terrible to behold, that Chriſt in his humane nature trembled at it; how could it but raiſe an horror in him to know, that he muſt preſently receiue in his owne Body the burthen thereof, and make ſatisfaction therefore with his owne ſmart? which how farre it would pearce his patience, the weakenes of our fleſh in him might well feare and tremble, though his ſpirit were neuer ſo reſolute and ready to endure the moſt, that mans nature in this life could ſuſtaine with obedience and confidence. So that either the *ſight* of Gods wrath againſt ſinne due to vs, or the *ſatisfaction* of the ſame which Chriſt was to make, might vrge his humane nature to that feare and trembling for the time, which theſe notes obſerue; and yet neither of theſe come neere the feare of the wicked, or paines of the damned. Beſides that religious horror and feare is nothing leſſe then the paines of hell inflicted on the Soule by the immediate hand of God, which is the deuice, that you ſeeke to eſtabliſh.

[g] 2. Cor. 5.

[h] *Thus my Text of Scripture is alſo iuſtified, that Chriſt gaue himſelfe the price of Redemption for vs,* WHICH ELS VVE SHOVLD HAVE PAYD.] If wreſting, adding, and altering may be called iuſtifying, then is your ſenſe of that text iuſtified indeed; otherwiſe there is nothing yet alleadged, that any way approueth that meaning of the text which you would inforce. *The price of our redemption* Chriſt payd; *not the ſame, which els we ſhould haue payd,* had we not beene redeemed; (for ſo Chriſt muſt haue ſuffered euerlaſting damnation of bodie and ſoule, which was the payment exacted of vs) but he payd a PRICE for vs, that more contented his diſpleaſed Father, than our euerlaſting deſtruction could haue done. You dallie therefore with the doubtfulneſſe of the word PAYD, which ſometimes ſignifieth the *enduring of puniſhment*, ſometimes the *yeelding of recompence*. The *Price* of our ſinnes which we ſhould haue payd, that is, the puniſhment of our ſinnes, which we ſhould haue ſuſteined, was eternall deſtruction of bodie and ſoule in hell fire; and other payment we could make none. This payment due to vs, or puniſhment which we ſhould haue payd, the perſon of Chriſt could not ſuffer; it is moſt horrible blaſphemy ſo to ſpeake or thinke; but he payd a price for vs, that is, a SATISFACTION and AMENDS for our ſinnes, which by no meanes we were able to pay. And ſo much the word ANTILYTRON noteth, euen a Price, Recompence, or Ranſome in exchange of the puniſhment or impriſonment which the captiue ſhould ſuffer. *This Price*, you will ſay, *was himſelfe.*] I make no doubt, that Chriſt *gaue himſelfe to die*, but NOT TO BE DAMNED for our ſinnes, as we ſhould haue beene. Neither can the common cuſtome of redeeming captiues inferre any more than the giuing of a price for the Priſoner. And therefore I did iuſtly aske, Who told you that the Scripture here ſpeaketh after the common vſe of redeeming Captiues taken in warre.

[h] Defenc. pag. 67. li. 28.

Chriſt payed a price for vs which we cou'd not pay.

And where you anſwere, *the* [i] *nature of the word* ANTILYTRON *importeth ſo much, which is properly vſed in ſuch caſes*; you vndeſtand neither the nature of the word, neither the maner of our redemption rightly. For firſt the word ἀντιλυτρῶσθαι, whence *Antilytron* commeth, properly ſignifieth *a mutuall redemption* of ech other, as Ariſtotle [k] obſerueth; and ſo we ſhould redeeme Chriſt, as he redeemed vs. Where-

[i] Defenc. pag. 67. l. 35.

[k] *Ariſt. Eth. li. 9. ca. 2.*

fore

fore the word is heere improperly taken, and ſignifieth no more than LYTRON without compoſition. Againe, the common vſe of redeeming Captiues, is either to free Priſoner for Priſoner, or to take money for the ranſome of libertie; neither of which tooke place in our redemption: and therefore the common cuſtome of redeeming of men taken in warre hath no likeneſſe with the redeeming of the world, ſince God tooke no money for our ranſome as men vſe to do for their Priſoners; but the life of his only Sonne for the libertie of his rebellious ſeruants, which men vſe not to doe. Neither did Chriſt offer a price proportioned to our value or abilitie, but farre excelling our perſons, and exceeding our power. It was therefore a very colde compariſon to reſemble the freeing of mens bodies for golde and ſiluer (which Captaines eſteeme more than they doe Priſoners) to the redeeming of their ſoules by the precious bloud of Chriſt; and ſuch as S. Peter reiected before me in euident words:

[1] 1.Pet.1. [1] *Ye were not redeemed with corruptible things, as ſiluer and golde, but with the precious bloud of Chriſt, as of a Lambe vndefiled and vnſpotted.* And for you or any man els to ſay, that Chriſt ſuffered no leſſe, nor none other, than we ſhould haue ſuffered, or payed no more than we ſhould haue payd; is to ſubiect the ſoule of Chriſt to our deſerued confuſion and condemnation, and to euen our perſons, who are wretched and ſinfull men, with his, who is the true and eternall ſonne of God; either of which is a ſenſible defacing of his *dignitie, innocencie,* and *obedience*, wholly requiſit to our redemption, and vtterly impoſsible to our condition.

[m] Defenc.pag. 67.li 38. [m] *You ſeeme to inferre, that I forſooth doe holde with your opinion, that Chriſt payed the price of our redemption (properly) to the diuell, and not to God.*] If you ſhould leaue belying and falſifying of other mens ſpeeches, you ſhould leaue one of your chiefeſt defences. For when you can take no aduantage of my words, you ſticke not to ſtraine them to your bent; and as though miſtaking and wreſting were not wrongs enough, you inlarge them and interlace them not only with things neuer intended by me, but with plaine contrarieties to that which is conteined in my words. To ſhew *how full and perfect our redemption is by the bloud of Chriſt*, in my ſermons I ſay; [n] *The bloud of Chriſt doth redeeme, cleanſe, waſh, iuſtifie and ſanctifie the elect; it doth pacifie and propitiate the Iudge; it doth ſeale the couenant of mercie, grace, and glorie, betwixt God and man; it doth conclude and binde the diuell.* And leſt any man ſhould miſtake that I ſayd, The price was ſo ſufficient, that it did not onely *pacifie and propitiate the Iudge, but conclude and binde the diuell*, that otherwiſe had a challenge to vs as to the ſeruants of ſinne and corruption; I added: [o] *It was an iniurie to Chriſt for vs to thinke his bloud was ſhed to ſatisfie the diuell, but Chriſt offered his bloud as a ſacrifice to God his Father, to ſatisfie the iuſtice of God prouoked with our ſinnes*; and yet *Satans extreme rage againſt the perſon of Chriſt (in conſpiring and compaſſing his death with all contumelie and crueltie) turned to his vtter ruine: God raiſing againe the Lord Ieſus from death, and giuing him power to ſpoile the kingdome of the diuell, in recompence of the wrong which he receiued at Satans hand.* Thus was the bloud of Chriſt a price moſt ſufficient for all the world; *the voluntarie offering* whereof by Chriſt himſelfe, was the ſacrifice that appeaſed the wrath, ſatisfied the iuſtice, and purchaſed the fauour of God towards vs; and the *wrongfull ſpilling* whereof, which Chriſt with patience endured, did exclude the diuell euen by Gods iuſtice, from all the challenge, that otherwiſe he had vnto vs. Doth this make the *price of our redemption*, which was the bloud of Chriſt, *to be payed properly to the diuell, and not to God?* or rather cleane contrarie, that this price was willingly offered, and ſo properly payed to God for the ſatisfaction of his iuſtice, and by no meanes yeelded or payed *to ſatisfie the diuell*; but the *iniurious ſhedding thereof* by the procurement of Satan, did iuſtly diſcharge all the members of Chriſt from the power and challenge of the diuell, who afore poſſeſſed them by the rule of Gods iuſtice? And to this ſenſe I did reſtraine the words of Ambroſe, to make him accord with the reſt of the Fathers; who with one voice confeſſe, that God would not vſe *power* alone, but euen *iuſtice* to the diuell, in taking man out of his hand; and therefore ordered the price of our redemption in ſuch ſort, that it ſhould not only fully ſatisfie and pacifie his owne wrath

[n] Serm. pa. 60.& 61.

[o] Serm. pa. 64.li.30.

by

by a willing and precious oblation, but iustly exclude all the power and possession of darknesse from the elect, by Satans malitious and contumelious attempt against the person of the Sonne of God.

Neither is this doctrine so strange as you would make it, but only to those that neuer waded farther then the mire of their owne inuentions. Irenæus that ancient Father vrgeth this as a reason why Christ must be man as well as God; that the diuell might be conquered by iustice. Christ *therefore*, sayth he, *coupled and united man to God.* [p] *Si enim homo non vicisset inimicum hominis, non iustè victus esset inimicus. For if a man had not vanquished the enemie of man, the enemie had not beene iustly vanquished.* So Theodoret: [q] *When the Creator saw our nature of it selfe to ioyne with that cruell Tyrant (the diuell) and to fall into the deepe pit of wickednesse, he wrought our saluation wisely and iustly. For neither would he vse his* POVVER *alone to free vs, nor arme his* MERCIE *alone against him, that had subdued mans nature vnder seruitude, lest he should exclaime of this mercie as vniust; but God tooke a way replenished with clemencie, and adorned with iustice.* The effect whereof, (for the whole discourse is somewhat long) we may perceiue by the words which Theodoret ascribeth to the person of Christ: for thus hee maketh Christ to speake to the diuell: [r] *Because thou, who receiuedst power against sinners, hast touched my bodie, that am guiltie of no sinne, forfeit thy power, and cease thy tyrannie, I will free all (mine) from death, not simply vsing the power of a Lord, but a righteous power. I haue payd the debt of mankinde. Owing no death, I haue suffered death; and not subiect to death, I did admit death. No way guiltie, I was reckened with the guiltie; and being free from debt, I was numbred among debters. Sustaining therefore an vniust death, I dissolue the death that is deserued; and imprisoned wrongfully, I free them from prison that were iustly detained.* And lest you should say of him, as you doe of *Ambrose* and *Austen*, that he doth *but play with the figure*, he fairely preuenteth that idle shift of yours in these words: [s] *Let no man thinke, that herein wee (dallie or) trifle; for by the sacred Gospels, and doctrines of the Apostles we are taught, that these things are so.* Leo likewise not once or twice publikely teacheth that doctrine to the people: [t] *The iust and mercifull God did not so vse the iniurie of his will*, (those are his words) *that to restore vs, hee would only shew the power of his clemencie, but because it was a consequent, that man committing sinne should be the seruant of sinne, God so fitted the medicine to the sicke, the pardon to the guiltie, and redemption to the captiues, that the iust sentence of condemnation should be dissolued by the iust worke of the Redeemer. For if only the Godhead should haue opposed it selfe for (vs) sinners, not so much reason as power should conquer the diuell. The* [u] *Sonne of God therefore admitted wicked hands to be layed on him, and what the rage of the persecutors offered, with patient power he suffered. This was that great mysterie of godlinesse, that Christ was euen loaden with iniuries, which if he should haue repelled with open power and manifest vertue, he should haue exercised onely his diuine strength, but not regarded our cause, that were men. For in all things, which the madnesse of the people and Priests did reprochfully and malepertly vnto him, our sinnes were wiped away, and our offences purged. The diuell himselfe did not vnderstand, that his crueltie against Christ should ouerthrow his owne kingdome,* WHO SHOVLD NOT LOOSE THE RIGHT OF HIS FIRST FRAVD, IF HE COVLD ABSTAINE FROM THE LORDS BLOVD. *But greedie with malice to hurt, whiles he rusheth on Christ, himselfe falleth; whiles he taketh, he is taken; and persuing him that was mortall, he lighted on him that was the Sauiour* (of the world.) *Iesus Christ being* [x] *lifted vp on the tree, returned death vpon the Authour of death, and strangled all the principalities and powers that were against him, by obiecting his flesh that was passible, giuing place in himselfe to the presumption of* (our) *ancient enemie, who raging against mans nature, that was subiect vnto him, durst there exact his debt, where he could finde no signe of sinne. Therefore the generall and mortall hand-writing, by which we were solde, was torne, and the contract of our captiuitie came into the power of the Redeemer. The person of the Sonne tooke vpon him* [y] *properly the reparation of mankinde, that whose maker he was, he might be their restorer; so directing his counsell to effect, that to destroy the kingdome of the diuell, he rather vsed the righteousnesse of reason, then the power of hie might. For whiles the*

[p] Irenæus. li. 3. cap. 20.
[q] Theodoret. de Prouidentia Sermo. 10.
[r] Theodoretus Ibidem.
[s] Ibidem.
[t] Leo Sermo. 5. de passione Dom.
[u] Ibidem.
[x] Leo Serm. 10. de passione Dom.
[y] Leo Sermo. 12. de passione Dom.

diuell raged on him, whom he held by no law of ſinne, he loſt the right of his wicked dominion. I repeat the more, to let the Reader ſee, that the Fathers in this caſe doe not play with figures, as this Diſcourſer dreameth, but they conſonantly propoſe and vrge with *earneſt* and euident words a great point of Chriſtian pietie. Gregorie teacheth the ſame leſſon: [a] *When Satan tooke Chriſtes bodie to crucifie it, he loſt Chriſtes elect from the right of his power.* And by Gods ſpeech to Satan concerning Iob, Beholde he is in thine hand, but ſaue his life; hee thus declareth Gods Commiſsion to Satan touching Chriſt: [b] *Take thou power againſt his bodie, and loſe the right of thy wicked dominion ouer his elect.* Damaſcene alſo noteth, that one reſpect why Chriſt was made man, was to ſtoppe the diuels murmuring, if God ſhould haue taken man out of his hands by the power of his Deitie. [c] *Chriſt was made man*, ſayth he, *that that which was conquered, might conquer. God was not vnable, who is able to doe all things by his almightie power and force, to take man from the Tyrant* (that held him;) *but that would haue beene a cauſe of complaint to the Tyrant that had conquered man, if he were forced by God. Therefore God who pitied and loued vs, willing to make man, that was fallen, the conqueror of Satan, became man; reſtoring the like by the like*, that is, man by man. And in this, ſayth Damaſcene, appeareth [d] *Gods iuſtice, that man being ouerthrowen, he would haue none other* (beſides man) *to conquer the Tyrant, neither would he by violence take man from death, but whom death had of olde brought into bondage by ſinne, euen him would the gracious and righteous God make conquer againe.*

[a] *Gregorius moralium. li. 3. cap. 11.*

[b] *Ibidem.*

[c] *Damaſcen. Orthodox fidei li. 3. cap. 18.*

[d] *Ibidem. li. 3. cap. 1.*

What reaſon then haue you to reuell at Saint Auguſtine and Saint Ambroſe in ſuch ſort as you doe, *that* [e] *their names are of no waight to warrant ſuch a Doctrine as thoſe words* (of theirs) *pretend*; | Or what teach they different from the reſt of the Fathers, if their words be rightly taken, and not wreſted aſide to your crooked conceits? That the bloud of Chriſt was ſo ſufficient a price for vs, that not onely the voluntarie ſacrificing thereof, throughly ſatisfied the diſpleaſed Iuſtice of God, and obtained remiſſion of all our ſinnes, but euen the wrongfull ſhedding thereof by Satans inſtigation wrought the ſubuerſion of Satans power and right in all the elect; (God by the rule of Iuſtice giuing vnto Chriſts manhoode the ſpoyle of Satans kingdome for the patience which Chriſt ſhewed whiles Satan by the mouthes and hands of the wicked ſpoyled Chriſts humane nature of honor and life for the time) what danger is there in this to the Chriſtian Faith, or what repugnancie to the ſacred Scriptures? [f] THEREFORE VVILL *I giue him his part in many things*, (ſaith God of Chriſts manhoode) *and he ſhall deuide* THE SPOYLE *of the mightie*, (or with the mightie) *becauſe he powred forth his Soule vnto death*; this the Apoſtle ſheweth was executed againſt the Diuels themſelues. *Chriſt* [g] SPOYLED *Principalities and Powers, and made a ſhew of them openly, triumphing ouer them in his owne Perſon.* According as God threatned the Serpent vpon his firſt deceauing the woman; [h] *I will put enmitie betweene thy ſeede and her ſeede: he ſhall bruize thine head, and thou ſhalt bruize his heele.* Where God expreſſeth plainly the Recompence, that the ſeed of the woman ſhould haue for ſuffering Satan to bruize his heele, euen the bruizing of the Serpents head. For nothing is more equall with God, then *to* [i] *remeate the ſame meaſure to men*, and Angels, *that they mete to others.* It was therefore a thing moſt iuſt in the ſight of God, as he ſubiected Man to Satans power, when by ſinne he firſt conquered Man; ſo he ſubiected Satan to the will and power of Chriſts manhoode, when by righteouſneſſe Chriſt conquered the diuell. And as Chriſt patiently endured to be wrongfully depriued of his life by the meanes and members of Satan, ſo in requitall of that preſumption, and iniurie, Chriſt powerfully and iuſtly depriued Satan of all his right and intereſt to the Elect, for whoſe ſakes Chriſt gaue his life. This excludeth not the voluntarie ſeruice and ſacrifice of Chriſts obedience vnto death, wherewith the Iuſtice of God was ſatisfied and appeaſed; but this ſheweth, that as God had chiefe regard of his owne Iuſtice and mercie towards man in giuing his owne Sonne to be the pacification of his wrath, and propitiation of our ſinnes, ſo he dealt iuſtly with the diuell in cauſing the ſpoyler to be ſpoyled, and for the wrongfull and ſpitefull inuaſion, that Satan made againſt

[e] Defenc. pag. 68. a. 14.

[f] Eſa. 53.

[g] Coloſſ. 2.

[h] Genes. 3.

[i] Matth. 7.

against his Lord and Master, to loose all the Dominion and power, that otherwise he claymed ouer Christs elect. And so the Price of our Redemption whatsoeuer you trifle to the contrarie, did not onely discharge the guilt of our sinnes, and our debt to Gods iustice by Christs willing obedience to God euen vnto death, but the furious and iniurious intermedling of Satan therewith, so closeth his mouth, that he seeth and knoweth our deliuerance and his destruction to be iust.

[i] *I am out of doubt that the Fathers doe but play with figures; or if they meane indeede to teach such a Doctrine, we are to learne by their good leaues how to speake and thinke more wholesomely (then they doe) out of the Scriptures.*] Whether they play with figures or no, I referre it to the Iudgement of indifferent Readers, that will take the paines to peruse the places. It is a good signe they speake in earnest, when they double it, and treble it in their open Sermons and writings, and render the causes thereof pithely and plentifully, as Theodoret and Leo doe, and chiefly Saint Austen in [k] *foure* whole Chapters of his Booke *de Trinitate*; whose learning and iudgement though you set light by, because they sort not with your fansies, I confesse I reuerence, for that the whole Church of Christ hath done the same before me; and I see nothing in the word of God repugnant to their Doctrine truely conceaued. But you haue learned to speake more wholsomely as you thinke out of the Scriptures; I pray you then let vs heare your wholesome speech.

[i] Defenc. pa. 68.l.15.

[k] *August. de Trinitate.li.13. cap.12.13.14. & 15.*

[l] *I vrge that the enemie must haue a price for his Captiue. I pray, who is that enemie which must be satisfied? the Diuell? God forbid. Gods Iustice onely is that offended* [m] *Enemie to whom our Ransome was paid, the Diuell was but Gods slaue and Executioner.*] There is no man for ought that I know, which saith the Diuell must be satisfied; it is your partiall humor that leadeth you so to surmise; my Sermons professe it were an [n] *Iniurie to Christ for vs to thinke, his bloud was shed to satisfie the Diuell*; but the enemie to Christs elect. (which is the diuell and not God) must be conquered and spoyled, though not satisfied: And that as S. Austen rightly obserueth, God would haue done first by Iustice, and then by power. [o] *Because the Diuell by his peruersenesse was a desirer of power, and a forsaker and impugner of Iustice; and men did so much the more imitate him, how much the more neglecting or hating Iustice, they did studie to be mightie; and were either inflamed with the getting, or delighted with the hauing thereof: It pleased God, that for the taking of Man out of the diuels power, the diuell should not be conquered by power, but by Iustice; and so men imitating Christ should seeke to ouercome the diuell by Iustice, and not with power.* [p] *By him that dyed and was so mightie, to vs that were mortall and altogether weake, both Iustice was commended and power promised. Of these twaine, the one Christ performed dying, the other rising. For what is more iust, then to come* (willingly) *to the death of the Crosse for righteousnesse? And what is more mightie, then to rise from the dead, and ascend vp to heauen with the same flesh, which was slaine? First then by righteousnesse, and after by power Christ Conquered the diuell.* [q] *It is no hard matter to perceaue the diuell to be conquered* (by power,) *when Christ, who was slaine by the diuell, rose againe: that is harder and deeper to be vnderstoode, that the diuell was conquered, when he seemed to himselfe to be the Conquerer; to wit, when Christ was slaine. For then Christs bloud, because it was his, that had no sinne, was shed for the remission of our sinnes: that whom the diuell iustly detained and tied to the condition of death, as guiltie of sinne, those he might iustly loose through Christ, whom being guiltie of no sinne, he vniustly put to death. With this Iustice was the Diuell vanquished, and with this bond was the strong man bound, that his things should be taken from him; which were with him the vessels of wrath, and bee turned to vessels of mercie.*

[l] Defenc pag. 68.l.6. & 10

[m] Mat. 5.25.

[n] *Serm.pag.64. li.30.*

[o] *August. de Trinitate. li. 13. cap.13.*

[p] *Ibidem.ca.14.*

[q] *Ibidem.ca.15*

And after proofe made out of the Scriptures, that we are translated from the power of darknesse, and of the diuell to the kingdome of God, and of his beloued, in whom we haue Redemption for remission of sinnes, then follow the words which you so highly chalenge. [r] *In this Redemption the bloud of Christ was giuen for vs as a Price,* QVO ACCEPTO *which being taken,* (that is wrongfully pursued and vsurped, as the diuels manner is to take things which are not his, and not willingly offered or law-

[r] *Ibidem.ca.15.*

fully receaued, as God did accept the same at the hands of his Sonne) *the diuell was not enriched, but fast tyed, that we should be looſed from his bands.* The bloud of Christ patiently shed vnto death was the Price of our Redemption by the witnesse of the whole Scriptures, which Christ obediently and voluntarily offered to his Fathers will for the full remission of our sinnes, and our perfect reconciliation with God. This bloud could not be iustly shed by any, because it was innocent and holy. They must therefore be vniust and wicked that should shed the righteous bloud of that vndefiled Lamb. Wherefore the secrete counsell and iustice of God deliuered Christ being thereto willing, *into the* [r] *hands of sinners*, and permitted him to the [s] power of darknesse with all reproch, shame, and torture to take his life from him.

[r] Mark. 14.
[s] Luke. 22.

This obedience and patience of the Redeemer, in suffering the rage and violence of Satan and his members, God so highly accepted and recompenced, that not onely his wrath was appeased, and our sinnes remitted, but all power in heauen and earth, as well ouer Satan as ouer all his kingdome, was giuen vnto the manhood of Christ, to take from the power and feare of the diuell, whom Christ would, and to adiudge that cruell and bloudie tyrant with all his adherents to euerlasting destruction. For though the Diuine nature of Christ, in that hee was the Sonne of God, were a rightfull and powerfull Lord ouer Satan and his whole kingdome (sinne, death, and hell not excepted) to dispose thereof at his pleasure; yet the humane nature of Christ had of it selfe no such right or prerogatiue, in respect it was a creature, and so lower and weaker then the condition of Angels, sauing for the personall vnion thereof with the Godhead of Christ. And therefore as the wisedome of God thought it no match nor honour for the diuine Maiestie of Christ to spoyle the diuell, that was but a base and vile seruant in comparison of his Almightie power; so the iustice of God would not aduance the manhood of Christ to the heigth of his kingdom to rule all things in heauen, earth, and hell, till hee had humbled himselfe to the death of the Crosse for remission of our sinnes, and receiued violent wrong from the diuell in putting him to death. In reuenge and recompence whereof, as all these fathers confesse, God tooke iust cause to make not the Diuine nature, which had that right before and could not loose it, but mans nature, which Satan had by sinne conquered and subiected to himselfe, to be in the person of Christ conquerer and Lord ouer Satan, and all his power, to take whom hee would to make them vessels of mercie; and to reserue the rest as vessels of wrath vnto the terrible iudgement of Christ. Wherein these Fathers doe not swarue from the Pophets and Apostles meaning, howsoeuer they vse different words; that Christ should [t] *diuide the spoyle of the mightie, because hee powred out his Soule vnto death*; And that [x] *therefore God highly exalted, and gaue him a name, at which euery knee boweth*, in heauen, earth and hell, for that hee was *obedient vnto the death of the Crosse.*

[t] Esa. 53. v. 12.
[x] Philip. 2.

Neither doth Ambrose, when he speaketh of a *Price* required by the diuell or yeelded to the diuell, meane any more then a CAVSE SVFFICIENT why the spoyling of Satans kingdome was giuen vnto the manhood of Christ, and al the power of darknesse, sinne, death and hell, put vnder his feete. For a Price doeth not alway import an *honourable condition*, or a *pleasing satisfaction*, as it signifieth when it is referred to God; but as τιμὴ in Greeke, which is properly a *Price*, noteth either *Reward*, or *Reuenge*; so doth *pretium* in Latine compriſe both, and generally whatsoeuer is *balanced one against the other*, to be exchanged one with the other, is the price of ech other. So that it is no dishonour to the bloud of Christ to be so precious, that not onely the voluntarie offering therof did fully satisfie the iustice of God displeased with our sinnes, but that also the wrongfull shedding thereof (which was necessarily to be committed to Satan and his members, as the onely fit instruments for such an impietie) was a iust occasion, why God in requitall of that wrong, made the manhood of Christ the subduer and destroyer of Satans kingdome. Not that the diuell had any right or command ouer vs, against or without the will of God; but that hee was so blinded by the wonderfull wisedome of God, in reuenge of his subuerting the first man, that he

he was made, by ſhewing his malice againſt the manhood of Chriſt, an Actor in our Redemption, and the Author of his owne ſubuerſion, whiles without his knowledge, and againſt his meaning, hee was Gods inſtrument for our ſaluation, and his owne deſtruction.

This you can not quietly brooke, becauſe you make the chiefeſt point of our Redemption to bee the *killing of Chriſts Soule with Gods immediate hand*; and ſo farre are you from confeſsing Chriſt to be vniuſtly ſlaine as an innocent, that you defend him to be *ſinfull, hatefull, defiled* with our ſinnes, *and hanged by the iuſt ſentence of the Law*, and the diuel to be onely a miniſter and executioner *of Gods iudgement* againſt Chriſt. Yea your ſimilitude, if you ſtand to it, of priſoners taken in warre, and your ranſome yeelded to God as to an enemie for his captiues, ſetteth iarres if not warres betweene the firſt and ſecond perſon in Trinitie, by making God the Father an enemie both to the Redeemer and Priſoner. For among men, whoſe vſe and cuſtome you preſſe in this place, the detainer is alwayes a profeſſed enemie to the redeemer, ſince confederates doe not vſe to take or detaine ech others ſubiectes or ſeruants, but open enemies. The Ranſomer then, and the priſoner haue one and the ſame enemy; and conſequently by your reſemblance, God is an enemie as well to Chriſt as to vs. The proofe which you bring, to ſhew God to be an enemie to his elect out of the fift of S. Matthew, is impertinent to the cauſe, and different from the trueth. For beſides that the new writers, as [y] Eraſmus in his paraphraſe, [y] Bucer, [y] Bullinger, [x] Muſculus, [y] Caluine, [y] Gualterus in their commentaries vpon this chapter; and the old, as [z] Tertullian, [y] Ierom, [y] Chryſoſtome, [a] Hilarie, [y] Theophylact, [y] Euthymius and others, with one conſent referre this admonition of Chriſt to men, that are *Aduerſaries, Iudges*, and *Iaylours* here in this life; which is wide from your purpoſe; your making of God to be an *Aduerſarie* in that place, acknowledgeth a ſuperiour *Iudge* to God to whom the Aduerſarie muſt by complaint, not by command deliuer vs; and your comparing the deuill to an obedient miniſter of the Law, excuſeth him from being a rebell to God, and an accuſer of men. But if you would ſpeake or thinke as the Scriptures leade, which you pretend, but not perfourme; you ſhould finde in them, though not in this precept, that the deuill is by a ſpeciall kind of notation, called our ENEMIE, as indeede he is the ancient, eger, and continuall ſupplanter and impugner of man, and that God to his elect is and euer was a gracious and louing father, when he was moſt diſpleaſed with their ſinnes; and euen then ſo carefull and mindfull of their ſaluation, that he gaue them his owne Sonne, when they were his Enemies to die for them, and by that death to make ſatisfaction and purgation of all their ſinnes; which was not the part or worke of an Enemie, how much ſoeuer his holines then did, and ſtill doth diſlike their vnrighteouſneſſe. And ſince the puniſhment of our ſinnes was layd vpon Chriſt, and we healed by his ſtripes; if therein God profeſſed Enmitie to his elect, and executed it all on Chriſt, the deuill being but the *Iaylor* and *Executioner*, or as elſe where you ſay, an Inſtrument onely, and by that parable not to be blamed, for doing no more, then he is commaunded by the Iudge; your wholeſome doctrine commendeth the deuill as an obedient ſeruant, and maketh God an Inferiour, and yet an Enemy to the manhood of Chriſt. Which if you did not meane, you muſt temper your words and proofes better, and learne not ſo egerly to reiect euery phraſe in an ancient Father, that pleaſeth not your palate, when your ſelfe ſpake and wrote ſo licentiouſly and dangerouſly.

[y] In Matth. cap. 5.
[z] *Tertullianus de patientia.*
[a] *Hilar. in Matth. ca. 4.*

But [b] *I fit your ſimilitude*, you ſay, *to your deſire farther then your ſelfe did expreſſe*; becauſe I ſay, *the Ranſomer is not bound to be Priſoner* for his Redeemed, but *may ſatiſfie the enemie by money or otherwiſe.*] You are a happie man, that euery thing fitteth your deſire. You poſitiuely teach, that Chriſt our Redeemer muſt ſuffer the ſelfe ſame paines of hell, which we ſhould haue ſuffered. The reaſon you yeeld for it, is a poore ſimilitude drawen from the common vſe and cuſtome of men in redeeming their captiues taken in warres. I replyed, that your ſimilitude prooueth no ſuch thing, becauſe amongſt men the Ranſomers neede not, nor doe not ſuſtaine the ſame ſeruitude

[b] Defenc. pa. 68. l. 30. & 28.

and impriſonment, which the captiues doe and muſt, if they be not redeemed. [Yet the whole price, you ſay, muſt be payd by the Ranſomer, which the captiue otherwiſe ſhould.] You reaſon from the willes of men, which preferre money before captiues, to the will of God, who regardeth no money; which kind of reaſoning I reiect as no way matching our redemption; and yet if it were admitted, exchanges, recompences, and concluſions of peace, which are no way in the priſoners powers, are amongſt men as vſuall as Ranſomes. It is therefore no way needefull by this ſimilitude, that our Redeemer ſhould ſuffer the ſelfe ſame paines, which we ſhould haue ſuffered. A recompence aboue our power, and ſo not poſsible to vs, was eaſie to him, that ſo farre exceeded our condition; and that by your owne ſimilitude might more then ſuffice for the priſoner. For though men will not take leſſe then the worth of their Captiues, as they conceiue their abilities or likelihoodes of ſeruice, yet that doeth not hinder the Sonne of God to giue for vs farre more, then our value could, or can reach vnto, becauſe he had infinite riches of holineſſe, righteouſneſſe, and obedience in his power, which we haue not. He might not therefore giue leſſe then we were worth, but more he might, and did giue: not by ſuffering hell paines in a ſharper ſenſe & greater meaſure, then we can endure, which is your fanſie; but becauſe thoſe things, which he ſuffered, were of infinite price in his perſon, which in ours would amount to no ſuch rate.

From the ſorowes which Chriſt did beare for our ſakes, you came in your ſecond reaſon to the curſe, which hee taſted for our ſinnes; and becauſe the Apoſtle ſaieth, [c] Galat. 3. Chriſt *was* [c] *made a curſe for vs*, in that he hanged on a tree *to redeeme vs from the curſe of the Law*; you would thence conclude, that Chriſt ſuffered for vs the verie paines of hell, and the death of the ſoule, as part of that curſe, which the Law denounceth to all ſinners. You were anſwered by me, that before your concluſion would any way follow vpon your premiſſes, you muſt make your firſt propoſition generall, that *the whole curſe of the Law*, and *all the parts* thereof were ſuffered by Chriſt. Now this generall aſſertion, that Chriſt ſuffered the whole curſe of the Law and euery part thereof, was not onely falſe, and farre from the Apoſtles words, but ſo wicked and impious, that without horrible blaſphemie it might not be affirmed of Chriſt. For the whole curſe of the Law plainely compriſeth in it excecation, induration, deſperation, confuſion, a finall priuation of all grace and glorie, and euerlaſting damnation of bodie and ſoule to hell fire; none of which our Sauiour could ſuffer. To this what now [d] Defenc. pa. 74. li. 18. reply you? *Chriſt ſuffered our* [d] *whole curſe onely ſo farre, as poſſibilitie of things could admit*, that is, *with thoſe three limitations, which are* before *expreſſed.*] You litle thinke the diſcreet Reader ſmileth at your proud and fooliſh preſumption, that in the Apoſtles name, and vnder the Apoſtles wordes would canonize your owne pelting conceites, and then blow and ſuppe with a breath, denying that which you affirme, and affirming that which you denie. For what haue the Apoſtles words to doe with your three limitations? And if there be no *poſſibilitie* to draw Pauls ſpeech to the WHOLE CVRSE of the Law, without apparant and palpable falſitie and impietie; why ſtriue you for the generall, that you dare not ſtande to without three limitations, which prooue the generall not to be ſimply true? Firſt then in ſteede of Pauls warrant, you obtrude your owne, and imagine your naked ſpeech to be an armed proofe. Next you ſay Chriſt ſuffered the WHOLE CVRSE of the Law, *ſaue three exceptions*, which denie the whole; and ſo in effect you affirme, Chriſt ſuffered *the whole curſe* of the law, and yet not *the whole, but onely ſo farre as poſſibilitie could admit*; that is in plaine termes, or in plaine trueth, it was not poſsible Chriſt ſhould ſuffer the WHOLE CVRSE of the Law due to ſinners, ſince by that ſuffering he could neither ſaue vs, nor be ſaued himſelfe.

This gappe was ſo great, that you foreſaw euery man would eye it, and therefore you brack it vp with an other buſh euen as good as the former. For in this wiſe you [e] Defenc. pa. 74. li. 26. ſeeke to preuent that obiection. But you will ſay; [e] *Thus we make it not the whole curſe of the Law. Yes we call it rightly the whole curſe, for as much as Chriſt ſuffered it in his*

his whole manhood euen in all the powers of his spirit, and soule, and bodie.] Here we see what your wisedome doth and sayth; but what saith the Apostle? Did he speake or thinke as you doe? His words we haue farre different from yours; now your proofe of his meaning were worth the hearing. Christ, you say, *suffered it in his whole manhood.* What then? Ergo he suffered the whole curse? You must found a new Vniuersitie, where your Logicke must get grace to proceede by it selfe without controle: it is so repugnant to all rules knowen to vs, that we can not so much as conceaue it. For thus you reason. The *whole manhood* of Christ suffered the curse, that is some parts of the curse: Ergo Christ suffered the *whole curse.* As well you may reason; the whole man in all Gods seruants performeth some parts of the Law; *ergo* all the seruants of God performe the whole law. You would be loth to be answered your debts, if you haue any, with such accounts: for if a man did owe you ten pounds, and with all his heart and both his hands did bring you ten pence, your reason here will conclude, he hath payd you the whole, though that I thinke would scant content you, if you were a Creditour. You be neerely driuen, when such shifts must serue you, or els be taken with a *non-plus.* What els is this but a cleere confession, that Christ could not suffer the whole curse of the law, when you dare not otherwise defend it, but that the whole manhood of Christ suffered some parts of the curse? *It was*, you say, [f] *in nature and veritie the true and proper curse of the Law, which Christ was made for vs.*] You be safe now you be come to your accustomed anker of PROPER and VERIE: holde you fast there, and you may be sure no man shall hale you out of this harbour, till you list to tell what you meane by *proper* and *verie*, which you will neuer doe. But in the meane time how proue you, that Christ did suffer the whole curse of the Law due to vs; which is a false and wicked assertion leudly fathered by you vpon the Apostles words? And if you recant that generall proposition, what handfast hath your conclusion? For if you reason thus; Christ suffered some parts of the curse which the law threateneth for sinne; *ergo* he suffered the true paines of hell; your Reader will assoone inferre, *ergo* you haue neither learning nor vnderstanding.

[f] Defens. pa. 70. li. 3.

[g] *There is no colour to make the curse which Christ suffered for our sinnes, like to the curse which senseless creatures doe sometimes beare for mans cause.*] Hauing made so foule a shipwracke of your owne cause, as to be forced to confesse, that Christ did not suffer the whole curse of the Law, which before you stifly affirmed; to recouer some part of your losses, you spurne at my speeches, as hauing neither trueth nor *colour*: but report them right and spare them not; which I doubt you will not doe, because you make your entrance with so false a colour. For I no where make the curse which senseless creatures beare, like to the curse which Christ suffered for vs. Let the pages which you cite, 262, 263, in Gods name be seene; but speaking of Gods curse against the sinne of man, I sayd, *that* [h] *not onely the bodies and soules of the wicked were cursed and consumed with plagues, resting in them and on them, but all that they tooke in hand, and all that belonged to them, was likewise accursed.* And citing the 28. of Deuteronomie, wherein a Calender of curses is denounced by the law against sinners, I added, that *Chapter perused*, would easily shew, *how* [i] *farre the curse of God in this life persueth sinners, besides the horrible torments of the next life kept in store for them.* So that I did not there compare or liken the curse of God on senseless creatures, to the curse which Christ tasted for vs, as your idle imagination apprehendeth; but I shewed *how farre* the curse of the Law extended, and thence inferred, that if Christ did not suffer all the things there mentioned, he did not suffer all the parts of Gods curse in this life; [k] *besides the graund curse, that closeth vp all, and continueth for euer; Depart from mee yee* CVRSED *into euerlasting fire.* You close your eyes against the force of my reason, which is euident, and prie for that which is not there; and when you finde it not, you patch out this point with plaine vntrueth, as if I made Christ and the senseless creatures like in the curses which they suffered.

[g] Defens. pa. 69. li. 15.

[h] Conclus. pa. 262. li. 33.

[i] Ibidem. pag. 263. li. 14.

[k] Ibidem. pag. 263. li. 22.

[l] *You make a reason to proue that hanging on a tree mentioned in Moses, is not all one with this curse of the Law in Paul. Neither did I, nor doe I say, that it was all one. This I sayd and*

[l] Defens. pa. 69. li. 20.

and ſtill ſay, they were both of one and the ſame nature.] You take great pride in pouncing of proper ſpeeches, wherein you would ſhew your wit by wreſting them to what pleaſe you. A reaſon I made, which for ought I ſee, you do not vnderſtand, howſoeuer you play your part with my words, which is neither to confute them, nor conceiue them rightly; but all is one with you, ſo you ſay ſomewhat, you care not how vnſound it be. I obſerued in my [m] Concluſion, that S. Paul in his Epiſtle to the Galatians, cap. 3. alleadged two kindes of curſes out of Moſes; the one pertaining to the committing *ſinne*; the other to the *ſuffering puniſhment for ſinne*. [n] *Accurſed is euerie one that abideth not in all things written in the booke of the Law* TO DO THEM. Here is the curſe of doing euill, to which all men are ſubiect immediatly vpon the fact, not ten or twentie yeeres after, when happily God ariſeth to viſit their ſinnes, and therefore this importeth not only a deſert of future vengeance, but the preſent deteſtation which God hath both of the deed which is euill, and of the doer who is wicked. An other kinde of curſe the Apoſtle noteth out of Moſes, which is to *hang on a tree*; [o] *Curſed is euerie one that hangeth on a tree.* Heere is a curſe in *ſuffering euill*, whereof the former is the cauſe: for by Gods law no man ſhould *ſuffer euill*, but he that *doth euill*. You in a iollity to aduantage your cauſe, would needs pronounce, [p] *it were vaine and ſenſeleſſe to thinke the Apoſtle here ſpake of two ſeuerall kinds of curſes*; taxing in your huffe not onely Chryſoſtome, who expreſly teacheth, *it was another curſe, and not the ſame*; but euen the Trueth it ſelfe to be vaine and ſenſeleſſe, which euidently conuinceth the one to be in nature very much different from the other. For the deteſtation which God hath of ſinne aſſoone as it is committed, whereby he reiecteth the deed as repugnant to his holineſſe, and hateth the doer euen before puniſhment, is a plaine diſtinct thing from the vengeance that is conſequent and agreeable to Gods iuſtice. Much more then doth it differ from the iudiciall puniſhments of men, whereto Moſes pointeth when he ſpeaketh of hanging, which though they haue a dependance vpon Gods will and law, ſo farre as they follow the ſame, yet muſt they differ as much as the perſons, puniſhments and powers of God and man doe. *Curſed*, ſayth Moſes, *is euerie one that abideth not in all things written in the booke of the Law.* This curſe is preſent vpon ech ſinne, and generall to all the wicked in the middeſt of their greateſt proſperity and *ſecuritie*. The puniſhment due to ſinne is not ſo; that is deferred till God ſee his time; and then moſt dreadfull, when men can not commit new ſinnes, as after this life. Wherefore as all creatures reuenge mans ſinne, and yet are not all of one nature, though in that ſeruice to God they all agree; ſo the plagues and curſes of ſinne be not of one nature, notwithſtanding they be powred on men to puniſh their offences.

[q] *I meane they are both of one and the ſame Nature, that is, true and proper curſes of God.*] Well crowed yet before your courage come downe. Shall all things that proceed from one cauſe, or that haue one generall wherein they agree, *be all of one and the ſame nature?* Then *men* and *miſe* be of the ſame nature, for they are both liuing creatures. Then angels and andierns, ſtarres and ſtrawes, and all things created, haue the ſame nature, becauſe they are all the works of God. Then vices and vertues, and all contraries be of one and the ſame nature, in as much as they are inherent in one ſubiect, and deſtruent ech to other. And to go no farther then your owne example; then hunger and hell fire are both of the ſame nature, becauſe they both are true and proper curſes of God vpon the wicked. *Be they great or litle*, you will ſay, they are all puniſhments.] So the reſt are all the works of Gods hands, and yet were it mad-merie Diuinitie to ſay they are all of one and the ſame nature. [r] The *fruit* of the *bodie*, of the [r] *ground*, of [r] *cattell*, [r] *kine* and [r] *ſheepe*, are the bleſsings of God, and promiſed to the obſeruers of his Law; and yet I truſt they be not of one and the ſame nature with the ioyes of heauen; though little and great, they be promiſes and rewards of obedience.

[s] *One was the whole, the other a part; but both of them the true and proper curſes of God.*] The one is the cauſe, the other is the conſequent or effect, but not a neceſſarie, much leſſe

[m] Pag. 273. li. 24. & 28.

[n] Gal 3. v. 10. Deut. 27.

A double curſe of ſinne.

[o] Deuter. 21.

[p] Treatiſ. pag. 35. li. 18.

[q] Defenc. pag. 69. li. 24.

[r] Deut. 28.

[s] Defenc. pag. 69. li. 25.

leſſe an eſſentiall part of the other. For a man may bee truely accurſed, and yet not hanged; as alſo he may bee iuſtly hanged, and yet not truely or properly accurſed of God. The penitent thiefe on the Croſſe came deſeruedly to his death, as himſelfe confeſſed, and yet was not thereby truly accurſed, ſince he was that day receiued into Paradiſe. His death was an accurſed kind of death, as alſo Chriſtes was, though the one did bleſſe, and the other was bleſſed, euen vnder that puniſhment, which Chriſt did willingly and the thiefe patiently ſuffer. [t] Luk.23.v.41.

[u] *Paul ſaith not as you affirme, that Chriſt was made that curſe, only, that iudiciall curſe, whereof onely Moſes ſpeaketh.*] Much leſſe doth Paul ſay, as you teach, that Chriſt ſuffered the *whole proper curſe* of the law. I meaſure Pauls meaning by his proofe, you extend it to your fanſie. So that, as I ſay, Paul prooueth that he meaneth; as you ſay, Paul meaneth that hee prooueth not. Which of our conſtructions commeth neereſt the Apoſtles mind, the Reader will ſoone perceiue. [u] Defenc.pag. 69.li.27.

[x] *Paul handling before generally Gods curſe and the puniſhment of the Law againſt ſinne, and ſhewing we are redeemed from it by Chriſts being made the ſame for vs, he confirmeth it by applying Moſes iudiciall puniſhment againſt certaine tranſgreſſours, being it ſeemeth a figure of Chriſt herein.*] If you may adde what fanſies and falſities you liſt to the Apoſtles words, you will make at length ſome ſhew of proofe, if not from Pauls text, yet out of your owne trifles. There is not one true word in all this Preface of yours to Pauls proofe: for neither doth the Apoſtle in that place *handle generally the puniſhment of the Law* againſt ſinne, nor ſhew, *that Chriſt was made the ſame for vs*; neither did Moſes *appoint* (hanging) *by any iudiciall Law* againſt tranſgreſſours, neither were offenders ſo puniſhed, *a figure of Chriſt herein.* Paul in that place handleth the righteouſneſſe of faith in Chriſt, as bringing the bleſsing of Abraham, and freeing from ſinne, which the law conuinced and accurſed. The law threatneth a curſe vpon euery breach thereof, but it inflicteth not actuall puniſhment vpon euery ſinner. And therefore the curſe of the law in Pauls firſt words is either the DETESTATION, which God hath of ſinne and ſinners, whom in time appointed he meaneth euerlaſtingly to deſtroy; or the OBLIGATION to temporall and eternall euill, which ſinne hath in it. Neither of which Chriſt was made for vs, ſince hee taſted not the ſame, but another kind of curſe, which was the temporall puniſhment of ſinne by the hands of men; and by that obedience to the will and counſell of God, hee freed vs from the guilt and wages of ſinne, which the law denounced. To note the differences of thoſe two curſes, the Apoſtle putteth the Article to the firſt for the more vehemencie, and not to the ſecond, ſaying: [y] *Chriſt redeemed vs from that curſe of the law, being made a curſe for vs.* The curſe then or puniſhment of ſinne in the perſon of Chriſt, was hanging on a tree: to which Moſes by his iudiciall law adiudged no man. [y] Galat.3.

[z] Worſhippers of other Gods, [a] blaſphemers, [b] breakers of the Sabbath, [c] diſobeiers of parents, and [d] Adulterers were to bee ſtoned to death by the law of Moſes. [e] Murderers were to looſe bloud for bloud, and [f] falſe witneſſes to ſuffer that they meant to others, whether it were *eye for eye, hand for hand*, or *life for life*. But by no iudiciall law, that I reade, did Moſes appoint any tranſgreſſours to be hanged. By the expreſſe commandement of God, who is aboue the law, Moſes tooke the chiefe of the people that coupled themſelues with Baal Peor, and [g] *hanged them vp before the Lord againſt the Sunne.* And Ioſhua vſed the ſame kind of death in ſome that were [h] *ſtrangers*, and not Iſraelites: otherwiſe Moſes neuer commanded, but onely permitted the Magiſtrate to hange tranſgreſſours; yet ſo, that [i] *the body ſhould not remaine all night vpon the tree, but be buried the ſame day, becauſe the curſe of God was* (executed) *on him, that was hanged.* So that God not appointing any man by his law to bee hanged, but leauing that libertie to the Magiſtrate ſo to reuenge malefactours, where the law did not ſpecifie their puniſhment, they could bee *no figures* of Chriſt; as well in reſpect they were wicked, that muſt be ſo vſed, who were not fit to be figures of that innocent & vndefiled Lambe, as alſo that men had no power to erect figures of Chriſts death

[z] Deut.17.
[a] Leuit.24.
[b] Numb.15.
[c] Deut.21.
[d] 22.
[e] Gene.9.
[f] Numb.35.
[g] Deut.19.
[h] Num.25. verſ.4.
[i] Ioſh.8.& 10.
[i] Deut.21.

death & paſsion, but muſt leaue that to God to repreſent the ſufferings of his Sonne as he ſaw cauſe.

k Defenc.pag. 69.li.36. [k] *They that were hanged by the iuſt ſentence of the Law, they were herein accurſed, that is they herein ſuſtained the lawes true and deſerued puniſhment.*] But if they were INNOCENTS oppreſſed by vnrighteous iudgement, which is no newes among men, as we ſee by the death of our Sauiour; or if they were PENITENTS, though their puniſhment were neuer ſo deſerued, neither of theſe could be truly accurſed before God, & yet might be hanged, and ſo ſubiected to the corporall curſe of the Law. For though Moſes had no meaning to haue men vniuſtly hanged, yet had he leſſe purpoſe to pronounce them damned, that died for their ſinnes, if they repented: and therefore he commmandeth the bodies to be buried the ſame day, becauſe the *Curſe*, that is, the *Rigour* and *Reuenge* of the Law was executed on them; and conſequently Moſes extendeth not this curſe farther then this life; which maketh nothing to the paines or perpetuall curſe of the damned. And here the Reader may plainly perceiue you to ſincke in the ſands of your owne ſubtilties: for here you confeſſe, that deſerued hanging is a TRVE CVRSE and PVNISHMENT, notwithſtanding, if the guiltie repent, as the Theefe did on the Croſſe; I hope you will leaue him the child of Gods mercie, whom Chriſt receiued into Paradiſe. And conſequently by your owne confeſsion, the paines and afflictions of this life, when they are deſerued, are *curſes and true puniſhments of ſinne to Gods children*, though their ſoules be bleſſed by their ſubmiſsion and conuerſion vnto God. Which ouerthroweth all, that you formerly haue ſaid touching the troubles and vexations of this life, and that you preſently meane to conclude of Moſes curſe applied to Chriſt.

i Defenc. pag. 70.l.1. [i] *By applying this text of Moſes in this ſenſe, and in this reſpect to Chriſt, it is well confirmed to be in nature and veritie the true and proper curſe of the Law, which Chriſt was made for vs: for ſuch alſo in deede was the nature of that iudiciall curſe of Moſes.*] Moſes we ſee had no meaning to make their ſoules accurſed, whoſe bodies were hanged on the tree by the iuſt iudgement of the Magiſtrate, if the malefactours truely repented their wicked offences. How much leſſe then ment he to ſubiect the Sonne of God to the internall or eternall curſe of the Law, for that he was vniuſtly and wrongfully hanged on a tree by the malice and ſpight of his Enemies. And yet in both as well pœnitent as innocent, hanging is called a curſe, that is, a true and corporall puniſhment appointed by God for ſinne, though mans error inflict it on innocents, or true repentance aboliſh the reſt, that would follow after this life, if God were not reconciled vnto vs. In the wicked then, which perſiſt in their miſchieuous purpoſes without repentance, your reaſon taketh place, that hanging to them is a part of that true and terrible curſe, the whole whereof ſhall be executed on them for their ſinnes; but in repentants it is ſtarke falſe, and in Chriſt of whom this queſtion riſeth it is irreligious and impious to ſay, that he ſuffered the whole curſe of the Law prouided for ſinne, or the death of the ſoule and of the damned, which is properly due to ſinners.

m Defenc.pag. 70.li 10. [m] *Now vnderſtand Chryſoſtome thus, as we before haue diſtinguiſhed the puniſhment of Chriſt and of the damned, and then we differ not.*] Suppoſe Chryſoſtome to teach falſly, and talke abſurdly as you doe; and then you may ſoone bring him to weare your badge; but leaue him at libertie to tell his owne tale, and hee is farre enough from your follies. [n] *He ſayth they were diuerſe curſes in Chriſt and in the damned, to ſignifie diuerſe manners of one and the ſame curſe in Nature.*] He ſpeaketh not of the damned at all, he ſpeaketh of the whole people of the Iewes, which were vnder the curſe of the Law for ſinne, till they were thence deliuered by Chriſt, which the damned neuer were, nor ſhall be. His words are: [o] *The people were in danger of another curſe, which ſaith, Curſed is euery one which abideth not in the things written in the booke of the Law. For not one of them had obſerued the whole Law. Chriſt then ſince he was not ſubiect to the curſe of tranſgreſſion, admitted this curſe* (to hang on the Croſſe) *inſteede of that, to looſe the people from their curſe.* Chryſoſtome truely, learnedly, and conſonantly to the reſt of

n Ibidem l. 12.

o Chryſoſt. in 3. cap. epiſt. ad Galat.

the

the ancient Fathers, diſtinguiſheth two kindes of EVILS or CVRSES incident to men, which are *ſinne, and the puniſhment* of ſinne. The one is an vniuſt action pleaſing man, but diſpleaſing God: the other is a iuſt paſsion pleaſing God, but diſpleaſing man. [p] *Mala ducuntur, & Delicta & Supplicia. The* OFFENCE *and the* REVENGE *are both called euils*, ſayth Tertullian. [q] *Duo ſunt genera malorum, peccatum, & pœna peccati: there are two ſorts of Euils*, ſayth Auſten, *Sinne, and the puniſhment of ſinne.* For [r] *by Gods prouidence ruling all things*, (as) *man doth the euill, which he will*; (ſo) *he ſuffereth the Euill, which he will not.* Then ſinne is not onely euill before it be puniſhed, but a greater euill, then the puniſhment is; ſince it is an euill in his owne nature repugnant to the righteouſneſſe of God. Now as God is all good, and therefore all bleſſed; ſo ſinne forſaking God, falleth from goodneſſe, and ſo from bleſſedneſſe; and is conſequently more accurſed with God then puniſhment is, and ought ſo to be with men, if they be rightly aduiſed, as being the *cauſe and continuance* of their puniſhment. For *accurſed* ſignifieth as well *deteſted* and *depriued of bleſſednesſe*, as ſubiected to miſerie, or deuoted to deſtruction. So that ſinne in it ſelfe is a curſe with God, that is hated and deteſted of God, and depriuing man of all communion and participation with the fountaine of bleſſedneſſe, though no puniſhment did follow. Yet becauſe men would with neglect and deſpight of God, abide and reioyce in their wickedneſſe, if ſenſe of griefe and paine did not force them to feele their wretchedneſſe; therefore the wiſedome and iuſtice of God purſueth ſuch, as dwell and delight in their ſinnes, with ſharpe and bitter plagues, that looking on their miſerie, they may timely repent, or eternally lament their obſtinacie.

[p] *Tertull. contra Marcion. m. lib. 2.*
[q] *Auguſt. contra Fortunatum.*
[r] *Auguſt. contra Aſimantum cap. 26.*

To theſe two kinds of curſes Chryſoſtomes wordes and proofes doe leade. The whole people were not damned, as you deuoutly dreame, but they had ſinned, and ſo were ſubiected to the danger of Gods diſpleaſure for ſinne, and of his indignation againſt ſinne. From this Chriſt was free, for *he did not ſinne, neither was guile found in his mouth*, as Chryſoſtom concludeth out of the Scriptures. Since then *Chriſt was* [t] *not ſubiect to the curſe of Tranſgreſſion, he admitted an other Curſe, euen* the puniſhment of ſinne, which is a curſe alſo for ſinne, though of an other Nature, then the committing of ſinne; by one to diſſolue the other; that is, by his owne paine to aboliſh the guilt of our ſinne. Chryſoſtomes wordes are as plaine as his proofes: [t] *The curſe of tranſgreſſing was another curſe, and not the ſame* which Chriſt ſuffered. Yea Chriſt might not be ſubiected to that curſe, to which the people were for tranſgreſsing the law, but changed that *for another*, and ſo looſed their curſe. ἕτερος, καὶ οὐχ αὐτός; *another, and not the ſame*, be as forcible words to ſhew different natures and perſons, as any the Greeke tongue hath; and your ſhift of diuerſe degrees *in the ſame nature*, is a childiſh toy, ſince *much* and *little, like* and *vnlike* ſhew *diuers degrees* or meaſures in one nature, but *another*, and *not the ſame* thing, directly noteth the ſubſtance or nature to be diuers.

[t] *Chryſoſt. in 2. ca epiſt. ad Galatas.*
[t] *Chryſoſt. ibid.*

[u] *Auſten on whom you triumph, is ſtretched beyond his meaning, he dealeth againſt a Mainichee, who denied that Chriſt had true humane fleſh. Now he proueth, that Chriſt truely died, becauſe the Apoſtle ſaith he was made a curſe for vs, in that he hanged on a Tree.* I haue cauſe to content my ſelfe, that ſo learned and religious a Father, as Saint Auguſtine was, & ſo highly reuerenced in the Church of God, did more then twelue hundred yeers ſince, in his conflicts with Hereticks refute the greateſt part of your poſitions, as repugnant to the faith of Chriſt, and the ſoundneſſe of the Sacred Scriptures. And I thinke few men ſo fooliſh as in the grounds of our Redemption and ſaluation by Chriſt to reiect the Doctrine, which he taught, as falſe; and receaue your ſcambling conceits as true. And in my Iudgement you were beſt to take heed, leaſt if the reſolutions, which Saint Auſten and other Catholike Fathers made againſt Hereticks, diſproue your new found faith, you be taken tardy with bringing Baggage into the Church of Chriſt, long ſince condemned and baniſhed from the Creede of all Chriſtians. What Saint Auſten proueth; you are no fit reporter, except you did read more attentiuely, and iudge more ſincerely. For did you euer peruſe the words your

[u] *Defenc. pag. 70. l. 20.*

your selfe in Saint Austen, that you so boldly pronounce of his proofes, and his purpose in this matter? If you did not, besides your negligence, your rashnesse is great to assure Saint Austens meaning, before you examine Saint Austens words. If you did, then either your dulnesse is intolerable, that vnderstand him not, or your falsehoode inexcusable, that wittingly peruert your Authors intent to deceaue your Reader. Saint Austen in that place hath no such proofe, nor no such purpose, as you pretend; but he directly refuteth the sacrilegious slaunder of *Faustus* the Manichee, who refused Moses as no seruant of God, or at least no Prophet, vpon this pretence amongst others, for that he blasphemed Christ, by saying; Cursed of God is every one that hangeth on a Tree. The raying words of Faustus against Moses are extant in one whole Chapter prefixed in the beginning of the 14. Booke written by Saint Austen against him, which are so lewd and impious, that Saint Austen putteth Faustus name before them, with [a] *Faustus dixit, thus said Faustus*; and his owne apart from them, with *Augustinus respondet, Augustine answered*. The absurd cauilling of the Heretick against Moses is scattered all along that Chapter; these words of his may serue to expresse his wicked purpose: [a] *We therefore detest Moses (though he spared not to blaspheme all Diuine and humane things) the more for this, that he imposed on Christ the Sonne of God a detestable reproch of a curse, in that he hong on the Tree for our Saluation; saying, Accursed is every one that hangeth on a Tree.*

[a] *August. contra Faustum Manich. lib. 14. cap. 1.*

[a] *Faustus apud August. vbi supra.*

Saint Austen after his preface discouering Faustus hypocrisie, that pretended such loue to Christ,, commeth to expound the words of Moses. *Now let vs see*, (saith he) [b] *by occasion of these cauilling Heretickes, how (Sacramentum illud) that Misteries* or mysticall speech *may be expounded to the faithfull.* Here is Saint Austens purpose out of his owne words, euen to shew how Moses speech is no slaunder to Christ. Which he performeth by prouing, that the death of the Body came first vpon all men, as a *punishment* and *curse* of sinne, and so is rightly called both a *Sinne*, and a *Curse*; and in that respect, as the Apostle said of Christ, he was made for vs a sinne, *and a Curse*; so Moses truely and fitely propheried, that Christ should suffer a Curse in hanging on a Tree. Now heare Saint Austens words. [c] *Mors hominis expiatio peccati est, vnde & ipsa peccati nuncupatur, &c. The death of Man is from the punishment of sinne, and therefore is called sinne; not that a Man sinneth in dying; but because it proceedeth from sinne, that he dieth die. As (for example) the tongue is properly the flesh, that moueth vnder the Palate within the Teeth, and another way the speech, that is framed by the tongue; which sense we say, the Greeke and Latine tongue. And so the hand is properly the member of the Body, which we moone to any worke, and after another sort the hand is then vnderstood, which is made with the hand. So sinne is not onely the euill worke it selfe, which is worthy of punishment; but also death, which sinne brought, is called sinne. That sinne then, whereby he might be guilty of death, Christ did not commit, but the other (kind of) Sinne, which is* DEATH INFLICTED ON MANS NATVRE FOR SINNE, *that he committed for vs. This* sinne, (that is this punishment of sinne) *did hang on the Crosse, and it is was accursed by Moses.* [d] *Why then doth Faustus marueile, that sinne is accursed, that death is accursed: that the* MORTALITIE OF FLESH *without any sinne in Christ, and yet comming from the sinne of Man euen in Christ, is accursed? Let him deny Christ to haue beene accursed, that denieth Christ to haue beene dead: but he that confessed Christ was dead, and cannot deny Death to come from sinne, and euen for that cause to be called sinne, let him heare the Apostle say, that our old Man was crucified together with Christ, and vnderstand whom Moses called accursed. And therfore the Apostle securely saith of Christ, he was made a curse for vs, euen as he doubted not to say, he dyed for all: hoc est enim mortuus est, quod maledictus, for he dyed, is the same with, he was accursed, because death it selfe came from sinne; and all sinne is accursed, whether it be the euill deede deserning punishment to follow, or the punishment it selfe, which after an other manner is called sinne, because it came from sinne.*

[b] *August. contra Faust. Manich. lib. 14. cap. 2. ad finem.*

[c] *August. ibidem cap. 3.*

[d] *Ibid. in fine.*

Let the indifferent now Iudge, whether Saint Austen laboureth to proue against the Manichees, that Christ died, or whether he expoundeth Moses Curse to haue none other meaning then this, that Christ died for vs. It were a passing strange and

wrong

wrong courſe in ſo wiſe a Father, if he meant purpoſely to proone againſt the Manichees that Chriſt truely died for vs, and not in ſhew onely as they ſuppoſed, to ouerskip all the Teſtimonies and circumſtances of Chriſts true death recorded in the Scriptures, as *his* [c] *giuing vp the Ghoſt*, Pilates [d] *examining*, and the Centurions [d] *confeſſing* the truth thereof, as alſo the Souldiers [e] *perceiuing him alreadie dead, and ſo not breaking his legges, but pearcing his ſide with a ſpeare*, and the * [c] *gazing* and ‖ [c] *watching* of his Enemies, and of the whole multitude ouer him to ſee him die, as likewiſe his burial by his owne followers, the ſealing of his Tumbe, and his lying three daies in the graue; to omit I ſay all theſe things with ſilence, and to produce a word, which the Manichees reiected as odious and iniurious to Chriſt, and the Chriſtians defended none otherwiſe then as common to all men, that die, both good and bad; were no ſmall ouerſight in ſo learned a writer. But this is a ſleite of yours to ſhift of the truth of his anſwere, it is no part of his meaning. He ſheweth againſt the Manichees, and likewiſe againſt you, ſince you defend the Contrarie, that the death of the Body is in all men the puniſhment of ſinne, and that this death INFLICTED ON MANS NATVRE *for ſinne*, which is the MORTALITIE OF OVR FLESH, by the Scriptures is called a *Sinne*, and a *Curſe* euen in Chriſt; not that Chriſt was properly and truly accurſed with God, as tranſgreſſours are, which is your erroneous aſſertion; but that he ſubmitted himſelfe to receiue the puniſhment of ſinne in his owne perſon by the death of his Body, which was common to him with all men.

[c] Matth. 27. * [c] Luc. 23. [d] Mark. 15. v. 44. 45. [e] Ioh. 19. v. 33.

If the former words of Saint Auſten were not plaine enough, he hath playner. [f] *If thou deny Chriſt was accurſed, deny Chriſt was dead. If thou deny he was dead, now fightest thou not againſt Moſes, but againſt the Apoſtles. If thou confeſſe him to haue beene dead, confeſſe that he tooke the puniſhment of our ſinne without ſinne. Now when thou heareſt the puniſhment of ſinne, beleeue it came either from (Gods) bleſſing or curſing. If the puniſhment of ſinne came from bleſſing, wiſh alwaies to be vnder the puniſhment. But if thou deſire to be thence deliuered; beleeue, that by the iuſt Iudgement of God the puniſhment of ſinne came from the curſe. Confeſſe then that Chriſt tooke a Curſe for vs, when thou confeſſeſt him to haue beene dead for vs;* [g] *Nec aliud ſignificare voluiſſe Moſen, cum diceret, maledictus omnis qui in ligno pependerit, niſi, mortalis omnis, & moriens omnis, qui in ligno pependerit;* *and that Moſes had none other meaning, when he ſaid, Accurſed is euery one that hangeth on a Tree, then to ſay, euery one that hangeth on a Tree, is Mortall and dieth. He might haue ſaid, Accurſed is euery Mortall Man, or accurſed is euery one that dieth.* How thinke you, would Auſten proone that Chriſt truely died, becauſe he was truely accurſed, or that Chriſt tooke vpon him a Curſe, becauſe he tooke vpon him the death of the Bodie, which is the puniſhment of ſinne in all mortall men, and ſo proceeded from the curſe whereunto all men for ſinne were ſubiect? He doth not defend the Apoſtle by Moſes, but he expoundeth Moſes by the Apoſtle, and ſo reſolueth in plaine words, that Moſes had none other meaning, when he ſaid, accurſed is euery one that hangeth on a Tree, then if he had ſaid, accurſed is euery mortall man, becauſe death came firſt on all men as a Curſe for ſinne. You acknowledge not the death, which all men die, to be a puniſhment or Curſe for ſinne. But all the wit you haue, will not anſwere Saint Auſtens reaſons. For the death of the Body, which is common to all mortall men, muſt of force be a bleſsing or a Curſing. If it be a bleſsing, why doe we beleeue, or hope to be free from a bleſsing? but if we deteſt continuance vnder it, and deſire deliuerance from it, then certainly the death of the Body in all men, euen in the Saints of God, was and ſtill is a puniſhment and Curſe of Sinne, till Chriſt raiſe vs from it. An other reaſon Saint Auſten vrgeth to the ſame effect, which is this. [h] *Vnleſſe God had hated ſinne, and our Death, he would not haue ſent his ſonne to vndertake, and aboliſh the ſame. What maruaile then, if that be accurſed to God, which God hateth?* God, that is him ſelfe all life, and gaue vs life as his bleſsing in this world, muſt needs hate death, which is priuation of life, as repugnant to his Image, and euerting the worke of his hands, wherewith he ioyned Soule and Body to participate in life. And though by his Iuſtice he inflicted death on all men for ſinne, yet of his mercie he ſent his owne

[f] *Auguſt. contra Fauſt. li. 14. cap. 7.*

[g] *Ibidem.*

[h] *Auguſt. eadem. cap. 6.*

Sonne not onely to free vs from sinne, and quite vs from the feare of hell, but by the Resurrection of his Body to assure vs the Resurrection of ours, and to destroy euen that death, which parteth our Soules from our Bodies.

So that heere we haue many things worthie to be obserued out of Saint Austen, which euery where you egerly spurne at, as if his iudgement were not comparable to yours. First, that the death of the body is a punishment of sinne in all the godly, Christ himselfe not excepted. Secondly, that God hateth sinne and death; and sent his Sonne to destroy them both, though by his iustice he requiteth the one with the other. Thirdly, that as Christ was made sinne, so was he made a curse for vs, the one being no more proper a speech then the other. Fourthly, that by this sinne, and by this curse, which Christ was made for vs, is ment the death of Christes bodie, which he suffered in hanging on the Crosse. Lastly, that the curse of a corporall death is not to be feared of the godly, because it shall be quite abolished by the resurrection of our bodies, but the death of the soule (which is sinne) must in this life be carefully shunned, least body and soule be euerlastingly tormented in hell. So S. Austen answereth Faustus obiection; that, if a Pagan Prince should commaund Christians vpon paine of hanging to worship the Sunne and Moone, which both are curses by Moses law, they must of necessitie incurre the one curse, or the other. [1] *This question* saith Austen, *the Lord dissolueth for vs, when he saith, Feare not them which kill the bodie, but can not kill the soule; feare him rather that hath power to kill soule and bodie in hell fire. As if Christ had said, feare not the curse of a corporall death, which is quenched by time, but feare rather the curse of the spirituall death, by which the soule is eternally tormented with her bodie.*

[1] *Aug. ad cont. Faustum. li. 14. ca. 12.*

[a] Defens. pag. 70. li. 35. [a] *The rest of your Fathers are idly cited: no man denieth that which they say.*] If you denie not that, which they say, then must you denie that, which you your selfe so often say. *Christ*, saith Cyrill, *was* [1] *not made a curse or sinne in trueth, but he was called by those names, that he might abolish the curse of sinne.* You say Christ was truely and properlie made a curse, euen Gods curse, and the curse of the Law. Cyrill saith Christ was NOT MADE A CVRSE IN TRVETH. If you receaue Cyrils exposition you must reiect your owne. Epiphanius saith likewise of Marcion the Heretick. [m] *That wretch is altogether ignorant, that Christ was not made a curse, but tooke away the curse, that was for our sinnes*, and (so) *was made a curse to the curse*, that is, *a Dissoluer of the curse.* You say Christ suffered the true and whole curse of the Law: Epiphanius saith, Christ did not suffer it, he did dissolue it. You say, Christ receaued the true curse of the Law in his whole spirit, soule, and bodie. Ambrose denieth it, and saith, [n] *he fastned our curse in his bodie to the crosse*, and was a curse, euen as he was sinne, that is, a Sacrifice to extinguish the curse for sinne. *God* [o] *made Christ a curse after the same manner, as a sacrifice for sinne in the Law is called sinne; therefore being a sacrifice for those that were accursed, he became a curse. He was also a curse to the Iewes, whiles they slew him as a sinner. For the crosse of Christ is the sinne and the curse of the Iewes.* Ierom obserueth that Christ was made a curse, euen as he was made [p] *sinne*, and [p] *foolishnesse*: but Christ was not truely and properly either *sinne*, or *foolishnesse*: therefore Christ was not truely and properly a curse by Ieroms position. So idlely are these Fathers cited, that they directly crosse your dangerous and erronious doctrines; but you were so puzled with Chrysostom and Austen, that you saw not the rest, though they stoode in your way; and yet in admitting all that they affirme, you fairely ouerthrow all that you defend touching the curse, which Christ suffered for our sinnes.

[1] Serm. pag. 96.

[m] Ibid. pag. 96.

[n] Ibid. pag. 95.

[o] *Ambros. in cap. 3. epist. ad Galat.*

[p] Serm. pag. 95.

[q] Defens. pag. 70. li. 37. [q] *Where you mistake me for saying, the curse layd vpon Christ, was not only the ignominie of his death, and the shame of the world, you haue nothing against it, but much for it.*] You get to little by reasoning, that you now holde it your best way to come to wrangling. I no where affirme, that *shame* was the onely thing for which Christ was sayd to be made a curse for vs: I sayd the contrarie, with as plaine words as I could speake; and that in great letters, because your eyes should the rather stay at that, as they rolled by the rest. My words are these: I proposed a [r] SHAMEFVLL, VVRONGFVLL, and

[r] Conclus. pa. 216. li. vlt.

and PAINFVLL *death, to be that part of the curse which Christ suffered for vs.* This I hope is more then shame, though shame and reproch were not the least parts of Gods curse against sinne euen in Christ. You would needs in a brauado set vp your bristles, and aske, *What,* [c] *nothing but the shame of the world? will any man of common sense affirme, that this was all the curse that Christ bare for vs?*] I replied, that shame and ignominie was an expresse part of the curse which Christ dying suffered for vs, and that there was no cause you should so much disdaine Chrysostome and Austen for so saying. The Scriptures themselues in that point concurred with them, as I haue fully shewed in my [d] Conclusion, and you can not auoid it. Lest therefore your Reader should take you to be tongue-tied, you cleane change the case, and would haue men beleeue, that I defend and endeuoured to proue, that [e] *shame was the whole curse which Christ endured.* As though I alleaged not S. Austen at [f] large, to proue that death in all men, Christ not exempted, was a part of the curse inflicted on mankinde for sinne. And therefore when Chrysostome sayd, *the* [g] *crosse is the onely kinde of death subiect to the curse*, I did not set him and Austen at variance, as if the one did trippe the other, but I thus reconciled them; that [h] *not only death*, (as in all men) *but the verie kinde of death which Christ died, was accursed by the very words of the Law* in Chrysostomes iudgement. This then is one of your familiar trades and trueths, to set downe that in my name, which I neuer spake nor meant; and so by lying, when you can not by reasoning, to support your cause. Indeed if a man will admit your absurd and false positions, so much is consequent out of their words. For where you will not haue the death of the bodie to be any part of the curse inflicted on sinne, except the death, of the damned be coherent with it, as in the reprobate; it followeth from Chrysostomes words, that the corporall death of Christ seuered from all other sorts of death had no part of Gods curse in it besides shame, which yet is as farre from being a true curse, where the cause is good, as death it selfe; since neither shame nor death are true and inward curses, when they are suffered for righteousnesse, but rather causes and increases of blessing; not in, nor of themselues, but by Gods goodnesse accepting, and recompensing them with all fauour and blisse.

[c] Treatis. pag. 38. li. 20.

[d] Pag. 267.

[e] Defenc. pag. 71 li. 13.

[f] Serm. pag. 92. & 93.

[g] Conclus. pa. 271.

[h] Conclus. pa. 271. li. 11.

[a] *Against you mislike, that I sayd Christs dying simplie, as the godlie die, may in no sort be called a Curse or accursed.*] I mislike, that you can not or will not distinguish, what death is in it selfe euen to the godly, and what is consequent after it by Gods mercie towards his Saints. And heerein I say, you want both trueth and iudgement: for things are to be named by their natures, and not by the sequents, which often God sendeth cleane contrarie to the purposes, and practises of Satan, and his members. Tyrannie, shall it be no crueltie, because it maketh Martyrs? Sinne, shall it not be displeasing to God, because it humbleth the faithfull by repentance? The corruption of mans nature, shall it not be sinne, because thereby God exerciseth his Saints to watchfulnesse and prayer? Euen so the death of the bodie, which God at first inflicted on all his Elect for sinne, shall it be no punishment, for that God doth comfort his in death, and reward them after death? [b] [*I affirme, death to the godly is no curse properly.*] And I affirme, that when you can not tell how to start from the force of truth, you do nothing but lie, or flie to your phrases of *proper* and *verie*: which here, as in other places do you no good. In the fifteenth line of this page, you say the death of of the godly *may* IN NO SORT *be called a Curse or Accursed.* In the sixteenth, whiles you offer to proue those words, you confesse them to be false. *Death to the godly is no Curse properly*, you say, but a benefit and aduantage; then improperly death is a curse: and before you sayd, *It may in no sort be called a Curse to them.* If *in no sort*, then neither properly nor improperly. What then is that Enemie that must be destroyed, a cursing or a blessing? Can it be an enemie to Christ, and yet a blessing to the godly? I can not better refell your folly, then S. Austen doth in this verie case. If death be a blessing to the bodies of the godly, *neuer desire to be deliuered from it*: what need you beleeue, or loue the resurrection of the flesh, which is the destruction of death in the bodie; if death be a benefit to the bodie? But if this be repugnant to

[a] Defene. pa. 71. li. 14.

[b] Defenc. pag. 71. li. 16.

Chriſtian religion, then hath death in it euen a ſhew of Gods curſe on the bodie for ſinne, which muſt be deſtroyed, before Chriſt can fully reigne in all his Saints. [*Yet is it to the godly no curſe properly.*] The heigth of your learning hangeth on the helpe of this word PROPERLY; we yet came to no point in all our defence, but when you ſee your ſelfe preſſed, you ſtraightwayes poſt to PROPER and VERY; and yet you neuer define either, nor take the paines to expound your ſelfe, leſt you ſhould be taken with open hereſie and blaſphemie, in applying one and the ſame curſe *properly* and *truely* to Chriſt and the damned.

[c] Defenc. pag. 71. li. 19. [c] *You ſay I am to young a Doctour to controll Saint Auſten herein; and I ſay you are a Doctour not olde enough to prooue Auſten contrarie to me in this point.*] A farre younger then I am will ſoone diſcerne by that I haue ſayd, that S. Auſten is repugnant in this point to your proper and verie nouelties: for where you ſay, *Death to the godly may in no ſort be called a curſe*; S. Auſten thus expoundeth Chriſtes words to the godlie:

[d] *Auguſt contra Fauſtum. li. 14. ca. 12.* [d] *Feare not thoſe which kill the bodie, as if Chriſt had ſayd, Nolite timere maledictum mortis corporalis, quod temporaliter ſoluitur. Feare not the* CVRSE *of a bodily death, which in time is diſſolued.* And ſo when he reſolueth Moſes had none other meaning in this ſentence, Curſed is euerie one that hangeth on a tree, then if he had ſayd; *Mortall is euerie one that hangeth on a tree.*

[e] *Ibid. ca. 7.* [e] *Poterat enim dicere, maledictus omnis mortalis, aut maledictus omnis moriens. For Moſes might haue ſayd; Curſed is euery mortall man, or curſed is euerie man that dieth.* If Moſes might truely haue ſo ſayd, as it is euident by S. Auſtens poſition, then I truſt *death in ſome ſort may be iuſtlie called a Curſe, euen to the godlie.*

But S. Auſten ſayth, *that the death of the bodie is good to the good, and euill to the euill.*] That ſpeech S. Auſten ſayth, may be tolerated, not in reſpect of death it ſelfe, which is euill; but of the mercies of God, which follow the faithfull after their deaths. His words, which you skippe (as your maner is to do when any thing maketh againſt you) are *Dici poteſt: It may be ſayd.* But vpon that ſpeech he preſently moueth this queſtion in the beginning of the next Chapter. If the death of the bodie be good to the good, [f] *quo modo poterit obtineri, quòd etiam ipſa ſit pœna peccati? how may it be reſolued, that it is alſo the puniſhment of ſinne?* His reſolution you did not reade, or not regard, becauſe it reſiſted your fanſie; but thereby the Reader may ſee what credit is to be giuen to your words, when you crake of Fathers.

[f] *Auguſt. de ciuitate Dei li. 13. ca. 3.*

[g] *Auguſt ibid.* [g] *We muſt confeſſe*, ſayth Auſten, *that the firſt men were ſo created, that if they had not ſinned, they ſhould haue taſted no kinde of death; but the verie ſame, being the firſt ſinners, were ſo puniſhed with death, that whatſoeuer ſhould ſpring from their root, ſhould be held ſubiect to the ſame puniſhment.* And diſcuſsing the queſtion propoſed more at large, he reſolueth: [h] *Sic per ineffabilem Dei miſericordiam & ipſa pœna vitiorum tranſit in arma virtutis, & fit meritum iuſti etiam ſupplicium peccatoris. So by the vnſpeakeable mercie of God the puniſhment of vice becommeth the armour of vertue, and the reuenge of a ſinner is made the merit of the iuſt.* [i] *Non quia mors bonum aliquod facta eſt, quæ antea malum fuit, ſed tantam Deus fidei præſtitit gratiam, vt mors, quam vitæ conſtat eſſe contrariam, inſtrumentum fieret, per quod tranſiretur in vitam.* NOT THAT DEATH IS BECOME ANY GOOD, *which before was euill, but ſo great fauour God hath yeelded vnto faith, that death, which moſt certainly is contrarie to life, is made an inſtrument* (for the good) *by which they paſſe vnto life.* And to make men the better to vnderſtand the effect of his ſpeech, he bringeth an example out of the Scriptures, where the law is called *the ſtrength of ſinne.* [k] *Why*, ſayth he, *rehearſe we this? Becauſe that, as the Law is not euill, when it increaſeth the luſt of ſinners, ſo death is not good, when it augmenteth the glorie of the ſufferes: but as the vniuſt doe euilly vſe not onely euill, but alſo good things; ſo the iuſt doe well vſe not onely good, but euen things that be euill. Hence commeth it, that the wicked vſe the Law ill, though the Law be good,* & BONI *bene è moriantur, quamuis ſit mors malum, and the good die well, though death be euill.*

[h] *Auguſt. de ciuitate Dei li. 13 ca. 4.*

[i] *Ibidem.*

[k] *Auguſt. de ciuitate Dei. li. 13. ca. 5.*

I haue touched at large Saint Anſtens reaſons and reſolutions in his owne words, becauſe the Reader ſhould the more cleerely conceiue him, and the diſcourſer ſee him

him contrarie to his conceits euen in this point, which he ſo much denieth. The death of the body, which the godly doe ſuffer, is to this day an *euill of it ſelfe*, and the *puniſhment of ſinne*; but God of his mercie towards his, hath giuen ſuch grace, not to death, but to their faith, that by ſuffering death patiently, they ſhalbe the more plentifully rewarded. But as no wiſe man will ſay the Law is euill, when the wicked abuſe it to kindle their luſts, ſo may no ſober man ſay, that the death of the faithfull is good in it ſelfe, though by Gods goodneſſe it bee made to them a triall of their patience, and a paſſage to a better life. You ſay the nature of death is changed, and not to the faithfull any longer an euill or part of the puniſhment and curſe, which was laide on ſinne. S. Auſten ſaith the contrarie. It is ſtill an euill as it was, and the nature thereof is not changed, though the vſe thereof be changed by faith, and the conſequents altered by Gods goodneſſe. Now things muſt bee eſteemed by their nature, and not by their vſe, as Auſten teacheth. For euill men vſe good things euilly, yet that maketh not good to bee euill, becauſe their vſe is inuerted; and euen ſo, ſaith Auſten, good men haue a good vſe of death, which is euill, yet that maketh not the death, which they ſuffer, to be good in it ſelfe, or in nature to bee ſuch, as by Gods fauour it is to them. When the death therefore of the faithfull is ſaid by Saint Auſten or any others to be good, they meane the vſe, and not the nature thereof; and when they ſay it is euill, or a curſe, they meane the nature and not the vſe. For touching the nature thereof the Apoſtle, who muſt be heard, ſaith fully and reſolutely; *Death is an* [l] *enemie, that muſt be deſtroyed*, euen in the godly. And touching the vſe thereof, the ſame Apoſtle ſaith. [m] *To mee Chriſt is life, and to die is gaine.* Againſt this you neither doe, nor can bring ought, beſides waſte words, and places either not vnderſtood of you, or wreſted by you, as ſpoken of the nature of death, when they meane the vſe of death, which the faithfull haue by Gods abundant bleſsing.

[l] 1. Cor. 15. verſ. 26.

[m] Philip. 1.

[n] Your ſelfe doe ſay, *The vengeance of the Law once executed on the ſuertie, can no more in Gods iuſtice be executed on vs.*] In the vengeance of the law is compriſed, *corporall, ſpirituall and eternall death.* The whole Chriſt neither did, nor could taſte, and bee a Sauiour. A part he therefore taſted, which was the death of his body, and thereby freed vs from the reſt, which was due to our ſinnes. From the death of the body he hath not as yet wholly deliuered vs, but hee will; and in the meane time hee hath broken the linckes of death (whereby thoſe three were coupled together) firſt in his owne perſon, who ſuffered the firſt kinde of death, and neither of the other, and by vertue thereof hath done the like in all his Saints, leauing their bodies for a ſeaſon vnto death, as his was, that he may raiſe them after with greater power and glorie, then if they had neuer died. What doeth this hinder, but death may truely bee called a Curſe, as in Chriſt, ſo in his members; and though execution of vengeance be reſtrained from vs, yet imitation of Chriſt is not excluded, neither is the generall ſentence pronounced againſt the ſinne of all mankinde, *(To duſt thou ſhalt returne) reuoked but by the reſurrection from the dead* [*how then was it vengeance on Chriſt, if it were due to mans nature?*] Death was due to mans nature for ſinne, and conſequently not due to Chriſt that had not ſinned. When therefore it was laide on him, that deſerued it not, it muſt be taken as the wages of our ſinne in his perſon; and ſo was a wound to him, though a medicine to vs, becauſe *hee* [o] *was wounded for our tranſgreſſions, and wee were healed by his ſtripes.*

[n] Defenc. pa. 71. li. 26.

[o] Eſay 53.

[p] *Our publike doctrine in England ſet foorth by Maſter Nowel, confirmeth as much. To the faithfull, death is now not a deſtruction, but a changing of life, and a very ſure and ſhort paſſage to heauen.*] Euery thing that is licenſed or liked, as profitable to bee publikely read or taught, is not by and by authoriſed in all things, nor made the publike doctrine of this Realme. You would faine oppoſe Maſter Nowel to Saint Auſten, who if hee were liuing would giue you no thanks therefore. Saint Auſtens Faith hath beene allowed and receiued by all Synods and Councels ſince his time, and by the whole Church of Chriſt, as fit to guide and leade not onely learners, but makers of Catechiſmes; and therefore the match, if they were repugnant, is ſomewhat vnequall: but

[p] Defenc. pa. 71. li. 28.

indeede you haue neede to bee taught, how to vnderſtand your Catechiſme. That death is a deſtruction to the godly, can you tell who ſaith ſo, except it bee your ſelfe? That it is a changing of life and ſhort paſſage to heauen, if you meane to the ſoules of the faithfull, as the Catechiſme doth, no man doubteth thereof; if you meane to their bodies, that they by death change life, and ſo haue a ſhort paſſage to heauen, it is a notable falſitie, and hereſie, gainſaying the verie grounds of the Chriſtian faith. For priuation of ſenſe, and corruption to duſt, is no life, much leſſe an heauen; except you will multiplie heauens as you do helles, without reaſon or trueth. It is moſt true which the Catechiſme intendeth, that death is this to the ſouls of the faithful, but not to their bodies as yet, till the generall day of reſurrection; and then the deſtruction of death in their bodies ſhall bring them to the full poſſeſsion of heauenly glory, prouided both for ſoule and bodie: till that time, their bodies lie vnder the dominion or power of death, which is not yet deſtroied in euery part of vs, becauſe of ſinne dwelling in our bodies, though it throughly be conquered in the perſon of Chriſt, and ſhall be likewiſe in vs at his appointed time.

As little to the purpoſe is that, which you cite next out of the Catechiſme, that

[g] Defene pag. 71. li. 35.

[g] *Death, which before was a puniſhment, is now become a vantage.*] For he meaneth, that death before had nothing in it, nor after it but puniſhment, and ſo was wholly and onely puniſhment; which now by Chriſt is altered, and made an aduantage to vs, as well in reſpect of the manifold miſeries and offences of this life, from which we are deliuered, as in regard of the felicitie and ſecuritie, which the ſoules of the Saints deceaſed enioy: but this is nothing to their bodies, which lie depriued of life and corrupted to duſt, till the finall reſtitution. Neither is this a compariſon with our condition before ſinne, (in which we were created,) when ſoule and bodie ſhould iointly haue beene tranſlated to the kingdome of heauen without any ſenſe or touch of death, if we had ſtood faſt in obedience; but this noteth, what death is after ſinne committed without Chriſt, and rightly ſaith, that when once by ſinne we were plunged into the depth of all miſerie, as a puniſhment for ſinne, then the grace of Chriſt by the death of his body brake off the chaines of internall and eternall death knit to the former by Gods iuſtice, and made the naturall death of our bodies, which without Chriſt was onely a *puniſhment*, and the entrance to all other miſchiefes of ſinne after this life, to become now an aduantage to the ſoule, which is preſently freed from the labours of this life, and inueſted and ſecured with euerlaſting bliſſe. But the body is not yet quited from the burden and corruption laid on it by Gods iuſtice for the puniſhment of Adams ſinne; and the ſoule in the midſt of her comforts, not onely feeleth the want, but ſheweth her deſire to receaue her bodie, as appeareth by the praier of the ſoules vnder the Altar; who deſire not now in heauen reuenge of their perſecutors, whom they pardoned and praied for on earth, but woondering at Gods patience, that is daily prouoked and abuſed, they deſire the day of [r] *iudgement*, though that bring with it the deſtruction of the wicked, becauſe they ſhall then receaue their bodies, and with them the fulneſſe of Gods promiſes.

[r] Reuel. 6.

[f] Defenc. pag. 71. li. 37.

[f] *notably contradict you, who call death to the Godly the gate of hell; a ſtrange and moſt vntrue tranſlation:*] The Catechiſme ſpeaketh of the ſoules of the godly, who without Chriſt were aſſured by death to enter the bottomleſſe pit of hell, and now by Chriſt doe ſafely paſſe from death to heauen; but what is this to their bodies whereof I ſpeake? doe the bodies of the Saints paſſe ſtraight vpon death to heauen, as their ſoules doe? I truſt your Catechiſme ſaith not ſo; and therefore no way contradicteth me. [But I tranſlate it ſo, when I call death the gate of hell, which is *ſtrange and vntrue*.] No good Sir, when I tranſlated the text, becauſe the word Sheol was doubtfull and imported all the power and ſtrength of hell againſt *bodie and ſoule* in this *world*, and in the *next*, I retained the verie worde Sheol; as may be ſeene in the page of my Sermons, which you cite, *pag.* 150. *li.* 32. yet what was ment by Sheol in that place, when I came to examine, I did incline rather to the word hell, then to the word *Graue*, ſince we had in Engliſh no more words

to

to expreſſe the power or danger of Satans kingdome on earth. For neither the griefe, which Ezechias conceaued, nor the phraſe, which he vſed, might be rightly referred to the graue. It was not the graue that Ezechiah did ſo much feare, and ſo much decline, it was the doubt of Gods diſpleaſure, that vpon deliuerance of him and his citie from the hands of Senacherib, preſently ſtrooke the king with ſickneſſe, and denounced death vnto him, as vnworthie to enioy that protection, which God had ſhewed from heauen in defence of his people againſt their enimies: and therefore in the bitterneſſe of his ſoule, which he confeſſed did [t] oppreſſe him, he ſaid, he ſhould goe to the gates of Sheol, that is, to a dangerous conflict with death, betweene hope and feare of Gods fauour or anger. Neither doth Sheol there import onely the graue: for at firſt Ezechiah reſolued he ſhould die, and ſo goe farder then the gates or entrance of the graue. Neither doth that phraſe in other places of Scripture expreſſe barely the buriall of the bodie. [u] *The gates of hell*, ſayth our Sauiour, *ſhall not preuaile againſt my Church*, by which he meaneth nothing leſſe then the graue. [x] *Are the gates of death knowen to thee*, ſaith God to Iob, who could not be ignorant, what the ſides and bottome of a graue were? [y] *Thou liftſt me*, ſaith Dauid, *from the gates of death*, when yet he was ſure to come to his graue. And had Ezechiah from the griefe of his hart, vnder which he [z] *chattered like a Swallow, and mourned as a Doue*, pronounced death to be the Gate or *firſt inuaſion*, that hell or Satan made one mans Body for ſinne, what had you to ſay againſt it? [a] *By the enuie of the Diuell*, ſaith the wiſe man, *Death entred into the world*. The Apoſtle ſaith as much, [b] *By ſinne Death entred into the world*, not as a bleſsing of God, but on all men to Condemnation. From this Condemnation the Soule by Chriſt is preſently releaſed; the Body is alſo promiſed, but yet not cleered from that Condemnation to Death which ſinne brought with it. And ſince the Apoſtle calleth it an *Enemie* to Chriſt, and Auſten doubteth not to name it a *corporall Curſe*, why ſhould I not number it rather amongſt the gates or powers of hell, then of heauen, ſince the diuell was the Author, and Chriſt will be the deſtroyer thereof.

t Eſa.38. v.14.
u Matth 16.
x Iob.38.
y Pſal.9.
z Eſa.38. v.14.
a Wiſdom 2.
b Rom 5.

It offendeth you that I ſay, if we will reaſon what death is in it ſelfe, we muſt reſolue it to be a part of Gods curſe; which you ſay *is no anſwere. For who euer denied it to be in it ſelfe a part of Gods curſe for ſinne? but* (your) *expreſſe words are, death is to the godly no curſe properly.*] Doe you now find the foile, how fooliſhly you haue all this while ſupported an errour, that yo . now come with *properly* to proppe it vp, leaſt it fall on your head? You can now with ſhame enough confeſſe, [c] WE KNOVV AL SHAME AND AFFLICTION TO ALL MEN IS A KIND OF CVRSE. Then death, a man would thinke, may rightly be called a kind of corporall curſe; ſince that is the ſharpeſt and foreſt of all outward afflictions. [[d] *A kind of curſe*, who *euer denied that? ſay you.*] Euen your wiſedome hath all this while denied it. In your Treatiſe you bleated forth this reſolution. [e] *Therefore Chriſtes dying ſimply as the godly die*, MAY IN NO SORT HERE BE CALLED A CVRSE, or *accurſed*. You iterate the verie ſame in your defence. Yea, it is the maine ground of your ſecond ſpeciall reaſon. [f] Chriſt, you ſay, *was made a curſe for vs or accurſed in his death. But to die ſimply as the godly doe, may in no ſort be called a curſe or accurſed. Chriſt therefore endured the curſe and wrath of God truely.* [Your [g] *expreſſe wordes, you ſay, are; Death to the godly is no curſe properly, but a vantage.*] Are not the other your expreſſe wordes alſo that the death of the godly MAY IN NO SORT BE *called a curſe or accurſed?* and doth not the force of your reaſon wholy depend vpon theſe later wordes? For had you confeſſed that death, ſhame, and paine were to the godly corporall curſes; how then conclude you, that Chriſt was properly accurſed? Becauſe the Apoſtle ſaith, *He was made a curſe?* Doeth the Apoſtle ſay, he was made a curſe properly? It would empt and waſte all the wit in your head, from the one to conclude the other. Againſt your preciſe Negatiue, that death in the godly *might in no ſort be called a curſe*, I oppoſed the contrarie, thar the death of the bodie was a curſe for ſinne laide on the bodies euen of the

c Defenc. pa. 72. li. 33.
d Ibid. li. 32.
e Trea. pa. 45. li. 1.
f Defenc. pa. 71. li 15.
g Defenc. pa. 72. li. 6.

the elect; and therefore might iuſtly be ſo called in vs, and much more in Chriſt, though the force of that curſe were quenched in Chriſt, and the coherence thereof interrupted.

In floting to and fro you fell to the *curſe of the Law*, and *the curſe of God*, and there, as your faſhion is, you auouched what you liſted, without any proofe or witneſſe beſides your ſelfe; telling vs that Paul mentioned Chriſts hanging on the tree as a part of the curſe of the Law, thereby imploying the whole to be executed on Chriſt. The
[h] Concluſ. pa. 265. li. 26. whole curſe of the Law in my concluſion I ſhewed to be [h] *externall, corporall, internall and eternall plagues and puniſhments*; and asked you which of theſe you affirmed of Chriſt. Externall and corporall curſes in Chriſt I did grant; internall and eternall curſes of the Law, which are want of grace, and loſſe of bliſſe, with perpetuall damnation of bodie and ſoule, I ſaid could not be aſcribed to Chriſt without enormous and haynous blaſphemie. To this when you ſhould anſwere, you turne with a trice to your world of wordes, and ſay, your queſtion was, *Whether death to the godly were a curſe properly or no*. But ſir remember the reaſon was yours, which if you doe not fully proove, you muſt wholly looſe. You ſhould therefore firſt define, what a proper curſe is, and then applie the parts thereof, as well to Chriſt, as to the godly; and in ſo doing, we ſhould ſoone haue ſeene both the ſenſe and trueth of your ſpeach. Now you hold faſt to the ambiguitie and vncertainetie of the word *proper*, as though it were enough for you to deliuer Oracles with the breath of your mouth; you ſay the worde, and then the field is wonne.

[i] Defenc. pag. 72. li. 4. [i] *Our queſtion is not, what death is in it ſelfe, but what death is to the godly.*] You are ſo wedded to your owne wordes, that you vnderſtand no man els, and ſcant your ſelfe. When I reaſon what the death of the godly is in it ſelfe, I ſpeake not of the death, which they do no not ſuffer, that is not their death at all, which they no way feele; but ſince they die the death of the bodie, that death which they ſuffer, is to them one thing in his owne force, which they taſte and endure, and the conſequents after death, by Gods mercie prouided for his ſeruants, are moſt euidently other things, and he that cannot diſtinguiſh this, is no way worthy to beare the name of a Diuine. For the ioyes of Gods heauenly kingdome are after death prepared for the godly. Shall we therefore ſay, the ioyes of heauen are death? Beſides the ſmart and anguiſh which afflicteth the ſoule when ſhe is driuen from her bodie, death in it ſelfe is the *ſeparation* of the ſoule from the bodie, with *priuation* of ſenſe and life in the bodie, and *reſolution* of the ſame into duſt. The ioyning of the ſoule with the bodie was a moſt wonder-
[k] Gen. 1. v. 31. full worke of God in his creation, and conſequently [k] *verie good*, by the plaine words of Moſes. Then is the diſſolution of the ſoule from the bodie repugnant to that
[l] Gen. 2. v. 7. which is verie good, and of force euill; as being contrarie to good. The making of mans bodie from [l] *the duſt of the ground* was likewiſe *verie good*, by the ſame witneſſe of Moſes. Then the returning of the bodie to duſt againe muſt be an euill vnto man, deſtroying that excellent worke of God. And if ſenſe, motion and action be bleſſings of God on mans bodie, then the bereauing of theſe muſt needs be curſes in their kinde. Yea ſince life was no ſmall fauour of God beſtowed on man, when he made him a liuing ſoule; & (as all the reſt in their degrees) was *verie good*: then death which is the priuation of life, is the taking of Gods good bleſsing from mans bodie, which cannot chuſe but be a curſe. *It is recompenſed*, you will ſay, *with a better bleſſing, euen with the bliſſe of heauen.*] The ſoule is, but not the bodie, ſo long as death preuaileth on it. And this bleſsing conſquent is no way pertinent to the nature of death, no not as the godly do ſuffer it; but it is a fruit of Gods fauour reſerued for the faithfull in Chriſt Ieſus, who remoueth death from their ſoules, and will doe the like from their bodies, when the time commeth. *Without death*, you thinke, *we cannot come to Gods preſence.*] And why is that, but becauſe the corruption of ſinne dwelleth in
[m] 1. Cor. 15. our bodies, which is not meet for the kingdome of God? [m] *Corruption cannot inherit incorruption.* And whence came this corruption, but from ſinne? and conſequently

the

the diſpleaſure of God againſt ſinne, both brought corruption to our bodies, and for corruption keepeth our bodies vnder death, excluded for the time from his heauenly kingdome.

Yet this is no proper curſe to the bodies of the Saints] Had you but once declared what you meant by *proper* and *true curſes*, fixe lines had long ſince leuelled this queſtion: but you according to the heigth of your skill, that neuer troubled your ſelfe but with a few fond conceits, and ſome vnſetled ſentences, trace to and fro ſometimes with *no curſe in any ſort*, ſometimes with *no true curſe*, and ſometimes with *no curſe properly*, and will not be drawen to ſteppe one foot farther. And though I haue no cauſe to hew your timber, that you leaue ragged, yet for their ſakes that would ſee the trueth, I am content to ſquare your worke.

Of Gods *curſe* I muſt ſay as I did of Gods *wrath*; (for the *wrath* and *curſe* of God are all one in effect) it noteth either Gods deteſtation of ſinne, or his commination to ſinne, or which is moſt to this caſe, Gods indignation or pnniſhment prouided for ſinne, or executed on ſinners. For as man is ſayd to bleſſe with his *minde*, *mouth*, or *hand*, when he meaneth, prayeth, or doth good to any; ſo is he ſayd to curſe by *thought*, *word*, or *deed*, when he deſireth, vttereth, or worketh euill to any. God is likewiſe ſayd to curſe in *ſoule*, when he *deteſteth* and *hateth* euill; in *voice*, when he pronounceth or *threatneth* euill; in *iudgement*, when he decreeth or inflicteth euill. To ſhew how execrable ſinne is to God, the Scripture ſayth, theſe things God [n] HATETH, and *his ſoule* ABHORRETH them. And ſo, *the way of the wicked is* [o] ABOMINABLE *to the Lord*. The threats of God againſt ſinne, and his *plagues* vpon ſinne, are euery where extant in the Law, and chiefly in the 27. and 28. of Deuteronomie; where not onely the greateſt ſinnes are namely and all ſinnes in the cloſe generally accurſed, but the manifolde plagues of this life perſuing the ſtates, the bodies, and ſoules of ſinners are numbred. [p] *Maledictum eſt omne peccatum, ſiue ipſum quod fit, vt ſequatur ſupplicium, ſiue ipſum ſupplicium, quod alio modo vocatur peccatum, quia fit ex peccato. Accurſed is all ſinne*, ſayth Auſten, *as well the deed, which prouoketh puniſhment, as the puniſhment it ſelfe, which in another ſenſe is called ſinne, becauſe it commeth from ſinne*. The plagues and curſes of ſinne extending as farre as ſinners haue any *parts*, of which they conſiſt, as *bodie* and *ſoule*; or *places*, in which they may be, as here ſo in hell; or *pertinents*, which they may haue or need for the eaſe and vſe of this life; I called in my concluſion, *externall*, *corporall*, *ſpirituall* and *eternall* plagues or puniſhments of ſinne.

[n] Pro.6.v.16.
[o] Pro.15.
[p] *Auguſt. contra Fauſtum Manichæum. li.14.ca.4.*

Contrarie to curſing is bleſsing, which is good purpoſed, promiſed, or performed to obedience, as Curſing is euill intended, threatned, or prepared for diſobedience; and ſo by the one Contrarie we may rightly meaſure the other: yea the names of benediction and malediction, which is *bleſſing* and *curſing*, are deriued from *bonum* and *malum*, *good* and *euill*. And therefore, as we conceaue good and euill, to proceede from the bountie or Iuſtice of God, ſo muſt we recken his bleſsings and curſes to be. [q] *None is good but onely God*; that is all true *goodneſſe* is *naturally*, *ſupreamely*, *infinitely*, *and vnchangeably* in God, as likewiſe all true *bleſſedneſſe* is. Neither can any thing haue any degree of true goodneſſe or bleſſedneſſe, but onely by deriuation from God, and by participation with God. *Capable* of God, that is of the *holineſſe*, and *happineſſe*, that is in God, and commeth from God, are no Creatures but men and Angels; ſince only they haue cognition and fruition of his true goodneſſe and bleſſedneſſe. To omit the Elect Angels, that haue their meaſure of heauenly light and power, grace, and loue, righteouſneſſe and holineſſe, ioy and ſecuritie in the continuall preſence and ſeruice of God; when God decreed to reueale him ſelfe to Man, he gaue him a reaſonable Soule endued with vnderſtanding and will, to diſcerne, and deſire the goodneſſe, that is in God, and by louing and obeying Gods righteouſneſſe, to haue Communion with his bleſſedneſſe. The better to declare him ſelfe to man, God gaue him a Bodie to be quickned by his Soule with *Life*, *ſenſe*, *and motion*, as a Tabernacle for the Soule to dwell and worke therein; and made heauen and earth, and all the furni-

[q] Matth.10.

ture

ture thereof, for the *vse, delight, and safegard* of his Body; thereby to assure Man of his exceeding care for man, and bountie towards Man; which were not onely wonderfull causes of thanks, but euident proofes of greater fauour, and honor reserued for him in the heauens, if he loued and serued the Author, and giuer of these earthly things. The *integritie* then, and *safetie*; the *sanitie*, *Actiuitie*, and *perpetuitie* of mans Body free from all *dangers, distempers, decaies, diseases, and death:* The excellent *beautie, plentie, vtilitie, and varietie of the Creatures* seruing mans *vse*, obeying mans *Rule*, and increasing mans *delight*, were all the maruelous blessings of God on man, not onely testifying to him the *wisedome, power, and glorie* of the *Creator* by their *natures, properties* and *forces*, but leading him by the *eyes, eares*, and *all* other *senses* to the admiring, embracing, and honoring of that great and mightie Lord, that by these pledges proposed him selfe, with all his spirituall and vnspeakable riches, to be the spouse of mans Soule, and reward of his loue. He therefore that denieth or doubteth these to haue beene the blessings of God on man, when he first made man, and so to remaine at this present; is an vnthankfull and wicked abuser, and despiser of Gods goodnesse, and bountie towards him selfe and all mankind.

The gifts of God on the Soule of Man were farre worthier then those corporall and externall blessings. For God gaue vnto Man reason and vnderstanding, to behold the greatnesse, and withall the goodnesse of God, and *free will*, to cleaue fast vnto him, without preferring any Creature before him, or matching any thing with him; as likewise affections to inflame the hart with burning and vnceasing loue; Man feeling no defect, nor finding any impediment in that innocencie, tranquillitie, facilitie and consonancie of all the powers and parts of the Soule and body, to the knowledge, loue, and seruice of God. But none of the gifts and graces of God, either outwardly prouided for man, or naturally ingraffed in mans Body or Soule, did make Man truely blessed. For had he beene truely blessed by these, he could not so wretchedly haue fallen from these into the Seas of miseries, and heapes of curses, with which he was after for sinne ouerwhelmed. Wherefore we must resolue, that as God is onely truth, because he is by Nature immutable; and onely blessednesse, because no euill can approch him, so no blessing can rightly be called *true*, but that which is perpetuall; nor full, but that which is free from all miserie. Saint Austen saith wisely. [r] *Nullo modo poterit esse vita veraciter beata, nisi fuerit sempiterna. By no meanes may any life be* TRVELY *blessed, except it be* EVERLASTING. And againe, [s] *Veritas immortalis est, veritas incommutabilis est. Truth is eternall, truth is vnchangeable.* And so Ambrose [t] *Creatura non potest esse veritas, sed species, qua facile soluitur, atq; mutatur. There can be no truth, but a shew in the Creature, which is easily lost, and changed.* And therefore Austen expoundeth [u] *beatam vitam stabilem, id est, veram; a stedfast, that is a true blessed life.* For how can that be thought a true blessing, which may end in euerlasting wretchednesse? True blessings then there are none, but such as ioyne vs to God, who is the true fountaine of all true blessing, that without any separation or defection from him, we may be partakers of him.

[r] *August. de Trinitate. li. 13 cap. 8.*
[s] *August. in Psal. 123.*
[t] *Ambros. de iij qui mysterijs initiantur.*
[u] *August. de Trinitate. li. 13 cap. 9.*

By *true blessing* we shall best vnderstand what *true* cursing is: for as EVILL is no contrarie nature to GOOD, but onely the defect or *priuation* of *good*; so there is no true curse to vs, but that which bereaueth vs of our true blessing. [x] *Malum non secundum essentiam, sed secundum priuationem rectissimè dicitur. Euill is most rightly sayd to be no essence, but the priuation of good.* To cleaue fast to God, who is only and wholly our good, is the true blessing of men and angels; and consequently to be seuered from God, and to loose all communion with him, is the true curse of men and angels. The true blessings of God bestowed on his children, though they be indeed infinit, yet may they be reduced to these three summes, according to the times wherein they *were, are*, and *shall be* performed: that is, TO THE LOVE of God freely affourded vs before the world, whereby we were elected and adopted in Christ Iesus our Sauiour; TO THE LIKENESSE of God, which we haue in this world, where we are conformed to the image of his Sonne by the working of his Spirit, our sinnes being remitted,

[x] *August. de Moribus Manichæorum. cap. 4.*

remitted, that diuided vs from God, and our hearts ſanctified with the faith and loue of his trueth; and to THE LIFE of God, which after this world ſhall be reuealed and imparted vnto vs in the heauens, where ſhall be perfect bleſſednesſe without want of any good, or feare of any euill. The priuation of theſe three bleſsings bringeth three euils, which are maine and true curſes to the wicked. Firſt, the *diſlike* of God refuſing them, the *guilt* of ſinne defiling them, the *ſting* of death excluding them from all ioy and peace, reſt and eaſe of ſoule and bodie for euer.

Applie this to Chriſt and his members, and we ſhall preſently finde by the rules of our Chriſtian faith, how farre they agree to either. No true curſe can be aſcribed to Chriſt, which ſhall ſeuer him from God, without apparent impietie: for neither the *firmeneſſe* of Gods *fauour* towards his manhood, nor the *fulneſſe of grace and trueth* in his ſoule, nor the ſtedfaſt and moſt aſſured *expectation* of euerlaſting *ioy and glorie* ſet before him, euen in his greateſt afflictions and temptations, may be doubted of by any that will retaine the name of a Chriſtian; beſides the perpetuall and perſonall vnion of his manhood with his Godhead, to which was conſequent ſuch a communion with God, and fruition of God, as no elect man or angell euer had, or can haue. Wherefore you muſt either defend, that the true curſe of God did not ſeuer him from God, but that one and the ſame nature in him might be truely bleſſed, and yet truly accurſed of God at one and the ſame time; which are monſters meet for your doctrine; or els you muſt wholly forbeare to affirme any true curſe of Chriſt, that ſhal ſeparate him from God; and what other true curſes you will attribute to him, I would gladly heare. The like, though in farre leſſe meaſure, I yeeld to the members of Chriſt: for ſince they were before all worlds beloued, elected, and [y] *bleſſed with all ſpirituall bleſſings in Chriſt, and the* [z] *foundation of God ſtandeth ſure, hauing this Seale, the Lord knoweth who are his; yea the* [a] *gifts and calling of God are without repentance.* And the Apoſtle is fully perſwaded, *that* [b] *neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things preſent, nor things future, nor heigth, nor depth, nor any other creature ſhall be able to ſeparate vs from the loue of God, which is in Chriſt Ieſus*; but that, whom God *did* [b] *predeſtinate, thoſe he called; and whom he called, thoſe he iuſtified; and whom he iuſtified, thoſe he glorified*: I ſee no true curſe, no not ſinne it ſelfe, that can faſten on Chriſtes members to their deſtruction; but howſoeuer [c] *by nature they were the children of* (Gods) *wrath, as well as others, yet by grace they are ſaued, and* [d] *all things ſhall worke for the beſt to them that loue God*, and are loued of him. They may want theſe gifts and graces for a time, and ſo not feele the fruits of Gods election and vocation, but with God they are truely bleſſed, becauſe they are ſurely ſetled in his fauour, and fore-appointed to be heires of Saluation, though they lie confuſed with others for a while in the maſſe of Adams condemnation. The loue and fauour then of God is the originall of all true bleſsing, and ſince that is vnmoueable towards the Elect, how much ſoeuer they be ſometimes plunged by ſinne and Satan into feares and doubts of their ſaluation, all that is to humble them, and not to deſtroy them; and with God, who is trueth it ſelfe, they are truely bleſſed, as being adopted in Chriſt, though in mans iudgement, and euen to themſelues, they ſeeme neuer ſo much accurſed.

What curſes, you aske then, may be on the godlie?] Gods loue, which is the ground of all true bleſsing, can not varie towards them; it is *euerlaſting* and *immutable* like himſelfe. All other bleſsings, ſaue this, they may want for a ſeaſon in this world, as before they are lightned and called to the knowledge of God, they haue no bleſsing in them more then the very Reprobate haue. After they are engraffed in Chriſt, they may be toſſed and turmoyled with the very ſame externall and corporall plagues and puniſhments that the wicked are, and often times with greater and ſharper; but then they are ſupported with inward grace and comfort, which others are not; and when by ignorance, feare, or infirmitie they fall, they ſhall not periſh. Where then in the Curſes of God inflicted on the wicked in this world and the next, three things muſt be marked; their DEPRIVANCE of his bleſsings of all ſorts, their COHERENCE together, and CONTINVANCE for euer; the godly communicate

[y] Ephes. 1.
[z] 2. Tim. 2.
[a] Rom. 11.
[b] Rom. 8.
[c] Ephes. 2.
[d] Rom. 8.

nicate with the wicked in some part of the first, that is, they may be sequestred from such externall and corporall *blessings* as this life requireth, but of spirituall they can not vtterly be depriued, becauſe they muſt be [e] *regenerated, and* [i] *renued in the inward man* to the Image of God, and [g] *ſealed by the holy ſpirit of promiſe*, that they may be partakers of Chriſt here in this world, [g] *in whom they haue Redemption, euen the Remiſſion of ſinnes according to the riches of his grace.* In the reſt they may not communicate with the wicked. For where the Curſes of God doe FOLLOVV one another vpon the Reprobate, and *abide* for euer in the higheſt degree, from this the godly are wholly free, as [h] DELIVERED by the mercies of God in Chriſt *from this preſent euill world, and* [i] *from the wrath to come.* If then we be ſaued from theſe things by Chriſt, how much more muſt Chriſt him ſelfe be ſaued from them, before he could ſaue others? So that Chriſt, as I ſaid at firſt, by ſubmitting him ſelfe to a part of the curſe of the Law, which depriueth vs of all earthly and bodily bleſsings, and of life it ſelfe, quenched the whole Curſe of the Law, and by his *ſhamefull, wrongfull, and paineſull death* quited vs from euerlaſting death, which was the iuſt reward of our ſinnes.

[e] John. 3.
[i] Coloſſ. 3.
[g] Epheſ. 1.
[h] Galat. 1.
[i] 1. Theſſ. 1.

[k] Defenc. pag. 72. li. 11. *You ſay if by the Reſurrection of Chriſt,* [k] *the Nature of death were changed, then till Chriſt was riſen, death was a puniſhment to the faithfull themſelues. I wonder what meaning there is in this Argument. As well you may ſay that none were ſaued till Chriſt was riſen.*] Wonder then at your owne conceits reaſons and Authorities. For if the nature of Death were changed, as you ſuppoſe it was, ſince it was firſt inflicted on Adam, I asked you *how* and *when?* before the change you doe not doubt, but it was a puniſhment, you muſt graunt, to the godly; for Chriſt neuer changed the Nature of Death to the wicked. Then if the change were made by Chriſts dying and riſing from the dead; how thinke you doth it not follow vpon this confeſsion, that death, BEFORE it was changed in the godly by Chriſts Reſurrection, was a puniſhment euen to the godly? And to this end you bring the Catechiſme in this very Section. *Death which* BEFORE *was a puniſhment is now by Chriſt become a vantage.*] If death were neuer but a vantage to the godly, euen when it was firſt inflicted, then the change, that you dreame to be made of death in the Godly, is but a fanſie. If NOVV it be ſo, which BEFORE it was not; then BEFORE, what elſe could it be to the godly, but a puniſhment of ſinne? My Reſolution was and is, that Chriſt was firſt promiſed by Gods owne mouth, [l] *to bruize the Serpents head,* before death was inflicted on Adam and his of-ſpring. And therefore the puniſhment of mans ſinne following could extend no farder in the Elect, then to the death of the Body; vnleſſe you will make Gods puniſhment repugnant to his promiſe of Chriſt made before to his Elect; which were to charge God with Inconſtancie. And therefore either the death of the Body was neuer any puniſhment of ſinne in Adam, which is repugnant to the Scriptures, and the full conſent of all Diuines, old and new, or elſe it reſteth ſtill the ſame to the Elect, which it was at firſt, when it was inflicted on them in the perſon of their firſt Father. Indeede the promiſe of Chriſt to the faithfull brake of the ſequence of eternall death, which in the wicked is coherent to the death of their Bodies; and that made God in his Iudiciall ſentence pronounced againſt Adams ſinne to compriſe no more, but Adams returne to duſt, for that he meant no more to his Elect, though he would ſuffer death to haue his full force againſt the Bodies and Soules of the wicked both in this world and in the next for euer.

[l] Geneſ. 3.

As for the Saluation of the faithfull before Chriſts comming in the fleſh, I ſee not which way that ſhould be endangered by their afflictions in this life. It is written of Lazarus dying before Chriſt, that [m] *in his life time he receiued euill*, and therefore after death, *he was comforted.* So that their chaſticement in this life, which was a moderate and fatherly correction and puniſhment of their ſinnes, could be no impediment to their ſaluation, but *worke* rather in them, that were patient in their troubles, as it doth in vs, *an* [n] *excellent and eternall waight of glorie.* For in that the Iudgement of God began here in this life with them, their *humbling themſelues vnder the mightie hand of God* with true Repentance of their ſinnes and full aſſurance by faith that in the promiſed

[m] Luke. 16.
[n] 2. Cor. 4.

promised Seede their sinnes should be pardoned, caused God of his mercy *to* [o] *turne their heauinesse into ioy, and in* [p] *due time to exalt them.*

[o] Iam. 4.
[p] 1.Pet. 5.

[q] *Further you except against me touching Innocents and Martyrs executions, who I say are most blessed.*] If you meane their Soules are most blessed, I said as much before you: if you respect their patience and loue in laying downe their liues for the truth, I make no doubt the death of Gods Saints is precious in his sight. But if the suffering of death were a blessing and aduantage, as you would haue it, it were no such thankes with God to taste of his blessings for his name sake. The greatnesse of their reward sheweth the sharpnesse of their conflict with the sting and smart of death; which because they refuse not for Christes cause, their patience is the more precious in Gods sight: but this doeth not prooue the corruption of their bodies turned to dust to bee any blessing; but rather an enemie, that must be destroyed, before their bodies shall enioy the true blessing of immortall glorie, that is reserued for them. [r] *The holy men are in trueth most glorious and blessed in them.*] If you speake of their bodies, you speake falsly and directly against the Scripture, which expressely saith, *They are* [s] *sowen in corruption and dishonour*, but they shall be *raised in incorruption and glorie*; and what can be more repugnant to the trueth, or more reprochfull to the resurrection from the dead, then to say, that corruption in the bodies of the Saints is most *glorious and blessed.*

[q] Defence. pa. 72. li. 30.
[r] Defenc. pag. 72. li 36.
[s] 1.Cor.15.

[t] *The Saints and Martyrs can not be properly cursed, and properly blessed too in any measure.*] Can you see that in the members of Christ, and can you not see so much in Christ himselfe? You defend with might and maine, that Christ was properly and truely accursed; and that he was also truely and properly blessed, except you will bee worse then a Turke, you may not denie. For euen his manhood was personally ioyned with his Godhead, and more abundantly blessed then any Martyr can be, as hauing in him the fulnesse of blessing for him selfe, and vs all. How hangeth then this not onely monstrous, but impious Assertion of yours together, that the Soule of Christ was truely and properly most abundantly blessed, and most properly cursed at one and the same instant? You will come in with your two *countenances* and *conditions*, his owne and ours; but in vaine doe you salue a manifest contrarietie and impietie with countenances. Christ was truely accursed in no condition or countenance, since he was most blessed in himselfe, and the spring of all blessing to vs.

[t] Defenc. pag. 72. li. 38.

[u] *The Soules of the Martyrs are not blessed, vnlesse their bodies be blessed also, and free from the true curse, although you seeme to denie this point.*] Of the TRVE curse laide on the bodies of Martyrs, I spake neuer a word, and therefore that is no vncouth Assertion of mine, as your phrase is, but an impudent fiction of yours, that thinke best to belie the trueth, when you cannot otherwise preuaile against it. I said not a word more then Saint Austen said before me. [x] *Maledictus omnis moriens. Accursed is euerie one that dieth.* And when the godly are so streightned, that they must either commit Idolatrie, or suffer Martyrdome, euen in that case of Martyrs, Saint Austen saith. *Eligendum est maledictum in corporis morte, quo maledicto & ipsum corpus in Resurrectione liberabitur, deuitandum autem maledictum in animæ morte, ne cum suo corpore in æterno igne damnetur.* A Christian, when these two are proposed, *must chuse the curse of a bodily death, from which curse the body shall be freed in the Resurrection, and hee must shunne the curse of the death of the Soule, least that be together with the body condemned to euerlasting fire.* And to prooue this to be, *non Anicularis maledictio, an olde wifes curse*, as the Manichees called it, but a propheticall prediction, hee giueth sound reasons to all, that list not to mocke and elude the trueth as you doe. [y] *Mors ipsa ex maledicto.* Death it selfe came *from the curse*, that was laide on all mankinde for sinne. [z] *Maledictum est omne peccatum, siue ipsum quod sit, vt sequatur supplicium, siue ipsum supplicium, quod alio modo vocatur peccatum, quia fit ex peccato. Accursed is all sinne, whether it bee the fact deseruing punishment, or the punishment it selfe, which is after a sort called sinne, because it is caused by sinne.* Which words though you afterward idlely abuse, yet are they sound and consonant to the Scriptures. Of sinne there is no question, but that is in it selfe truely accursed (as being the roote and cause of all Gods curses vpon

[u] Defenc. pag. 73. l. 1.
[x] *Augustin. contra Faustum Manich. li. 14. cap. 12.*
[y] *Contra Faustum li. 14. ca. 4.*
[z] *Ibidem.*

men and Angels) where it is not remitted; and howſoeuer of mercie God doeth pardon it vnto his Elect, yet hee hateth their ſinnes in ſuch ſort, that either ſinne muſt die in them by true and hartie repentance, or they muſt periſh with it. For to the impenitent no ſinnes are pardoned; [a] *Except yee repent*, ſaith our Sauior, *ye ſhall all periſh likewiſe*

[a] Luke. 13.

As ſinne is accurſed, ſo all puniſhment of ſinne, ſaith Auſten, *is accurſed*; meaning till it be releaſed, and no longer a puniſhment of ſinne. Which he auoucheth not of the wicked onely, whoſe puniſhment is perpetuall, and therefore truely and properly a curſe, but of all the godly, when they ſuffer for their ſinnes. [b] *We*, ſaith Auſten, *came to death by ſinne, Chriſt by righteouſneſſe: and therefore where our death is the puniſhment of ſinne, his death is the ſacriſice for ſinne.* And that the death of our bodies is hatefull to God, euen as our ſinne is, he reſolueth in theſe words. [c] *Niſi Deus odiſſet peccatum, & mortem noſtram, non ad eam ſuſcipiendam atque delendam filium ſuum mitteret. Except God had hated ſinne, and alſo death in vs, he would neuer haue ſent his Sonne to vndertake, and deſtroy our death. For ſo much the more willingly God giueth vs immortalitie* (of our bodies) *which ſhalbe reuealed with Chriſtes comming, how much the more mercifully he hateth our death, which hung on the croſſe, when Chriſt died.* Here you may learne that the bodies of Martyrs are ſo acceptable to God, that he hateth death, which detaineth them in duſt; and that the loue, which he beareth to the one, is the cauſe why he will deſtroy the other, as an enimie to them, whom he loueth, and therefore iuſtly hated of him: but in the meane time, how falſe is this reaſon, which you ſo much ſtand on? God in his ſecret and euerlaſting counſell loueth the ſoules and bodies of his Saints, as being the [d] *members* of Chriſt, and [d] *temples* of his holie ſpirite: therefore he hateth neither ſinne in their ſoules, nor death in their bodies. Nay rather the more he loueth the one, the more he hateth the other, and ſent his Sonne to deſtroy both ſinne and death in his elect, as the Enimies, that hinder and defer the true bliſſe promiſed to his ſeruants.

[b] *Auguſt. de Trinitate. li. 4. cap. 12.*

[c] *Auguſt. contra Fauſtum. li. 14. caſ. 6.*

[d] 1. Cor. 6.

[e] *You ſay we muſt call things by thoſe names which God firſt allotted them. That I deny, if God ſince euidently hath altered them.* My rule had more reaſon in it, then you doe comprehend. For if it be written of Adam in his innocencie, that *God* [f] *brought* (all liuing creatures) *vnto man to ſee how hee could call them, and howſoeuer the man named the liuing creature, ſo was the name thereof*; how much more ſhall it be verified of Gods wiſdome, [g] *With whom is no change*, that he [h] *knew all his workes from the beginning of the world, and therefore* [i] *the word of the Lord abideth for euer, that he may be* [k] *iuſtified in whatſoeuer he ſauth?* [but God, you ſay, hath made the alteration himſelfe.] or elſe your conceite deceiueth you. For God hath not reuoked the generall iudgement, which he gaue vpon all men for ſinne, [l] *Duſt thou art and to duſt thou ſhalt returne*, but he hath performed his promiſe made before he inflicted this puniſhment, that the *Seed of the woman ſhould bruize the Serpents head.* And therefore there is no change made by God, as you imagine, but he qualified his ſentence at the firſt pronouncing of it on all his elect, euen as it ſtandeth to this day. And were there that addition ſince made by God, which you vntruely dreame of, Yet Saint Auſten telleth you, that altereth not the name of puniſhment firſt impoſed on all, but ſheweth Gods goodneſſe towards his owne. [m] *Whatſoeuer it is in thoſe that die, which with bitter paine taketh away ſenſe, by religious and faithfull enduring it, it increaſeth the merite of patience, Non aufert vocabulum pœnæ, it taketh not away the name of puniſhment.* His firme reſolution is. [n] *Wherefore as touching the death of the body, that is, the ſeparation of the ſoule from the bodie, when ſuch as die ſuffer it, Nulli bona eſt, it is good to no man.* And noting the vſe, that God maketh thereof in crowning his Saints, with as ample words, as you haue any; he reſolutely concludeth. [o] *Mors ergo non ideo bonum videri debet, quia in tantam vtilitatem non vi ſua, ſed diuina opitulatione conuerſa eſt. Death then* OVGHT NOT TO BE THOVGHT GOOD, *becauſe by Gods mercie, and not by any force of his own, it is turned to ſo great vtilitie.* And this aſſertion you and your adherents muſt yeeld vnto, leaſt you rather conuince your ſelues, then that woorthy pillour of Chriſtes

[e] Defenc. pa. 73. li. 7.

[f] Gen. 2. v. 19.

[g] Iam. 1.

[h] Acts. 15.

[i] 1. Pet. 1.

[k] Rom 3.

[l] Geneſ. 3.

God worketh good by euill.

[m] *Auguſt. de ciuitate Dei. li. 13. caſ. 6.*

[n] *Ibidem.*

[o] *Ibidem. li. 13. caſ. 7.*

Chriſtes church to be in an errour. For the ground that he ſtandeth on, is ſure. God turneth euill to a *good* vſe, and will you therefore denie euill to be euill, becauſe God vſeth it well? to how many good and bleſſed purpoſes doth God vſe the diuell? and ſhall the diuell by your doctrine now ceaſe to be a diuell? what excellent effectes doth God worke by the ſinnes of the faithfull? ſhall we therefore not call them, nor account them ſinnes? you be cleane out of your byas good Sir, when you come in with your changes made by God, to alter the names or natures of things that be euill.

[p] *Afflictions and death, which originally and Naturally were puniſhments for ſinne, and ſo are ſtill in the wicked, the ſame to the godly are ſince charged, and now not puniſhments nor curſes.*] To wiſe men there is enough ſaid; to bablers, who will ſtill talke they know not what, nothing is enough. The Scriptures and Fathers may not be ſet aſide to giue way to your follies. Daniell confeſsing the ſinnes of himſelfe, and of his people Iſrael, plainly ſaith. [q] *Therefore the Curſe is powred vpon vs, written in the Law of Moſes the ſeruant of God, becauſe we haue ſinned againſt him.* Baruc made the ſame [r] confeſſion during the *Captiuitie*. Saint Iohn in his Reuelation, of the Citie of God now brought to the preſence of the Lambe ſaith, [s] *There ſhall be no more Curſe*; meaning amongſt the faithfull, as there was before. For the wicked then ſhall be moſt deepely accurſed. Saint Auſten learnedly and largely writing of the miſeries of mans life ſaith. [t] *Quot & quantis pœnis agitetur genus humanum, quæ non ad malitiam nequitiamq; iniquorum, ſed ad conditionem pertinent miſeriamq; communem, quis vllo ſermone digerit, quis vlla cogitatione comprehendit? With how many and how great puniſhments mankinde is perſued, which pertaine not to the malice and leudneſſe of the wicked, but to the common condition and calamitie of man, what tongue can expreſſe, what heart can comprehend?* And repeating many particulars, which there may be ſeene, he concludeth: [u] *Satis apparet humanum genus ad luendas miſeriarum pœnas eſſe damnatum. It appeareth ſufficiently, that mankinde is condemned to endure the puniſhments of miſeries.* And leſt you ſhould flie to your ſhift of improper ſpeeches, as your maner is, S. Auſten exquiſitly diſcuſſeth and reſolueth this queſtion, that theſe miſeries and afflictions come from the iuſt iudgement of God for the puniſhment of ſinne, though withall God meane to recall his owne from ſinne. [x] *So great is the conſtancie of Gods iuſtice, that when* SPIRITVALL *and* ETERNALL *puniſhment is releaſed to the penitent, yet* CORPORALL *afflictions and torments, with which we haue knowen many Martyrs to be exerciſed, and laſtly* DEATH *it ſelfe, which our nature deſerued by ſin, is remitted to none. Quod enim iuſti homines & pij tamen exſoluunt iſta ſupplicia, de iuſto Dei iudicio venire credendum eſt. And that euen iuſt and godly men doe abide theſe puniſhments, we muſt beleeue it to proceed from the iuſt iudgement of God. S. Peter plainly ſheweth, that euen thoſe verie ſufferings which the righteous endure, pertaine to the iudgement of God.* Neither was S. Auſten ignorant of Gods good purpoſe in afflicting his Saints, but he therein auoucheth as I do, that iuſtice is tempered with mercie. [y] *Iuſtitiæ pulchritudo eſt cum benignitatis gratia concordans, vt quoniam bonorum inferiorum dulcedine decepti ſumus, amaritudine pœnarum erudiamur. It is the beautie of Gods iuſtice conioyned with the grace of his clemencie, that becauſe we were deceiued with the ſweetneſſe of our inferiour pleaſures, we ſhould be chaſtened with the bitterneſſe of puniſhments.* Which he ſpecifieth in the bodie of man: [z] *that the bodie of man, which before ſinne was in his kinde moſt excellent, after ſinne became weake and ſubiected to death, though this were the iuſt reuenge of ſinne, yet it ſheweth more of Gods mercie, than of his ſeueritie.* Conſult all your Conſorts in this Realme, and ſend for helpe beyond the ſeas, as you did in making your Defence, and you ſhall neuer be able to ouerthrow this poſition of S. Auſtens, which is the verie point, that at firſt I maintained.

[p] Defenc. pag. 73. li. 10.
[q] Dan. 9.
[r] Baruc. 1. & 3.
[s] Reuel. 22.
[t] *Auguſt. de ciuitate Dei. li. 22. ca. 22.*
[u] *Ibidem.*
[x] *Auguſt. in expoſitione epiſtolæ ad Romanos inchoata.*
[y] *Auguſt. de vera religione ca. 15.*
[z] *Ibidem.*

And becauſe you are ſo pert with the publike doctrine of this Realme, looke not in your Catechiſme prouided for boyes, which yet you had need more exactly to learne, but in the booke of Common prayer aduiſedly conſidered of by the whole Clergie, and confirmed by the full authoritie of Prince and Parliament to be vſed in

all the Churches of this Realme, and you ſhall there ſee the ſame confeſsion made by the mouthes and hearts of all the godly in this land, ſince the profeſsion of true religion here eſtabliſhed. The Church of England in her publike prayers to God, where ſhe may neither faulter nor diſſemble, thus maketh her humble, but true petitions vnto God: [a] *Lord we beſeech thee, that we which are iuſtly puniſhed for our offences, may be mercifully deliuered by thy goodneſſe.* So againe: [b] *God which knoweſt &c. grant to vs the health of bodie and ſoule, that all thoſe things which we ſuffer for ſinne, by thy helpe we may well ouercome.* And amongſt the prayers after the Letanie in time of dearth and famine: *Grant, that the ſcarſitie and dearth* (WHICH VVE IVSTLY SVFFER FOR OVR INIQVITIE) *may through thy goodneſſe be turned into cheapneſſe and plentie.* And likewiſe there for faire weather: *We humbly beſeech thee, that although we for our iniquities haue worthily deſerued this plague of raine and waters, yet vpon our true repentance thou wilt ſend vs ſuch weather, whereby we may receiue the fruits of the earth in due ſeaſon, and learne both by thy puniſhment* TO AMEND OVR LIVES, *and for thy clemencie to giue thee praiſe.* See you heere the faith and confeſsion of the Church of England: *That we are iuſtly* PVNISHED *for our offences,* with *externall and temporall afflictions.* And by thoſe puniſhments we ſhould *learne to repent*, and amend our liues, that God of his goodneſſe may releaſe vs of the *Plagues*, which we haue *worthily deſerued for our iniquities, and iuſtly ſuffer for our ſinnes.* Gods purpoſe is to amend vs, you will ſay, and not to puniſh vs.] The Church of England beleeueth that God doth both. He doth puniſh euen his owne for example of his iuſt iudgement, yet not to deſtruction, as he doth the wicked, but to repentance, that is, to the acknowledging and amending our miſdeeds. [This you thinke is not properly puniſhment.] It is not properly vengeance, becauſe the meaſure is tolerable, and the purpoſe is fauourable. [Only Chriſt, you ſay, ſuffered the whole proper puniſhment of our ſinnes. In Chriſt the meaſure of puniſhment was tolerable, not exceeding his ſtrength and patience; and the purpoſe of God in puniſhing him was farre more honourable; to wit, for the full ſatisfaction of Gods iuſtice by the innocencie and dignitie of Chriſtes perſon, for the cleanſing and ſauing our ſoules and bodies, for the deſtroying of Satans power and force by the rule of righteouſneſſe, and for the exalting of Chriſtes manhood to be the Lord in heauen and earth ouer quicke and dead. So that puniſhment in the wicked is to deſtruction, in the godly to Correction and Emendation, in Chriſt to ſatisfaction and humiliation, before the glorie of Gods kingdome was layed on his ſhoulders.

[a] *The Collect on the Sunday called Septuageſima.*

[b] *The fourth Sunday after th. Epiphany.*

You muſt remember, [c] *your owne place of Auſten: Maledictum eſt omne peccatum. The curſe is all ſinne, which is two fold, either that which we commit againſt Gods law, or els the very puniſhment of that ſinne.*] You ſhould remember to vnderſtand firſt S. Auſtens Latine, and then S. Auſtens meaning. MALEDICTVM is not heere a Subſtantiue, as you miſtake it, but an Adiectiue, as appeareth by S. Auſtens vſing in this very ſentence, but the line before, the Maſculine gender *Maledictus*, to which this is ioyned with a Coniunction Copulatiue; and his altering the caſe with a Prepoſition, the verie word before, where he vſeth the Subſtantiue: for thus ſtand his words; [d] *Hoc eſt enim mortuus eſt, quod maledictus, quoniam mors ipſa ex maledicto eſt, & maledictum eſt omne peccatum. Dead is all one with accurſed, becauſe death commeth from the curſe, and accurſed is all ſinne*; and not as you ſay, *The curſe is all ſinne.* The words next before contradict it: for death, which is the puniſhment of ſinne, S. Auſten ſayth proceedeth from the curſe; and by that concludeth it to be accurſed, but not the curſe it ſelfe, whence death commeth: for that which commeth, and that whence it commeth, muſt be different. Neither doth S. Auſten meane, that the act of ſinne committed by man is the curſe of God, ſince that muſt be ſomewhat in God, beſides the puniſhment which proceedeth from God; but ſinne committed by man is *hated and deteſted by Gods holineſſe*, and that hatred and reiection of ſinne, which is in God, is the firſt curſe of ſinne. And ſo S. Auſten expoundeth himſelfe: [e] *Quid ergo mirum ſi maledictum eſt Deo, quod Deus odit? What marueil then, if that be accurſed to God, which God*

[c] Defenc. pag. 73. li 20.

[d] *Auguſt. contra Fauſtum Manichæum. li. 14. ca. 4.*

[e] *Ibid. ca. 6.*

God hateth? So that the hatred and deteſtation, which God in his holineſſe hath of ſinne, and of the perſon for ſinne, whereby his iuſtice decreeth vengeance on the ſinner, is the curſe that is conſequent to ſinne: and ſo the word EXECRABLE ſignifieth one deteſted, hated, and reiected. *Accurſed* is ſometimes taken for worthie of the curſe, and deſeruing the ſame, and ſo may the godly be ſayd to be accurſed in themſelues, that is, prouoking and deſeruing the curſe, though in mercie God ſpare them, and holde them bleſſed in Chriſt, who are beloued for Chriſtes ſake. The puniſhment of ſinne, which is moſt iuſt with God, is a curſe to the ſufferer, that is, grieuous and hatefull to him, as ſinne was hatefull to God when it was committed. And ſo much the word MAIVM, whence *maledictum* commeth, ſignifieth in the Scriptures, that is, *euill*, or *diſpleaſing to God or man*. For as ſinne, which man committeth, is diſpleaſing, that is, *euill in the eye of God*, though the doer delight therein; ſo puniſhment, which man ſuffereth for ſinne, is grieuous, that is, euill to the ſenſe of the ſufferer, though it be moſt righteous with God, that is the Inflicter.

[f] *Now your Teſtimonies Pag. 96. doe meane Chriſt was not made a Curſe or ſinne the firſt way, that is he was not in himſelfe ſinfull nor hated; they deny not the ſecond, that he was made the proper puniſhment, or Sacrifice for ſinne.*] You reach beyond your ſtrength, when you come to interpret Fathers. And no maruaile, for you that vnderſtand not your Catechiſme rightly, how ſhould you intermeddle with expounding thoſe, whom you neuer read, nor regarded? and that will well appeare by your expoſition in this place. What Chriſt was naturally and continually in himſelfe, he can not be ſaid to be made that for vs. To be MADE importeth a change, which was not before, and FOR VS excludeth the reſpect of himſelfe, and noteth as much as for our good, or for our ſakes. So Chriſt when he was true God, and with his Father from euerlaſting, was [g] *made fleſh*, not for himſelfe, but for vs, [h] *vnto vs*, ſaith the Prophet, *a child is borne, and vnto vs a Sonne is giuen.* Euen ſo, when *Chriſt* [i] *knew no Sinne, he was made ſinne for vs*; and when he was the promiſed Seede, in which [k] *all Nations ſhould be bleſſed*, he was *made a Curſe for vs*. When then the Scriptures or Fathers obſerue, what Chriſt was made for vs, they imply that before, and of himſelfe he was otherwiſe. Now of Saint Pauls words, *Chriſt was made a Curſe for vs*, Cyrill and Epiphanius bring two different expoſitions. The one, which is Cyrils, that Chriſt was [l] *not truely accurſed, but reputed amongſt the vnrighteous, being indeede iuſt*; and as his Condemnation by men did acquite vs with God, ſo his being reputed and eſteemed by men amongſt the wicked and accurſed, did *cleare* vs from the Curſe before God. The other, which Epiphanius followeth, that as God promiſed by his Prophet, ſaying, [m] *ô Death, I will be thy Death, ô hell, I will be thy deſtruction:* So Chriſt was [n] *made a Curſe to the Curſe, that is a diſſoluing of the Curſe, and a bleſſing to all that beleeued in him.* To both theſe you anſwere, Chriſt *was not made ſinne in himſelfe.*] As much to the purpoſe, as Charing Croſſe to Cheape ſide. For they doe not onely ſay, that he was *iuſt* and *bleſſed* in himſelfe, but they ſhew how Saint Pauls words muſt be vnderſtood, that he was made a Curſe *amongſt men*, that is reiected and condemned as a wicked Malefactor; or that he became a *Curſe to the Curſe*, that is a *Deſtroyer* of the Curſe due to vs. Neither of theſe can you refute, and therefore your Reaſon drawen from theſe words of the Apoſtle, is not worth a rotten ruſh to conclude any thing for your purpoſe; and either of their expoſitions hauing two parts; a *Negatiue*, and an *affirmatiue*, you cleane miſſe their meaning in both, and ſay they deny not, but Chriſt was made a [o] *Sacrifice for ſinne.*

Now if you remember Saint Auſtens words, on which you would ſeeme to ſtand, you ſhall ſee two Concluſions directly drawen againſt two points of your new found Doctrine. For if nothing can be truely accurſed in Man but the *committing of ſinne, and iuſt ſuffering* for ſinne, as you conceaue Auſtens words, then Chriſt could neither way be truely accurſed. For firſt [p] *he did no ſinne*; and committing none, he could not be accurſed by the guilt of our ſinne, as you teach he was. Secondly, the puniſhment of ſinne is not truely accurſed, till it be iuſtly deſerued. But Chriſt was iuſt and

f Defenc. pag. 73. li. 22. *How Chriſt was made a Curſe for vs.*

g Iohn. 1.
h Eſay. 9.
i 2. Cor. 5.
k Galat. 3.

l *Cyrill. in Defenſo. 1. Anathematiſ. ad Orientales.*

m Oſe. 13.
n *Epiphanius contra Marcio: hereſ. 42.*

o Defenc. pag. 73. li. 25.

p Eſa. 53.
p 1. Pet. 2.

holy, as the Scriptures auouch, euen when he ſuffered for vs. He [q] *ſuffered the iuſt for the vniuſt*; *and* [r] *ye denyed the holy one and iuſt.* Therefore Chriſt was not truely accurſed by his ſuffering for ſinne. And you your ſelfe before you be ware, confeſſe thus much, whiles you would auoyd theſe Fathers, and vphold the Apoſtles words as pertinent to your purpoſe. For you graunt the Apoſtles meaning to be, that *Chriſt was made a Sacrifice for ſinne*; and conſequently that he could neither be *defiled* with our ſinne, nor *accurſed for our ſinne.* For a Sacrifice though it be ſlaine, and beare the ſinne of others; yet is it not onely cleere from ſinne, but *holy* to God, and *accepted* for ſinne. If the Sacrifices, which were but figures of the true Sacrifice, were neither defiled nor accurſed, though they were ſlaine for ſinne, how much more then ſhall the death of the true Sacrifice be in deed vndefiled and bleſſed with God, for which all our ſinnes are remitted, and our Curſes aboliſhed.

[q] 1. Pet. 3.
[r] Act. 3.

And this iuſtifieth both Cyrils and Epiphanius expoſition. *Chriſt was* [t] *not in truth a curſe, or ſinne,* ſaith Cyrill; *but he was called by thoſe names, that he might aboliſh the curſe and ſinne.* For ſo are Sacrifices in the Scriptures called ſinne, which aboliſh ſinne, and the curſe for ſinne. The ſame reaſon may ſerue for Epiphanius words. *Chriſt* [u] *tooke away the curſe for our ſinne, when he faſtned himſelfe to the Croſſe,* as a voluntarie Sacrifice for ſinne: and ſo much Ambroſe expreſſeth. God [x] *deliuering Chriſt, that was thereto willing, vnto death for thoſe, who were vnder the curſe of the Law, made him a curſe after the ſame maner, that a ſacrifice offered for ſinne, is in the Law called ſinne.* Thus whiles you would vndertake to anſwer theſe Fathers, you haue confeſſed, that not onelie they refuſed your hatefull expoſition of the Apoſtles words, but euen refute your ſinfull doctrine, that Chriſt was truely defiled with our ſinnes, and truely accurſed for our ſinnes, when they acknowledge Chriſt to be the true ſacrifice for ſinne, and thereby to purge our ſinnes, and aboliſh our curſe, being made of God *a death to death, and a deſtruction to hell.* Nazianzene ſaith, [x] *Chriſt not onely receaued on him all abſurd and odious names, but that, which is moſt abſurd of all others, he was called ſinne it ſelfe, and* THE CVRSE IT SELFE, *though he were not ſo. For how ſhould he be ſinne, that freed vs from ſinne?* or *how ſhould he be a curſe* (indeed) *that Redeemed vs from the curſe of the Law?* Nazianzene admireth Chriſts patience and humilitie, that endured to haue himſelfe accounted, called, and abuſed by men as a ſinfull and accurſed wretch; and ſaith, Chriſt was content ſo to be made a curſe for vs, when indeed he was none, by the wrong, which he ſuffered at mens hands, to free vs from the iuſt deſert of our ſinnes with God. Which expoſition I bring to let the Reader ſee, how much the learned and godly Fathers deteſted your proper and true curſes in the whole manhood of Chriſt.

[t] *Cyrill. in Defenſione 1. Anathematiſ. vt ſupra.*
[u] *Epiphanius vt ſupra.*
[x] *Ambroſ. in epiſt. ad Galat. cap. 3.*
[x] *Nazianz. ſuper illud quum conſummaſſet Ieſus hos ſermo.*

But we ſhall haue freſh proofe, [y] *That your ſpeech was ſound, your reaſon euident,* and that *I openly peruerted your words.*] You were neuer brought vp belike, but where will went for reaſon, and ſpeech for proofe; you tell vs ſo often of ſound and euident reaſons, when you bring nothing beſides your naked and abſurd fanſies. *Your ſpeech,* you ſay, *was ſound that* [z] *Chriſtes dying ſimply, but as the godly die, might in no ſort heere be called a curſe.*] Take home your *As*, that you ſet running abroad to breed a brabble, and your ſpeech hath neither ſoundneſſe nor ſenſe in it. That Chriſt died the ſame kinde of death, which the godly die, I meane the death of the bodie, (and not of the ſoule, nor of the damned) is a plaine poſition of the Scriptures. [a] *We are afflicted, perſecuted, and deiected,* ſaith Paul; [a] *euerie where we beare about in our bodies the dying of the Lord Ieſus:* and againe, [b] *I count all things loſſe, that I may be* CONFORMED *to his death.* Chriſt *laid downe his life for vs,* ſaith Saint Iohn, and [c] *we ought to lay downe* (our) *liues for* (our) *brethren.* [d] *Ibi mortuus eſt Chriſtus, vbi tu es moriturus: there* (or in that part) *Chriſt died, in which thou ſhalt die.* [e] *Hactenus morerentur ad Chriſti gratiam pertinentes, quatenus pro illis ipſe mortuus eſt Chriſtus, carnis tantum morte, non* SPIRITVS. *We are Redeemed, that ſuch as pertaine to Chriſtes grace ſhould ſo farre forth die, how farre forth Chriſt himſelfe died for them, that is onely the death of the bodie, and not of the* SPIRIT. So that the godly are conformed and matched with

[y] Defenc. pa. 73.
[z] li. 26.
[a] 2 Corinth. 4.
[b] Phil. 3.
[c] 1. Ioh. 3.
[d] *Auguſt. in Pſal. 70.*
[e] *Idem de Trinit. li. 13. ca. 15.*

with Christ, as touching the kind of death, which must be common to both; and that being a punishment and curse on our nature for sinne, why is it not truely saide of Saint Austen, that Christ receaued our curse, that is a bodily death, to free vs from euerlasting death, which is the true curse of body and soule?

[f] *The reason is euident, because the text heere doth speake and treat of the curse of the Law against sinne: such therefore was Christs curse, which he sustained.*] The text speaketh of the curse of the Law pronounced against vs for violating the Law. That curse the Apostle doth not applie to Christ, as you doe; but bringeth another text of the Law, where the violent and shamefull punishment of hanging on a tree is called a curse. To which since Christ submitted himselfe for our sakes, and so suffering a curse of punishment, he discharged vs from the whole curse of the Law due to vs for transgressing. Wherefore your leaping from the one curse to the other, and from a part to the whole, is no euident reason, but an euident falsehood, which Chrysostome, Augustine, Ambrose, Nazianzene, Epiphanius and Cyrill doe mightely impugne, and your selfe in the end doe yeeld, Christ may be rightly called sinne and so a curse, in that he was a sacrifice for sinne and for the curse, which is as cleane contrary to your Assertion heere, as holinesse and righteousnesse is to vncleannesse and wickednesse. [f] Defenc. pa. 73. li. 28.

You [g] *openly peruert my words, affirming that I say death here, (that is Christes death noted, Galat. 3. vers. 13.) may in no sort be called a curse, when I expressly euen there, and euery where say the contrarie.*] You are very iealous, that I goe about to cleare you from your absurd and false conceits without your consent; but your feare is needlesse, as your quarrell is causelesse. I applied not HERE to Christes death, as you most fondly mistake, and inuert my report of your words, but I referre HERE to the curse there mentioned, obseruing in you, that you defended *Death* (which all the godly haue common with Christ, as touching their bodies,) [h] *might in no sort here be called a curse*, that is the curse, which the Apostle *here* nameth. I am so far from enuying your glorie in this point, though I pitie your folly, that where you make Christes [i] *Afflictions euerie one, both small and great*, (from the day of his birth to the houre of his death) to *bee proper punishments and so true curses and effects of Gods very wrath* in him for our sinne; I will adde, if you will, that Christes *hunger, wearinesse, weeping and grovvning* in spirit (for these are afflictions brought into mans nature by sinne) are likewise defended by you to be true curses in Christ. Howbeit you shall doe well, in all these miseries and infirmities of our life and nature, to finde out Christes most blessed humilitie and charitie, not refusing them for our comforts, and leaue the proper and true curses of God for the diuell, and his associates.

[g] Defenc. pag. 73. li. 36.

[h] Conclus. pa. 268 li. 17.

[i] Defenc. pag. 52. li. 1.

[k] *Your greatest exception is, that this curse laide on Christ, cannot bee vnderstood of the whole curse of God, or of the law.*] The exception is such, that withall the wits and shifts you haue, you shall neuer auoide it. For where the whole curse of the Law hath in it *corporall, spirituall, and eternall* death well deserued by sinne, and most iustly inflicted on sinners, as we see in the wicked and reprobate, who for sinne are subiected to these three deathes or curses; the two last, which are spirituall and eternall death, you can not offer to Christ without hereticall and diabolicall blasphemie; and to draw the Apostle into that societie, were arrogant and impudent impietie. Since then there are so notorious impediments, why Christ neither did, nor could suffer the whole curse of the Law denounced to sinne, and prouided for sinne, with what face and conscience you shift and shuffle this geere, let the Reader iudge, if he haue either godly wisdome, to which you appeale; or but humane sense, from which I doe not appeale. Your conueiance is as weake, as your cause is wicked. Christ, you say, suffered the whole curse of the Law, saue what you excepted thence, [l] *onely so farre as possibilitie of things could admit*, that is which you saw was impossible he should suffer. And so wee haue here your owne confession, that *possibilitie of things* could not permit Christ to suffer the whole curse of the Law, and yet you make the Apostle to meane all these impossibilities. For he maketh none of your exceptions. But looke somwhat neerer, and

[k] Defenc. pag. 74 li. 1.

[l] Defenc. pag. 74 li. 19.

and you shall see greater barres to that totall assertion then impossibilities, euen horrible impietie, and blasphemie; which if they barre not you from your boldnesse, they terrifie me and all good Christians to come within the sound of them. This shift being shamefull, you slide to another as absurd and impertinent to your purpose, as the former. For were it granted, which yet is no way prooued, that Christ suffered some parts of the curse in his whole manhood, will you thence inferre, that he suffered the whole curse? By what hold-fast hangeth this together, but by your headynesse, that will say any thing? If a man should thus reason: Paul with his whole manhood wrote part of the Scriptures: Ergo, hee wrote the whole Scriptures: or Nymrod and his companie laboured with all their might and skill to build part of the Tower of Babel: Ergo, they built the whole tower of Babel, notwithstanding God skattered them; would you not deride these reasons? Yours is as ridiculous.

[m] Defenc. pag. 74. li. 31. [m] *In other respects, this suffering of Christ may well be called the whole curse or punishment of sinne.*] Your other respects since you thinke them not worth the repeating, I thinke them lesse worth the refuting. If you haue said ought before touching this matter, I haue not left it vnsifted; and as you send mee to prie after your proofes, I send you to toote after my answeres. Onely this is worth the noting, that where you referre your selfe to your eleuenth page among others; I finde nothing there to this purpose, but that you say namely of [n] *Reiection, malediction, and dereliction*; [o] *In Christ could vtterly be none of these:* and here you say, the *whole Malediction of sinne* and of the Law was truly and properly suffered by Christ. Such graces you haue to declare your meaning by plaine Contradictions.

[n] Pag. 11. li. 25. & [o] 27.

[p] Defenc. pa. 74. li. 23. [p] *Marke if our publike Doctrine be not the same. Diram execrationem suscepit.*] I marke well enough how you wrest and wrong the Catechisme, to force it to your error. The Chatechisme saith; *that kind of death was aboue all others execrable and detestable, which yet Christ chiefly would suffer for vs, that he might receaue that grieuous Curse, which our sinnes had deserued, on him selfe, and so quite vs from it.* That kinde of Death, which all men iustly detested and abhorred, Christ would chiefly chuse, that thereby he might receaue on himselfe the grieuous Curse, that was due to vs, and so quench it. The Catechisme then graunteth, this was all the kinds of Death that Christ suffered for vs, which because it was full of shame and paine, he calleth a *greeuous Curse* or punishment. What is this to the whole Curse of the Law, in which the death of the Soule by want of grace, and the death of the damned, which is the second death, are comprised? You would faine haue all men of your mind, and that maketh you thinke euery man speaketh in your sense; otherwise the Catechisme, if you peruert it not, is cleere enough from your conceits of hell inflicted by Gods immediate hand on the Soule of Christ, though it talke sometimes of things not altogether so fit for Childrens vnderstanding. And had the Catechisme gone farder to mention other degrees of our Curse, yet so long as, *in se suscepit*, is not precisely to suffer the same, but to vndertake and to discharge all, that is due to vs, Christ might well, and did take vpon him in his Body to pay the Price and amends of our whole Curse, but not to suffer all the parts thereof, which were spirituall and eternall death, though he gaue Recompence and satisfaction euen for those, when he quited vs from them.

[q] Defenc. pa. 74. li 33. [q] *After this you thinke it strange, that I say, Christ suffered and dyed iustly, and was hanged on the Tree by the iust sentence of the Law; and that so he was by imputation of our State and Condition vnto him, sinnefull, defiled, hatefull, and Accursed.*] You coyne so many fresh and false presumptions and positions, that I thinke nothing strang in you; so you may flie to a Phrase, or cast a countenance on the matter at the last. Howbeit I take indeede these two positions of yours to be very contumelious and iniurious to the person and death of Christ, and no way iustifiable by the sacred Scriptures. And therefore you had neede looke to your proofes, that they be sound; a needlesse reproch to the Sonne of God is some sinne, I can tell you.

[r] Ibid. li. 36. [r] [*All which I auouch, because he vndertooke by Gods ordinance as our Surety, to receaue our condemnation vpon him so far as his owne nature and condition could possibly admit.*] If vouching were prooving, this matter

matter were at an end; but it will coſt more then hoate liquor before all this be rightly concluded out of the Scriptures. You ſoake it out from a poore ſimilitude of a Surety ioyntly bound with the Debtor to pay the whole and the very ſame, in which the Debtor is condemned; but the word of God will allow you no ſuch Thraldome in Chriſts Suertiſhip, much leſſe our whole Condemnation to be any way poſsible in his perſon. He *diſcharged* the whole from vs, that is as well ſpirituall as eternall death, and ſatisfied for both by a iuſt exchange; but he ſuffered neither of them, becauſe the Sonne of God by no rule of Gods Iuſtice could be voide of grace, nor condemned to euerlaſting fire, as we moſt iuſtly were. You did well therefore to bind your owne Similitude to a Poſt, leaſt it ſhould fall on the Rocks of open hereſie and blaſphemie; but your reſtraining of it, leaſt it ſhould be both falſe & wicked, ſheweth the ſimilitude to haue no iuſt ground in the word of God, though ſome Reſemblance thereof may be tolerated, ſo long as it is not vrged to conclude any more then the Scriptures confeſſe. For ſimilitudes in Gods cauſes are ſo farre allowed, as they are expreſly applied by the ſpirit of truth, and no farder; otherwiſe by pretence of a Parable we may prooue what we liſt: but you were beſt deuide your Aſſertions, and ſo we ſhall the ſooner diſpatch them.

[f] *Againſt my Aſſertion you ſay, by no ſentence of the Law Chriſt hanged on a Tree.*] I ſay ſo ſtill. For the ſentence of the Law permitting or preſcribing men to be hanged, touched no man beſides the offender; and not him, but vpon deſert iuſtly prooued before them, that had the execution of the Law in charge. Thus Chriſt was not hanged, but moſt iniuriouſly ouerwhelmed with the outcries and tumult of the people, when the Iudge profeſſed him innocent, as indeede he was before God and Man. [f Defenc. pag. 75. li. 4.]

[g] *I anſwere, to die for ſinne, was a neceſſarie part of the generall Curſe vpon all ſinners.*] And I reply, you know not what you anſwere. The Law of Moſes appointed death to no Man by the courſe of nature, but by the violent hands of others, that were Magiſtrates. The Naturall death, which followeth all men, was inflicted by Gods owne voice on Adam in Paradiſe as a puniſhment of ſinne, and is irreuocably inherited by all Adams Children, not by the ſentence of Moſes Law, which came more then two thouſand yeeres after Adams fall, but by the order of Gods Creation, which deriued from the Parents to the Children the branches as well of obedience, as diſobedience. The ſentence of Moſes Law Decreed not death againſt all offences, though it pronounced the Curſe vpon all; but againſt Idolaters, blaſphemers, diſobeyers of Parents, Murderers, Adulterers, and ſuch like; to whom there were no Sacrifices preſcribed, but death awarded. Theſe two deaths then, a *Naturall* by the hand of God on all men, and a *violent* by the hands of the Magiſtrate on ſome certaine offenders, haue difference enough a man would thinke; ſo that when the one is propoſed, for you to runne to the other, is a manifeſt faile in your anſwere, and a flat confeſsion, that you can not prooue, Chriſt was *iuſtly hanged* by the ſentence of the Law. And yet you miſtake your ſelfe euen in that, to which you flie for helpe. For Chriſt was not ſubiect by Nature, but onely by will, to the death of the Body, becauſe he was cleere from actuall and originall ſinne by which death firſt entred into the world, and inuaded all men. Now in the violent death which Chriſt receaued from publike Authoritie by the ſentence of Pilate, the Iudge perceaued, and not once nor twice pronounced him faultles, and when he could not otherwiſe appeaſe the rage of the People, but by condemning Chriſt to death; Pilate [a] *tooke Water, and waſhed his hands before the Multitude, ſaying; I am innocent of the bloud of this Iuſt Man, looke you to it.* With what face then can you being a Chriſtian auouch, that Chriſt was iuſtly hanged by the ſentence of the Law, when God ſo prouided, that he, which gaue the ſentence, ſhould often and earneſtly witneſſe the Contrarie. [a Matth. 27.]

[h] *What ſay you then to Chriſtes death? did he die iuſtly? if he died by the rule of Gods iuſtice, then he died iuſtly.*] I ſay the longer you reaſon, the farder you ſtraie from the Queſtion, and yet conclude nothing. God hath a *double rule* of his puniſhing *Iuſtice*, the one *reuealed*, by which we muſt be gouerned; the other *reſerued* to himſelfe, which [h Defenc. pag. 75. li. 8. *Chriſt was Iuſt and Innocent in his death.*]

which we muſt reuerence, becauſe it cannot be but iuſt in him, though it be hid from vs. The ſentence of the Law is the *reuealed* will of Gods reuenging Iuſtice, by that I vtterly denie, that Chriſt any way deſerued to be hanged. And thus much Saint Peter affirmeth, when he ſaith, [f] *Chriſt ſuffered; the iuſt for the vniuſt, that he might preſent vs to God.* If Chriſt by Gods reuealed will ſuffered iuſtly, then Chriſt himſelfe muſt be vniuſt. But if he were iuſt, euen when and as he ſuffered, then were his ſufferings vndeſerued euen by the ſentence of the Law, which is the will of God preſcribed vs, that we muſt follow. Otherwiſe who can ſuffer as Martyrs or innocents, if we ſpeake of Gods ſecret Iuſtice, ſince he hath cauſe enough to deliuer all men for their due deſerts to death, when pleaſeth him; though he be graciouſly content, that his ſeruants ſhall die moſt innocently in reſpect of his will reuealed, that is not for any offence, which their perſuers can iuſtly chalenge; and moſt glorioully, when they giue teſtimonie to his trueth with their bloud, who yet in his ſight may not, nor can not iuſtifie themſelues. This therefore is another leape of yours, to ſtart from the ſentence of the Law to the ſecrets of Gods counſell; and moſt vntruely and iniuriouſly to pronounce men, that are ſinners before God, to be innocents in their deaths; and Chriſt, that was truely innocent before God and man, to be iuſtly hanged by the ſentence of the Law.

[f] 1.Pet.3.

As you miſſe the *Rule*, ſo doe you the *Iuſtice* of Gods will; and that which you would make to be the curtaine of your cauſe, I take to be the very puddle of your error. For where you would inſinuate, that either Chriſt was iuſtly put to death, or els God did vniuſtly deliuer him to death, your ignorant abuſing, or aduiſed inuerting the name of Gods Iuſtice breadeth in you this ſenſible ouerſight. The Scriptures moſt truely confeſſe, that [z] *God is iuſt in all his waies*; not in puniſhing onely mens offences, but in giuing grace, forgiuing ſinne, promiſing and performing life eternall; and generally whatſoeuer he doth, in him is iuſt and holie. There is as great iuſtice, that God ſhould doe [a] *with his owne what he will*, as that he ſhould repay men their deſerts. For if we aſcribe no iuſtice to God, but in rewarding our works, then was he vniuſt in creating vs of nothing, when we could deſerue nothing: then is he vniuſt in ſauing vs, when he condemneth others, ſince we deſerued no better then others. Accurſed be that mouth, and minde, which calleth or counteth the fauour and loue of God, wherewith he embraceth his; the grace and mercie, which he affoordeth his; the glorie and bliſſe, which he will giue to his, to be vniuſt. Yet were none of theſe things deſerued by vs, though he be moſt iuſt in giuing what, and where pleaſeth him. [b] *It is a righteous thing* (ſaith Paul) *to recompence reſt to you, which are troubled,* and yet no way deſerued. *If* [c] *we confeſſe our ſinnes he is faithfull and iuſt* (ſayth Iohn) *to forgiue vs our ſinnes.* We need not woonder at this, how God is iuſt in puniſhing ſinne, and alſo iuſt in forgiuing ſinne; he vſeth his right in the one, as maſter of his owne, and repaieth men their deſerts in the other, which is their due. [d] *Since all the waies of the Lord* (ſaith Auſten) *are mercie and trueth, neither can his grace be vniuſt, nor his Iuſtice be cruell.*

[z] Pſa.145.v.17

[a] Matth.20.

[b] 2.Theſſ.1.

[c] 1.Iohn 1.

[d] *Auguſt. de ciuitate Dei. lib 12.ca.27.*

Chriſte death was moſt iuſt with God, becauſe he was moſt willing to ſuffer it for our ſakes.

Can we then finde how God is iuſt in giuing vs good things, which we neuer merited, and doe we ſtagger how he might be iuſt in deliuering Chriſt to corporall and externall paines and death, which he neuer deſerued? [*It is no wrong* (you ſay) *for the Law to lay the penaltie on the ſuertie.*] Much leſſe was it vniuſt with God, to receaue recompenſe for our ſinnes at the hands of his owne Sonne, who was willing and able to make it, when we were not. [But *he muſt be guiltie of our ſinnes, before he could be iuſtly puniſhed for our ſinnes.*] Who tolde you ſo? Your ſimilitude of a Suretie bound to ſee the debt diſcharged? Keepe your bonds to hang about your heeles. A man may diſcharge anothers debts, and beare anothers burden, as well willingly and freely, as vrged and arreſted by the law. What iuſtice hath mans law to accept the ſuretie for the debtour, but the will of the offerer? How much more then was it a righteous thing with God to accept a ſatisfaction for our ſinnes at the hands of his owne Sonne, not becauſe he was thereto bound, or any way guiltie with vs, but only becauſe he

he was *able* and *willing* to beare our burden when we were weake; and rebate the rigour of Gods vengeance by the innocencie and dignitie of his person, which was farre aboue our power? For if amongst men it be an honorable iustice for the stronger to helpe the weaker, and the richer to relieue the poorer; and the lesse we be bound, as to our Enemies; the more willing, the more righteous: who that hath but one sparke of Christian sense, will doubt whether it were most iust with God, to admit the ransom which his own Sonne most willingly offered for vs, when we were his Enemies; or will conclude that Christ must iustly desire death, because he did willingly die for vs? You see now what I say to Christes death; he died most iustly to God, because most willingly for vs, and yet most vndeseruedly, because most innocently.

[e] *If Christ died not by Gods iustice, then woe and thrice woe to vs: for it can not be, but Gods iustice must be executed.*] If Gods iustice against vs were not satisfied by his Sonne, and so appeased, wo were it with vs; but if any man be so madde headed, that either the Sonne of God, or himselfe must be euerlastingly damned for the full execution of Gods iustice against sinne, then woe indeed to that hellish infidelitie; and blessed for euer be Gods loue and mercie towards vs, that accepted the death of his Sonne for our sinnes, which Christ willingly offered as the price of our redemption, when he could by no sentence of the law be thereto bound. [f] *Therefore my Father loueth me* (sayth Christ) *because I lay downe my life* (for my sheepe). *None taketh it from me, but I lay it downe of mine owne selfe.* And so the Prophet foretold of him. [g] *If he will* (or shall) *lay downe his soule* (or life) *for sinne, he shall see his seed, prolong his dayes, and the will of the Lord shall prosper in his hands.*

[e] Defenc. pag. 75. li. 11.

[f] Iohn 10.

[g] Esa. 53.

[h] *What if* (hanging on a tree) *were no necessarie part of the generall curse? it was neuertheless iust from God vpon him, as well as his death.*] Neither death, nor hanging, nor any part of Christes punishment was iust from God, as deserued by Christ, either in respect of his nature, or of his office, but all was most iust with God euen on Christ in respect of Christs owne free willingnesse, to reconcile vs to God with his death, rather then we should perish. And if both these were iust in Gods secret Counsell, by reason of Christs good liking so to ransome man, what is that to the sentence of the Law, which Iudgeth euery man according to his works, and punisheth only the transgressour, out of which number Christ is excepted by the continuall Caueats of the holy Scriptures. [i] [*Still I meane iustly in respect of God alone.*] And still I say iustly in respect of Christs willingnesse only, which is nothing to the sentence of the Law. For the law respecteth the euill desert of the Transgressour, and not the good will of the Redeemer or Suretie.

[h] Defenc. pag. 75. li. 17.

[i] Defenc. pag. 25. li. 26.

[k] *You mislike that Christ should suffer iustly, because he suffered willingly for vs; which hindreth not at all.*] Since that was most iust with God in his secret counsell, whereto his Sonne was most willing; I vtterlie misliked, as the whole Church of Christ before me did, that the Sonne of God should be thought to be bound to death, who must be most free; or deseruing death by the sentence of the Law punishing sinners, because he was willing to beare our burden. And if you looke well about you, you shall find the second person in Trinitie vndertooke to ransome vs from our sinnes, long before his manhood was borne, euen from the foundation of the world; and to lay any band vpon the Sonne of God, besides his owne good will and pleasure, aduise you whether it tendeth. And since God would not haue the death of Christes manhood, but as a sacrifice most freely & willingly offered vnto him for sinne, least there should appeare any constraint or necessitie layd on the person of Christ; let the Reader iudge, with what trueth you not onely bind the second person in Trinitie to be subiect to the sentence of the Law, but taint the soule of Christ with the vncleanesse of our sinne, because he suffered the punishment thereof in our steedes. [l] [*The voluntarie suertie beareth his penaltie iustly, when he sustaineth that, which the Debtour by Law should sustaine.*] It is a penaltie to patience to heare you talke so vnwisely and vniustly of Iustice. Shall mercie and charitie in Christians, that ease other mens shoulders, or pay other mens debts, be taken now with you for the iust desert of a penaltie? How much

[k] Defenc. pag. 75. li. 30.

The second person in Trinitie could not be bound but by his loue to vs ward.

[l] Defenc. pag. 75. li. 32.

much lesse then may the loue and fauour of God redeeming vs with his owne blood, and healing vs with his owne stripes, be called a iust and well deserued punishment? Mans law may exact the debt, where the Suertie standeth bound to the Law to see it satisfied. From one freely offering to pay another mans debts, the Law may iustly receiue it, because he is willing, but the Law cannot exact it, because he is at libertie; which is the true difference betwixt a Suertie bound, and a free Ransommer; and yet neither is guiltie of the prisoners offences.

[m] Defenc. pa. 75. li. 33. [m] *You say, no Law; you are sure, not Gods law alloweth a murderer or like offender to be spared, and another that is willing, to be hanged in his steede.*] You haue all this while dallied with Gods iustice, you now begin to play with Gods Law, that where trueth faileth you, you may yet at least make some shew with wordes, as all wranglers doe, when they be driuen to the wall; whereof the discreet Reader may take a sensible obseruation in this place. You haue bene spuddling here, and spending more then two leaues to proue that Christ bare the true curse of the Law, which was due to vs for sinne, and that the Apostle speaking thereof (Galat. 3.) could haue none other meaning; and therefore you resolued that Christ was hanged by the iust sentence of the Law, which otherwise must light on vs if it were not laid on him. What I aw ment you all this while, or what Law doth Paul dispute of in that place? Not of that Law which accurseth and punisheth sinne? That Law, I said, admitted no Suerties, but reuenged the malefactours themselues, and therefore by the sentence of that Law Christ could not be iustly accursed, or hanged in our steedes. Against this when you can say nothing, you get you to the Gospell of Christ, which proposeth glad tydings of our Redemption from the burden of our sinnes, and from the curse of the Law by the most willing and innocent death of the Sonne of God for our sakes, and by that Lawe you say Christ might, and did die for vs as our Suertie. I aske the indifferent Reader, whether this be not a plaine running from the question and a resigning of all that you haue said before, touching the Lawes accursing of Christ as our Suertie? For the Gospell I trust doth not pronounce Christ to be either accursed for our sinnes, or defiled with our sinnes, but shewed him to be the blessed Seede, that bruized the Serpents head; and the vndefiled and vnspotted Lambe, that tooke away the sinne of the world, with his most innocent and precious blood. This shifting therefore, which is so vsuall with you, that as long as you can wrench a word, you will not yeeld to the trueth, will breake the necke of your cause in the end with all considerate Readers, howsoeuer it may content you for the time. But let vs heare the rest.

[n] Defenc. pag. 75 li. 38. [n] *I answere it is not true, which you say,* That Gods Law alloweth no Suerties. *Vnderstanding here by Gods reuealed will, and his most holy and gracious ordinance for vs. Though indeede this is not his Law properly, but his Gospell.*] You lacke here English as well as trueth, except it be the Printers fault, and not yours. *Vnderstanding here* in your words hath nothing to follow it, I thinke you would say, *Vnderstanding here by Gods Law, Gods reuealed will, &c.* I neuer made doubt whether the Gospell proposed the wonderfull loue, mercie, good will, and fauour of God the Sonne towards vs in offering himselfe to make the purgation of our sinnes in his owne person; and likewise the wisedome, power, iustice, clemencie, grace and goodnesse of the whole Trinitie in accepting that offer for our saluation; but such I said was the infinite dignitie of the person, being true God, that he could by no Law be bound, but onely ledde by his owne good will and pleasure, as a voluntary and free Sauiour. Which libertie the iustice of God so farre tendred and preserued in the humane nature of Christ, that he could not in rigour exact death, as a debt from a Suertie, but receiue it, as a voluntarie sacrifice from a willing and free Redeemer: for which cause, neither the desert of our punishment, nor the filth of our sinnes, nor the trueth of our curse could cleaue vnto him: but his death was innocent and altogether vndeserued, though he died iustly to God as well in respect of vs, for whom he suffered, who deserued farre worse; as in regard of his owne will and offer, who refused not the smart of death, thereby to breake the chaines of death, and to deliuer vs from the power of darkenesse. For the

The Gospel differeth much from the Law.

Christs death not exacted as a debt, but receiued as a voluntarie sacrifice.

name

name of the law in generall, how farre that word might be stretched, I did not question, since you spake directly of that law which *accurseth* and *punisheth* sinne, as the Apostle doth, alleaging in plaine words both the *curse* and *punishment* of Moses law. Otherwise, I knew the Apostles words in this verie Epistle: [o] *Beare yee one anothers burden, and so fulfill the law of Christ*, which is, in *libertie and* [p] *loue to serue one an other*, as Christ did vs.

[o] Galat. 6.
[p] Galat. 5.

[q] *No similitude* (you say) *can proue Christ in taking our person on him to be sinfull, defiled, hatefull and accursed. I denie this saying vtterly.*] I like your wit well, that when you should go to proue your affirmatiues, you fall to denie my negatiues. This is a short way to shunne all paines and proofs, for you to say what you list, and when you denie the contrarie, the matter is fully proued. But Sir you forget that my assertion hath in it the plaine words of the Holy Ghost, and the maine grounds of Christian religion, that Christ as well in his nature and actions as in his *sufferings* and *sacrifice*, was [r] *holie, harmelesse, seuered from sinners* and *vndefiled*. This you vtterly denie. If you make no more bones in denying the words of God, your Reader will as easily denie you to be a Christian, whatsoeuer I do. [[s] *In his owne nature, and in respect meerly thereof, he suffered both at the Iewes hands and before God, the iust for the vniust.*] A faire gloze, and full against the text. When Christ died, was it for himselfe, or for vs, that hee suffered? He suffered not in any respect of or for himselfe, no not before God, and yet he [t] *suffered the iust for the vniust*, sayth Peter. Which words Peter could not speake in respect of the Iewes, who killed Christ, for they tooke Christ to be most vniust, and they had no meaning, nor power to put him to death for the redemption of the world; but Peter speaketh this of Christ, who knowing himselfe to be iust and innocent in the sight of God, was yet patient and willing, when he suffered for the vniust. By this example Peter often exhorteth the godly to follow *Christes* [u] *steppes, and to suffer wrong patiently, when they do well*. For that is more acceptable to God, then when they are buffeted for their faults; because they are [x] *blessed, that suffer for righteousnesse sake, as Christ did*. You turne the text cleane contrarie, and would haue men beleeue, that Christ was not only sinfull, accursed, and defiled with our sinnes, but the greatest sinner and most vniust person, that euer suffered, as guiltie before God of all their sinnes for whom he died.

[q] Defenc. pag. 76. li. 7.
[r] Hebr. 7.
[s] Defenc. pag. 76. li. 26.
[t] 1. Pet. 3.
[u] 1. Pet. 2.
[x] 1. Pet. 3.

[y] *Yet this is not inherently, but by imputation, the Lord translating by his ordinance the sinne of men vpon him.*] Afore we enter to speake farther of the *filthinesse* or *guiltinesse* of sinne inherent or imputed, and the malediction on either; I thinke it fit for the Reader to know what is conteined in those termes, lest the Defender carie his conceits in a cloud, as his meaning and maner is to do. In sinne, besides the *auerting* of the will from God by defection, and hardning of the heart against God by rebellion, the *loue* and *affections* of the soule, which should be inflamed with sinceritie and puritie of Gods holinesse and goodnesse, are wholly deiected, and egerly fastened vpon base, vile, vaine and vncleane things; and thereby the soule growing like to that which it loueth, (for loue causeth a societie and similitude with the things loued) becommeth base, vile and vncleane in all her delights, desires, parts and powers. Which impurenesse and pollution of the inward man, when God beholdeth, he reiecteth, hateth, and detesteth, as well this corruption inherent in the soule, as the deeds and acts of sinne past with vs, but present still with him, and accusing vs in his sight, by the witnesse of our owne conscience, which we can not auoid. This when God setteth before the eyes of the wicked, letting them see what they haue *refused*, and what they haue *embraced*, and how deformed and defiled they are in comparison of his beautie and sanctitie; as also what they haue done against the light and leading of their owne conscience, they fall ashamed of their vncleannesse, and confounded with their guiltinesse, finding the iust vengeance of God to hang ouer their heads with a desperate and most dreadfull expectation thereof. These things are not doubted by any good Diuines, and therefore it shall suffice shortly to touch some places teaching no lesse then I haue sayd. [z] *To the vncleane and vnbeleeuing* (sayth Paul) *nothing is cleane, but*

[y] Defenc. pag. 76. li. 20.

How sinne maketh men vncleane.

[z] Tit. 1.

euen their mindes and consciences are defiled. Of euill thoughts and deeds proceeding
[a] Matth. 15. from the heart our Sauiour generally pronounceth; These *are* [a] *the things which de-*
[b] 2. Peter. 2. *file a man.* S. Peter sayth of the wicked: *They are led with* [b] *sensualitie, as bruit beasts,*
v. [b] 12. [c] 13. *perishing in their corruption*; and are *not onely* [c] *spots and staines*, but after they had esca-
[d] 20. ped *from the* [d] *filthinesse of the world,* [e] *turne againe* as swine *to wallowing in the mire.* This
[e] 22. is the vncleannesse of sinne as well inherited from Adam, as increased by continuall transgressing, which *defileth* the sinner, and cleaueth to the soule, till she be washed with the bloud, and renewed by the spirit of Christ.

The guiltinesse of sinne is double; in regard either of the sinne committed, or of
[f] Rom. 2. the punishment prepared. The [f] *witnesse of our conscience* priuie to our doings, *when*
[g] 1. Iohn 3. *our* [g] *cogitations accuse vs, and* [g] *our harts condemne vs*, this is the conuiction that God doth and will vse in Iudgement; himselfe as *greater then our harts*, not onely know-
[h] 1. Cor. 4. ing, but reuealing the things [h] hid in *Darkenesse*, and [h] *manifesting the Counsels* of ech mans hart. The guiltinesse of punishment noteth the *iust deseruing thereof* by vs, or
[i] Gen 43. the fast *binding of vs thereto* by the rule of Iustice. [i] *If I bring not backe thy Sonne vnto thee*, said Iudah to Iacob his Father, *I will sinne vnto thee euery day*; not meaning he would euery day offer new offences to his Father, but that he would be guiltie of that
[k] 1 Cor. 11. sinne for euer. *Whosoeuer shall eate this Bread*, saith Paul, or *drinke this Cup of the Lord vnworthily shall be guiltie of the Body and bloud of the Lord*; that is, guiltie of sinning against the Body and bloud of the Lord. Now the workeman is worthie of his reward, whether it be in good or euill; and therefore punishment is the wages of sinne worthily deserued, or certainly reserued for sinners by the Iudgement of God. When
[l] Matth. 26. the high Priest asked the Councel touching Christ, [l] *behold ye heard his blasphemy, what*
[m] Mark. 14. *thinke ye? They answered he is guiltie of death*, that is worthie to die, and so *they* [m] *condemned him as* WORTHIE *to die.* Sometimes ἔνοχος is *obliged*, and *assured* of pu-
[n] Mark 3. nishment, *as* [n] *he that blasphemeth against the holy Ghost, shall neuer be pardoned, but guiltie* (that is assured) *of euerlasting condemnation.*

The Curse for sinne is triple. So likewise the true *malediction* of sinne is triple. For as the true blessings of God haue three degrees; First, his *loue*, which is the roote of all our happinesse, then his *grace*, which is the meane of hauing that, which is fit for this life, and of hoping for the rest; and lastly, his *glorie*, which is the full fruition of the reward for his in the heauens: so the true Curse of sinne, which is the depriuation of all true blessing, hath the same degrees; I meane, the losse of Gods loue, which is his hatred and detestation of sinne; the lacke of his grace, to know, like, or imitate his goodnes in this life; and lastly the repulse from his kingdome with the terrible iudgement, and eternall miserie prouided for the wicked.

Christ not defile i with our sinnes. Come now to your Termes of *sinfull, defiled*, and *accursed*; and see how well they agree to Christ. First, if the holinesse of God were so great in his Person, as to purge our vncleannesse, much more was it able to resist our Corruption, and to keepe him from being defiled with our sinnes, from which he clensed vs. Againe, if he were any way defiled with our sinnes, he must needs offer Sacrifice first for himselfe, and then
[o] Heb. 7. v. 27. for vs. But this is quite repugnant to the Apostles Doctrine; who saith, *Christ* [o] *needed not to offer vp* (any such) *Sacrifice for himselfe.* Thirdly, if he were defiled by our sinnes, his *office* must defile him; his *nature*, nor *Actions could not.* That which
[p] Luke. 1. v. 35 was borne of the Virgine, was [p] HOLY, his life was innocent and iust; [q] *he did no*
[q] 1. Pet. 2 *sinne, nor* [r] *knew no sinne*; his office was more holy then either of these. For these re-
[r] 2. Cor. 5. sisted sinne, but his office clensed sinne. Now to clense others from sinne, required more holinesse, then to keepe himselfe from sinne. The one is the holinesse of the Creature, the other of the Creator. And how should the Priesthood defile him,
[s] Heb. 9. when the Sacrifice was holy, and *vndefiled? Christ* [s] *offered himselfe without spot to God*,
[t] 1. Pet. 1. saith the Apostle directly speaking of his Sacrifice. And Peter calleth him the [t] *Lamb vnspotted* and *vndefiled*, which must be in respect of his Sacrifice. For he was the Lamb
[u] Iohn. 1. of God, [u] *which tooke away the sinnes of the world.* Else how could he be a [x] *Sacrifice*
[x] Ephes. 5. *of a sweete smelling sauour vnto God*, whose [y] *eyes are pure, and can not behold wickednes,*
[y] Habac. 1.

if

if he were any way vncleane with his owne, or with our ſinnes? and if our ſinnes could then defile him, or make him vnclean, he is at this day ſitting in the heauens, defiled & vncleane. For we haue the very ſame coniunction with him now that we had then, being members of his Body, as then we were, and he our head; and he ſtill preſenteth vs to God, as then he did, and euen by the vertue of thoſe ſufferings, which he ſuſtained here on earth for vs. So that his mediation is now by the power of that Paſſion, which he then endured, and if his aſſuming Sinners into his Body, or being the propitiation for our ſinnes, could then touch him with any vncleanneſſe, he can not be free from it at this preſent. But his Prieſthood was holy then and vndefiled, and ſo remaineth ſtill both *pure* and *perpetuall*. And if in the figuratiue Sacrifices of the Law, neither the Prieſt, nor the Sacrifice were defiled with the ſinnes of the People, but were ſanctified and accepted, when the one did offer, the other was offered for ſinne; what ground of truth can it haue, that the true, moſt holy, and acceptable Sacrifice for ſinne, which indeede purged the ſinnes of the world, ſhould defile either the Perſon of Chriſt, or his office, or his action in that oblation. Laſtly ſince all pollution of Soule is inherent, which you graunt was not in Chriſt, how ſhould he be defiled, that had nothing in him, but holineſſe and righteouſneſſe, which I truſt are not defiled? If Chriſt were not defiled with our ſinnes, then was he not ſinfull. One ſinn defileth, how much more then doth the fulneſſe of ſinne make Chriſt vncleane, which is your deuotion to the Sonne of God.

I meane not inherently, but by imputation. [You meane he was defiled and ſinnefull, not truely, but falſely. Did you ſpeake of men, who erre in their iudgements, it might be borne; but when you ſpeake of God, there is no imputation with him, but in trueth; vnleſſe you will change the Apoſtles doctrine, [z] *Let God be true, and euery man a liar*; and ſay, God muſt be a lyar, afore you can ſpeake trueth in this behalfe. God doth impute righteouſneſſe to vs that be ſinners, by pardoning our offences, and accepting vs for Chriſtes ſake, when of our ſelues we are moſt vnworthie; but vncleanneſſe he doth not impute, where none is found, becauſe he giueth freely by mercy, and condemneth iuſtly by deſert. The puniſhment of our ſinnes Chriſt did willingly beare in his bodie, the guilt of our ſinnes he did not, and that made his ſufferings the more righteous, as being without deſert or guilt. [Did God then wrong his Sonne in afflicting him?] he laide the burden of our iniquities on the bodie of Chriſt, who was willing to redeeme our danger with his owne death, and by the infinite dignitie of his perſon able to ſupport the one, and aboliſh the other: and that the rather becauſe euerie part of Chriſtes manhood was holie and vndefiled, and ſo by the rule of Gods iuſtice no part of him could be preſſed with ſpirituall and eternall death. Which is a plaine proofe, that the guilt of our ſinnes tooke not hold on him. For then as well ſpirituall as eternall death, which both are due to ſinne, muſt haue faſtned on Chriſt, which we ſee to be falſe: yea the death of the bodie could not wreſt his ſoule from him, but he muſt lay it downe of himſelfe. And if the deſert of a corporall death did not binde him, how ſhould the guilt of eternall death be due to him, which was the iuſt wages of our ſinne, but no way due to his perſon, ſince he did aſſume our ſinnes to cleere vs from them, and not to ſubiect himſelfe to the guilt, or filth of our ſinne, though he were content to make full ſatisfaction for them, but not to defile himſelfe with any pollution of them?

[z] Rom. 3.

[a] *How could he be by God properly and truly puniſhed and curſed for ſinne, but that he was ſinfull & hatefull?* Nay how could he either clenſe vs, or reconcile vs to God, if he were ſinfull, & hatefull to God as well as we? As we had Chriſt for our Redeemer, becauſe we were hated of God for ſin, ſo if you bring Chriſt within the ſame danger & diſpleaſure with God, he muſt haue another to mediate to God for him. God reſpecteth not thoſe whom he hateth; nor heareth any that is ſinfull, without ſome other to propitiate for him. And where you quote Scriptures to vphold your wicked follies and phraſes, they proone the cleane contrarie. [b] *The ſoule that ſinneth, the ſame ſhall die*, ſaith God by Ezechiel. But Chriſtes ſoule did not die, either by want of grace, or loſſe of glorie, which

[a] Defenc. pag. 76. li. 9. *Chriſt could not clenſe vs, if he were defiled by vs.*

[b] Ezech. 18. verſ. 20.

which are the deaths proper to ſinners. Chriſtes ſoule therefore by the verie place
a Genes. 18. vers. 25 which you cite, was not ſinnefull. a *Shall not the Iudge of all the world doe right?* ſaide
b Vers. 23. Abraham to God. What right is there ment, but that God will not deſtroy *the righteous with the wicked*. as Abrahams words before import? Since then Chriſt was not deſtroied either in ſoule or bodie, but by death made conquerer of death, and a Sauiour to all his what a venemous mouth haue you to match him with the wicked, or to make this deſtruction? And heere the Reader may obſerue how religiouſly you wreſt the Scriptures to reproch the Sonne of God; and where you can by no ſufficient teſtimonie prooue Chriſt to haue beene ſinnefull or hatefull to God, as you defend, when he died for our ſinnes; you ſort him with the reprobate and damned, and then vrge the Scriptures againſt him, that directly ſpeake of them. I wiſh you to leaue this lewd deuotion, and not to thinke to ſhift off all this with a pretended imputation. Our ſinnes God did impute, that is, impoſe on Chriſt, for he bare them in his bodie on the tree; but this was *right* with God, becauſe Chriſt was both *willing* and *able* to beare them; and an honour to the humane nature of Chriſt, to be made Lord ouer all his enimies for the ſhort affliction, which he ſuffered at their hands; and Sauiour of all beleeuers for the ſubmiſsion and obedience, which he performed on the croſſe; in which Gods exceeding mercy towards vs, and loue towards him did moſt manifeſtly appeare.

The loue of God to his Sonne ouerſwayed his hatred againſt our ſinnes.

Did not God then hate our ſinnes, when he puniſhed his owne Sonne for them?] If that ground of Chriſtian religion could haue contented you, that God throughly hated our ſinnes, which Chriſt aſſumed, and yet ſo loued the perſon aſſuming them, that the fauour he bare to the one, ouer-ruled his anger due to the other; and therefore after ſharpe chaſtiſement on the perſon, leaſt wee ſhould thinke our tranſgreſsions to be lightly regarded with God, (and yet ſuch, as the ſufferer willingly receiued to maintaine the iuſtice of his Father) exalted him with infinite honour, and gaue him all power in earth and heauen, and made him onely Lord ouer all both men and Angels: If this confeſsion of true Religion had pleaſed you, you neuer needed to haue defiled your pen with theſe *ſinfull, hatefull, and accurſed* termes. But hauing itching eares, and humorous heads, you meaſure the greateſt myſteries of our ſaluation, by the ſimilitude and proportion of humane reaſon and actions, and thence deriue according to your fantaſies, that which Scriptures and Fathers doe vtterly diſclaime.

c Defenc. pag. 76. li. 11. d Heb. 2. e Heb. 4. c *It is written, God ſent his Sonne in the likeneſſe of ſinfull fleſh for ſinne, and condemned ſinne in (his) fleſh, in which likeneſſe he ſtoode before God.*] The Scripture teacheth, that Chriſt was made d *like to his brethren in all things*, and did partake with them in fleſh and bloud, but the ſame Scripture addeth e *without ſinne*. So that the likeneſſe of ſinfull fleſh excludeth all touch or taint of our ſinne, though it admit the likeneſſe of our fleſh in Chriſt. And indeede betweene his and ours, there was no difference, ſaue the corruption of ſinne, which dwelleth in ours, and did not in his. You doe therefore learnedly collect out of the Apoſtles words, that where he ſaith, *Chriſt was ſent in the likeneſſe of ſinfull fleſh*, for that he had true fleſh, and no ſinne; you make Chriſt to be defiled and accurſed with ſinne, for hauing the likeneſſe of our fleſh. But the Syriacke tranſlation ſaith, *God condemned ſinne in* (Chriſtes) *fleſh.*] The condemning of ſinne in the fleſh of Chriſt, was the cleanſing and aboliſhing of ſinne by the body of Chriſt,
f Heb. 9. vers. 26. g 28. which the Apoſtle calleth f *ἀθέτησιν, the deſtroying and* g *taking away* of ſinne h *by the ſacrifice of himſelfe*. The text doth not ſay, that God condemned Chriſt for ſinne, but contrarie, that God condemned ſin; that is, pardoned the guilt, weakned the power, remooued the ſting, and abandoned the memoriall of all our ſinnes for the obedience and patience, which Chriſt ſhewed in his fleſh. So that it is you, and not the Apoſtle, nor the Syriacke tranſlator, which would faine bring Chriſt within the compaſſe of condemnation for ſinne, where they ſay quite otherwiſe, that not hee, but ſinne was condemned, that is deſtroyed in or by his fleſh. Chryſoſtome ſaith rightly;

i *Chryſoſt. Homil. 13 in Epiſt. ad Romanos.* i *Thou ſeeſt ſinne euery where condemned, not the fleſh, which was crowned, and obtained*

indgements

iudgement against sinne. And Austen taketh libertie to expound the Text against your Syriacke translation. [1] *By the similitude of sinfull flesh,* (saith he) *which was Christes, God condemned sinne in the flesh of sinne, which was ours.* [1] *Contra Maximinum. li 2. cap. 2.*

[=] *God made him sinne for vs, that we might be made the righteousnesse of God in him.*] [=] Defenc. pag. 76. li. 14.

Other men read the Scriptures, to learne thence all thanks, submission, and seruice to the Sonne of God, for his vnspeakeable loue and mercie towards vs, in taking the burden of our sinnes, and laying it on his owne shoulders. You thresh and winnow the Scriptures to catch vp chaffe to cast in his face. And though there be neuer so manie old and new writers, that would leade you to the true sense of these words, you leaue them all, and will needs by wilfull abusing the Scriptures haue Christ to be *sinfull and defiled, hatefull and accursed* euen to God, for taking vpon him to purge vs from our sinnes. I shewed you the iudgement of Austen and Ambrose in my conclusion for the right vnderstanding of these words, but you satisfied with nothing, saue with your owne sense, passe surly by them, and the rest as [*] *multitudes of men,* and preferre the proud conceit you haue of your selfe, before them all. Yet for the Readers sake that he may settle his iudgement with trueth and sobrietie; he shall see the consent of all ages and writers, how Christ was made sinne for vs, and how he condemned sinne in the flesh. Origen, [*] *that Christ was made the sacrifice for sinne, and offered for the clensing of sinnes, all the Scriptures witnesse: touching this sacrifice of his flesh, it is said, he condemned sinne in the flesh, as the same Apostle else where sayth, he appeared in the later times to destroy sinne. By this sacrifice then of his flesh, which was offered for sinne, he condemned sinne, that is, he chased sinne away, and abolished it:* Cyrill, [y] *Christ is therefore made according to the Scriptures a sacrifice for sinne. For this cause we say, he is called sinne it selfe: for so Paul writeth: Him that knew no sinne, God the Father made sinne for vs. We doe not say, that Christ was made a sinner, God forbid: but being iust, yea Iustice it selfe, the Father made him a sacrifice for the sinnes of this world.* Ierom, [q] *the Father made Christ, who knew not sinne, to be sinne for vs; that is, as the sacrifice offered for sinne, is called sinne in the Law. In Leuiticus it is written, He shall lay his hand on the head of his sinne; So Christ being offered for our sinnes, tooke the name of sinne.* Augustine, [r] *Christ then did no sinne, but God made him sinne for vs: that is as I haue said, a sacrifice for sinne. For if thou remember, or wilt reade, thou shalt finde in the bookes of the old Testament, the sacrifice for sinne to be called sinne.* Againe, *God then* [s] *made Christ sinne for vs, that is a sacrifice by which our sinnes should be remitted, because sacrifices for sinne are called sinne.* And so in the questions vpon Numbers. *It is said* (he shall offer a Lambe) *for a sinne, because that which was offered for sinne was called sinne. Whence it is, that the Apostle saith of the Lord Christ; him that knew no sinne, God the Father made sinne for vs, that is a sacrifice for sinne.* He that will see this more at large repeated and confirmed, let him read at his leasure Saint Austen 120. Epistle cap. 30. the third booke, and 6. Chapter, against the two Epistles of the Pelagians: his Enchiridion, cap. 41. besides the seuenth Sermon *De verbis Apostoli,* and the 48. Sermon, *De verbis Domini secundum Ioannem,* which I formerly alleaged. Oecumenius, *the sacrifice, which is offered for sinne, is called sinne, as the Prophet saith, they eate the sinnes of my people, that is the sacrifices for sinne. So the Father made the Sonne a sacrifice to be offered for sinnes.* Primasius likewise, [t] *the sacrifice for sinne is in the Law called sinne, though it did not sinne; as it is written; and he shall laie his hands on the head of his sinne. So Christ being offered for our sinnes, tooke the name of sinne.* [u] Sedulius obserueth the same words. Beda [x] *Our Redeemer was made sinne, that we might be the righteousnesse of God in him. How? In the Law the sacrifices, which were offered for sinne, are called sinne. When the offering was brought for sinne, the Law sayth, the Priests shall put their hands vpon the sinne, that is vpon the sacrifice for sinne. And what els was this, but Christ the* (true) *sacrifice for sinne? Behold by what sinne he condemned sinne; by the sacrifice, which he made for sinne, euen thereby he condemned sinne.* To skip Haymo, Lyra and others, the eleuenth Councell of Toledo in the confession of their faith. [y] *Christ in the forme of man, which he assumed, is according to the trueth of the Gospell*

[*] Defenc. pa. 76. li. 37.

[*] Origen. li. 7. in 8. cap. epist. ad Romanos.

[y] Cyrill. epist. ad Acacium de capro emissario.

[q] Hiero. in 2. ad Corinth. cap. 5.

[r] August. contra Maximinum li. 2. ca. 2.

[s] Idem contra Pelag. & Celestium de peccato originali, li. 2. ca. 33.

[t] Primasius in 5 cap. 2. ad Corinth.

[u] Sedulius in eundem locum.

[x] Beda in 8. ca. epist. ad Romanos.

[y] Concilium Tolet. 11. in confess. fidei.

pell beleeued to haue beene borne without sinne, and to haue died without sinne; who alone was made sinne for vs, that is the sacrifice for our sinnes.

The new writers beare euen with the old: To omit, Erasmus, Bullinger, Peter Martyr, Musculus, Gualter, Vitus Theodorus, and others, who doe follow the same steps; Aretius vpon these words *God by sinne condemned sinne in the flesh, that is* saith he: [a] *All our sinne in our flesh, God condemned by or for sinne, to wit by or for the Sacrifice appointed for sinne.* Now *Christ is the Lambe of God, which taketh away the sinne of the world; this Lambe is called sin, because in the Law the sacrifices are called the sinne for which they are offered. Hence is it that Christ, who knew no sinne, was made sinne by his Father.* Beza in his notes on the New Testament, and on those words: *Him that knew no sinne, God made sinne*; sayth: Paul [a] *calleth sinne in this latter place, the sacrifice for sinne, after a maner of speech proper to the Hebrewes, with whom the word Ascham is so taken as Leuiticus* 7. 2. Tremelius the publisher and interpreter of your Syriack Testament, obserueth the like vpon the same place: *Him that knew no sinne, he made sinne for you: that is, a* [b] *sacrifice for sinne, which euery where in the bible is called Chattath; by which name sinne also is called:* The booke of Homilies authorised in this Realme holdeth so fast to this exposition, that it setteth it downe in the Apostles name, as the Apostles true meaning. S. Paul likewise sayth: [c] *God made him a sacrifice for our sinne, which knew no sinne, that we should be made the righteousnesse of God in him.*

[d] *The Apostle farder sayth, the second time Christ shall appeare without sinne, meaning that the first time he appeared with sinne.*] Put the Apostles words vttered in the same place, touching Christes first appearing with sinne, to these which you cite, and the sense is plaine and easie of it selfe. [e] *In the end of the world Christ appeared once, to put away sinne by the sacrifice of himselfe, and* [f] *vnto them that looke for him, he shall appeare the second time without sinne vnto saluation.* Christes first appearing was with sinne; that is, either with an offering for sinne, or with the infirmitie, tentation, miserie and mortalitie of sinne (for such was the time of his humilitie, when he came to purge sinne by the oblation of his bodie): the next time of his appearing shall be in glorie, that is, without either sacrifice for sinne, or any other infirmitie of sinners. For sinne applied to Christ in the Scriptures may receiue a triple interpretation, as Austen obserueth; and yet none of them maketh Christ sinfull, hatefull, or defiled, which is your vncleane doctrine. [g] *We affirme* (sayth Austen) *that Christ had no sinne neither in soule nor flesh, and yet in taking flesh after the likenesse of sinfull flesh, by sinne he condemned sinne. Which being somewhat obscurely spoken by the Apostle, may be two wayes opened: either because the similitudes of things vse to be called by the names of the things themselues; and in that respect the Apostle would call the similitude of sinfull flesh, Sinne: or els because the sacrifices for sinnes in the Law were called sinnes; all which were the figures of Christs flesh, the true and only sacrifice for sinne.* A third way is, that the punishment of sinne *is* [h] *after a sort called sinne*, as being a consequent to sinne, which S. Austen before testified; and in that respect, as well mortalitie, as all other miseries and infirmities, that inuaded mans nature for sinne, may be called sinne, that is, the effects of sinne. The wrongfull and shamefull death of Christ, Chrysostome, Theodoret, Theophylact, and others, take to be the punishment of our sinnes in the flesh of Christ, and in that regard they thinke Christ was made sinne, that is, punished as a sinner, though he were innocent and righteous. [i] *Him that was righteousnesse it selfe, God made sinne, that is, he suffered him to be condemned as a sinner, and to die as one accursed; for accursed was he that hung on a tree.* Christ, sayth Theodoret, [k] *when he had fulfilled all righteousnesse, and not admitted any blemish of sinne, and yet as a sinner sustained the death of sinners, he reproued the iniustice of sinne, that deliuered his bodie to death no way deseruing it, and dissolued both sinne and death.* Theophylact, as his maner is, followeth Chrysostome almost word for word: [l] *The Sonne who knew no sinne, and was righteousnesse it selfe, the Father made to die for vs, as if he had beene a sinner and malefactour.* S. Austen ioyneth with them: [m] *Christ had the similitude of sinfull flesh, because his flesh was mortall, sine vllo omnino peccato; but vtterly*

[a] *Aretius in ca. 8. epist. ad Romanos.*

[a] *Beza in 5. ca. 2. epist. ad Corinth.*

[b] *Tremelius obserue it in 2. ad Corinth. 5. v. 21.*

[c] The second Sermō of the Passion. pa. 5.

[d] Defenc. pag. 76. li. 18.

[e] Heb. 9. v. 26.

[f] Ibid. v. 28.

How Christ shall the second time appeare without sinne.

[g] *Augustin. contra duas Epist. Pelag. li. 3. ca. 2.*

[h] *Augustin. contra Faustum. li. 14. ca. 4.*

[i] *Chrysost. in 5. ca. 2. Epist. ad Corinth.*

[k] *Theodor. in 8 ca. Epist. ad Romanos.*

[l] *Theophylact. in 5. ca. 2. 1 p. ad Corinth.*

[m] *Augustin. de verbis Apost. Serm. 14.*

vtterly without any sinne, that by sinne for similitude, he might condemne the sinne that is in (our) *flesh, through true iniquitie. True iniquitie in Christ there was none, mortalitie there was. Peccatum non suscepit, sed pœnam peccati suscepit. Suscipiendo sine culpa pœnam, & pœnam sanauit, & culpam. Christ tooke not* (our) *sinne vnto him, he tooke the punishment of* (our) *sinne. And taking the punishment without any fault, he healed both the punishment and the fault.* I leaue the Reader to his choise, which of these he will embrace, or whether he will conioyne them all together; (for the one impugneth not the other) they all impugne the Defenders false collections, and lewd surmises out of these places, that Christ, when he is called sinne, is intended by the Scriptures to be defiled with our sinnes, and hatefull to God, and accursed of him for our sinnes, which the Church of Christ did neuer endure to heare.

[m] *Master Caluin warily enough* sayth, *Vt personam nostram suscepit, peccator erat, & maledictionis reus. As Christ tooke vpon him our person, he was a sinner and guiltie of the curse.*] I had rather you had commended Master Caluins wisdome to ioyne with the whole Church of God in giuing Christ his due, then his warinesse in going a by-way, without all the learned and Catholike fathers, to hemme Christ within the guilt of our sinne and curse. Master Caluin truely I honour for his great gifts, and paines in the Church of God; but I may not take him for the first founder of Christian religion, and therefore where he dissenteth from the worthie Pillers of Christs Church in matters of Doctrine, I dissent from him. And I more commend his warinesse elsewhere, and thinke it fit, that when his speech soundeth somewhat hard, or offensiue to the Godly, it should be expounded by other places of his writings, least you make him in so waightie points, as these are, very inconstant, or very inconsiderate. This therefore, which you bring, I interpret by none other then himselfe, vsing the very same words, of the very same matter, in his Commentaries vpon the very next Epistle of Saint Paul before this, which you quote. You shall haue it in Latine, because you shall see how he qualifieth these very words, which you would presse to your aduantage. [n] PERSONAM *nostram* QVODAMMODO *suscepit, vt reus nostro nomine fieret, & tanquam peccator iudicaretur, non proprijs sed alienis delictis: quum purus foret ipse, & immunis ab omni culpa, penamq; subiret nobis, non sibi debitam. Christ tooke vnto him our Person* AFTER A SORT, *that he might be accused* (or Iudged) *in our Name, and condemned as it were for a Sinner, not for any of his owne offences, but other mens, since he himselfe was pure, and* FREE FROM ALL FAVLT (or guilt,) *and suffered the punishment due to vs, not to him.* Take these mitigations from Master Caluins owne mouth, and then your labour is lost in putting his words to the Racke; and these are farre truer, then your whirlegigges set running by the businesse of your Braine. Christ was AFTER A SORT A SINNER, (Saith Caluine) that is Christ presented the Persons and procured the cause of vs that were sinners, and was *guiltie*, that is, *accused, condemned, or punished* in our steedes. *Reus* doth not alwaies import an offender, if you know what Latine meaneth, it noteth one *cuius res agitur*, whose cause is handled, or brought into Iudgement, whether he be guiltie, or innocent. And when it goeth farder then iudiciall inquisition, it may be applied either to the fault which is conuinced; or to the *Iudgement*, which is decreed; or to the *punishment, which is deserued*, or appointed. And so the word ἔνοχος in Greeke (which the new Testament vseth for guiltie, or worthie of, or subiected to punishment,) is as much as fast held either by the Crime committed, or by the sentence pronounced, or by the punishment prepared and assured. Thus you see Caluins words limited by himselfe, make nothing for you, and howsoeuer you rack the word *Reus*, you may not thereby bring Christ to be defiled, or hatefull with our sinnes, except mercie, humilitie, and charitie by your learning defile the Sonne of God, and make him hatefull to his Father.

[o] *Euen as by Gods true and reall imputation, not by any inhesion, we now in this life are iust, holy, and blamelesse before God; so was he sinfull and defiled by Imputation, not inherently.*] This is neither the Apostles speech, nor sense; it is your soone-come and soone-gone gathering from the Apostles words. The one is the cause of the other, but the one is not

[m] Defenc. pag. 76. li. 16.

Hard speeches should rather be qualified then strained to the highest.

[n] *Caluinus in 5. cap. 2. epist. ad Corinth.*

[o] Defenc. pag. 76. li. 22.

not in all points proportioned to the other. *God made him Sinne for vs, that we might be made the righteouſneſſe of God in him*; Thus ſpeaketh the Apoſtle. Omit Chriſts Sacrifice for ſinne, whereby our ſinnes were pardoned and purged, that we might be made the righteouſneſſe of God in him, by the remitting of all our ſinnes, and the reſtoring vs to the fauour of God; and graunt theſe words, that our ſinnes were imputed to him, that his righteouſneſſe might be imputed to vs, which yet are not the Apoſtles words; where is the proportion you ſo confidently ſpeake of, that as we are made his righteouſneſſe, ſo he was made our ſinne? This compariſon vnlimited is notoriouſly falſe; and were it true, it euerteth all your frame. The *full* and *euerlaſting* reward of his righteouſneſſe is allotted to vs. Was the wages of our ſinnes ſo impoſed on him? His righteouſneſſe is now imputed to vs, becauſe it ſhall be perfectly inherent in vs, and is preſently ſealed vnto vs by the ſpirit of adoption, whereby our harts are inherently ſanctified. Were our ſinnes ſo imputed to him, that they ſhould afterward perfectly poſſeſſe him? To vs God imputeth Chriſts righteouſneſſe without our conſents, and often without our knowledge, as in children baptized. Were our ſinnes imputed to Chriſt without his vnderſtanding or will? In vs God hateth our ſinnes, and loueth our perſons for Chriſtes ſake. To keepe this compariſon, will you ſay that God hated the righteouſneſſe of Chriſt, and loued the ſinne imputed to him for our ſakes? And were there not ſo many differences in the maner of Chriſtes hauing our ſinnes, and our hauing his righteouſneſſe, as there are; yet are you no whit the neerer. For as we no way deſerue to be his righteouſneſſe, ſo he no way deſerued to be our ſinne. And though God forget all our ſinnes, and putteth them vtterly out of his ſight, when he waſheth vs from them; yet God did not wholly caſt Chriſts righteouſneſſe out of his remembrance, when he did puniſh him for our ſinnes. Chriſt therefore tooke our ſinnes from vs, and layed them on himſelfe; but he doth not take his righteouſneſſe from himſelfe to giue it to vs, but doth impart it to vs, as hauing enough for himſelfe and for vs, becauſe he is God as well as man. So that all our ſinnes were imputed to him to make vs iuſt; yet all his righteouſneſſe is not imputed to vs to make him a ſinner, as you would haue him; but he bare the puniſhment of our ſinnes, which the Apoſtle calleth ſinne, that we might receiue the reward of his righteouſneſſe, not in cogitation or computation only, but in deed and execution. For euen in this life, where we are continuall ſinners, we haue no righteouſneſſe, but what is ioyned with the reall remiſſion of our ſinnes pardoned for Chriſtes ſake, and with the grace of Gods ſpirit purifying our hearts by faith, and inflaming them with the loue of Gods goodneſſe and mercie towards vs. Our righteouſneſſe then in Chriſt hath more then imputation, though imputation be alſo needfull; it hath the ſeale of Gods ſpirit poſſeſſing our hearts, and the inherent graces of faith and loue, which God accepteth at our hands, and thereby maketh vs partakers of Chriſtes righteouſneſſe, for that we beleeue in the name of his only Sonne.

The Apoſtle maketh this a conſequent, not a compariſon.

[p] Defenc. pa. 76. li. 29.

[p] *Whereas you ſay the Fathers haue two good ſenſes of the Apoſtles words,* (Chriſt was made ſinne for vs) the one, *That God made Chriſt a ſacrifice for ſinne*, the other, *That God vſed him, As he doth ſinners, what is there in both theſe, which we acknowledge not? Yea what is this later, but the very ſame point, which we vrge?*] You admit both, and yet vnderſtand neither, as you ought to doe. If you acknowledge the death and bloud of Chriſt to be the true and onely ſacrifice for ſinne, then muſt you acknowledge theſe three things in it: that it was *pleaſing* to God, *vndefiling* the Prieſt, and *clenſing* the ſinner. If as well the *oblation*, as the *offerer* were holie and acceptable to God, why doe you defend, that Chriſt was *ſinneſull and hateſull* in his ſufferings for ſinne, which was the ſacrifice, that he offered for ſinne? If it *clenſed* the offender, how could it *defile* the ſacrificer, who was the Mediatour to God for aboliſhing ſin? you will haue one and the ſame ſacrifice to be holie, acceptable, and auaileable for ſinne; and yet to be defiled, hatefull, and accurſed with ſinne; you may call [*] *light darkneſſe, and good euill*, and thinke the prophet denounceth no woe to you, becauſe your inuentions are priuiledged. But to mine vnderſtanding, and I thinke to your Readers

what is conſequent to the true ſacrifice for ſinne.

[*] Eſay 5.

Readers, theſe plaine contrarieties of holy and defiled, acceptable and hatefull, righteous and ſinnefull, in one and the ſame ſacrifice and ſufferer, at one and the ſame time will not ſtand together, but you muſt be colted or curſed in your warbling conceits.

[q] *It is nothing elſe in all this Queſtion that we held, but that God vſed Chriſt our Redeemer and Suertie, As he doth ſinners, ſo farre As poſſibilitie admitteth.*] You neuer want an As, to helpe you at need. You heare the Fathers ſay, (for of their ſenſe you ſpeake) that God permitted the wicked to reproch his Sonne, and to put him to a ſhamefull and cruell death, as if he had beene the vileſt malefactor amongſt the multitude; thence you collect that God puniſhed Chriſt, As he doth ſinners, that is with the greateſt and ſoreſt torments of death and damnation, that are in this life or in hell. But this As doth rather plunge you into the mire, then plucke you out of it, and therefore you adde ſo *farre as poſſibilitie admitteth.* Now how farre that is, by whom ſhall we be tried? by the Scriptures and Fathers, or by your ſhallow conceits and fancies? you haue beene told often enough, that where the Scriptures make three kinds of death due to ſinners, and for ſinne; the death of the bodie, the death of the ſoule, and the ſecond death, which is the euerlaſting torment of bodie and ſoule in hell fire; and all the learned and Catholike Fathers hold the ſame confeſsion; the two laſt deaths ſpirituall and eternall, are not onely impoſsibilities, but horrible blaſphemies to be aſcribed to the perſon of Chriſt; and to either of theſe, you would not yet ſpeake one word, but by ſtealth. Now you haue gotten hold of a double As, ſaying that God vſed Chriſt, As he doth ſinners, ſo farre As poſsibilitie admitteth, you thinke your ſelfe ſafe: and out of this As, you will frame vs new deaths of the ſoule, a new Hell, and all the ſame, which the damned doe ſuffer in ſubſtance, not in circumſtance. But we haue long looked for your proofes, and till they come, tie vp your As to ſerue you for another turne.

[q] Defenc. pa. 76. li. 33.

[r] *For this the Fathers are not ſilent, if I were ſo ambitious as you in producing multitudes of men. Only Cyprian, and Athanaſius and Auſten ſhall content me in this.*] Whether my care to teach nothing touching matters of Faith, but what I ſee confirmed by the Scriptures, and confeſſed by the writings of the Auncient Fathers, may be called Ambition, I leaue it to the Reader: my paines haue beene the more therein, which if any condemne, I referre the Cauſe to him, that iudgeth Iuſtly. But if it be Ambition, to let the Reader ſee, that I follow the ſteps of ſo learned and approoued Teachers, what is it for you, being I truſt no more then a Man, to deuiſe a new Saluation & a new Redemption, which neither Scriptures nor Fathers either profeſſed or publiſhed? howbeit if theſe three Fathers, whom you name and meane to cite, make any way for your now found fanſies, they ſhall content me alſo, ſo you doe not peece out their Texts with your vntruths, for then you alleage not them, but your ſelfe vnder their ſhadowes.

[r] Defenc. pag. 76. li. 35.

You would not fail to cite Fathers, if you had them.

[s] *The firſt* (who is Cyprian) ſaith; *Chriſt ſuſtained and ſuffered him ſelfe to bee called ſinne and a curſe by Moſes and the Apoſtle, becauſe he had the like puniſhment, as we ſhould haue had, but not the like fault.*] Cyprians words we haue already once heard, and once anſwered; there the Reader ſhal find them more at large; they make nothing for you, but rather againſt you. For firſt it is euident by Cyprians ſentence, that Chriſt was called ſinne, and a curſe by Moſes and the Apoſtle, not for any guilt or fault deriued from vs, but onely by reaſon of the likeneſſe of puniſhment with thoſe, that were ſinners and accurſed. Then was not Chriſt defiled or ſinfull by ſuſtaining our perſon or cauſe, for ſo much as he had no likeneſſe, nor communion with our ſinne, but only with our puniſhment. Now the puniſhment which Chriſt ſuffered could not defile him, but rather commend his obedience, patience, and charitie towards God and man. [But *he had the like puniſhment, as we ſhould haue had.*] Likeneſſe as well conſiſteth in the part, as in the whole; and if it were but like, then was it not the ſame; except you haue forgotten as well the rules of reaſon, as of trueth. *Nullum ſimile eſt idem.* Nothing is like to it ſelfe. If then it were like, it was not the ſame. What get you now

[s] Defenc. pag. 66. li. 38.

[s] Defenc. pag. 77. li. 3. now by Cyprians words, or what doe I looſe by them? [t] Your *ſlight anſwere, that it was like in part, not in all, ſaueth not the matter.*] It pleaſeth not your affection, but it fully remooueth your obiecton; and the trueth of it is moſt manifeſt. For if Chriſts puniſhment were in all points like, as we ſhould haue had for our ſinnes, you know well enough by this time, how lewd and falſe that Aſſertion is, which you would ſow vnto Cyprian. And therefore as likenes in part is ſufficient to verifie Cyprians words, ſo doth it iuſtifie his ſpeech to be ſober and ſound, which you would haue to be furious and impious. [u] Ibidem. li. 4. [*Cyprian* " *meaneth Chriſts puniſhment was ſo like ours, as was poſſible.*] We talke of Cyprians words, which are extant, not of his meaning, which you know not, and would faine force to be like to yours. This is a poore reply, when you can ſay nothing out of Cyprians words againſt mine expoſition of them, for which I yeeld ſo iuſt ground; to flie to your owne imagination of Cyprians meaning, which yet is falſe and fooliſh. For it was poſsible (if we reſpect nothing but poſsibilitie, omitting Gods Counſell and Decree) for Chriſt to haue ſuffered longer time, and other ſorts of bodily paines, as fire, fleaing, and ſuch like at the Iewes hands; ſo that your poſſibilitie was no part of Cyprians meaning, but a wateriſh deuice of your own to frame Cyprians words to your fanſie.

[x] Defenc. pag. 77. l. 6. [x] *Alſo by this your weake anſwere you are contrary to your ſelfe, in that you acknowledge God vſed Chriſt, as he doth ſinners.*] Well you may deuoutly dreame of Contrarieties, but your eyes daſle too much, to ſee them truely. Doth euery Aduerbe of Similitude with you make a full and perfect Reſemblance in all points? [y] Matth. 10. [y] *I ſend you*, ſaith Chriſt, as *ſheepe among Wolues*. Will you put hornes and haire vpon Chriſts Diſciples to make them as ſheepe? [z] Pſa. 19. [z] *The Sunne*, ſaith Dauid, *commeth foorth as a Bridegroome out of his Chamber, and reioyceth, as a mightie Man to runne his Courſe*. Will you build a Chamber for the Sunne, and allow him two feete and ten toes, that he may leape and runne his race, like a man? [a] 1. Pet. 2. [a] *As new borne babes*, ſaith Peter, *deſire the ſincere milke of the word*. Will you bring men backe to their Cradles, ſwadling clouts, and the teats of their Mothers, that you may verifie this ſimilitude in them? There can nothing be more ſenſeleſſe, abſurd, and falſe, then to require euery Similitude or Compariſon to be full and perfect in all points. Throughout the Scriptures, any one thing, that is common to many, or any reſemblance of that, which an other hath, ſerueth to frame thence a Compariſon or ſimilitude. So that any one puniſhment inflicted on Chriſt, which Gods Law threatneth to ſinners, was ſufficient to make good my words, that *God vſed Chriſt, as he doth ſinners*. How then doe you conclude from my ſpeech; that Chriſt was vſed in all things, as ſinners are both here, and in hell? or that God laid on him puniſhment *ſo like to that, which we ſhould haue had, as was poſſible?* True it is, though not by any force of my words alleaged by you, that God by his ſecrete ordinance laid on his Sonne not onely the common Infirmities of mans Nature, and miſeries of mans life, but alſo ſhame, reproch, paine and death, which are by his Law reſerued, and threatned to ſinners; but touching the death of the Soule, or true paines of hell, which all this while you fiſh for, you finde nothing in my words, nor in any of theſe Fathers, whoſe names you abuſe.

[b] Defenc. pag. 77. l. 8. * *Athanaſius word is are, in the ſhape of man that was condemned.*

[b] *Athanaſius ſaith, Ipſe per ſe ſententiam ſoluit ſub ſpecie condemnati: He himſelfe ſatisfied and abrogated the ſentence of the Law, vnder the* * *appearance of a* DAMNED MAN. *Did not God then vſe him, as he doth ſinners, in all extremitie of puniſhment ſo far as was poſſible?*] You doe wiſely not to be *ambitious in producing multitudes of Men*, as you call them: for you doe but ſhame your ſelfe, and ſincke your cauſe, when you come to ſhew the grounds of your Doctrine by the teſtimonies of ancient Fathers. As they ſay nothing for you, ſo you vnderſtand nothing in them, no not the coherence, or force of their words, or ſentences. It is no ſmall matter, that here you vndertake out of Athanaſius, to prooue in Chriſt the *appearance of a* DAMNED MAN, which by and by you interpret to be *all extremitie of puniſhment* vſed by God to ſinners, *ſo farre as was poſſible*, the paines of the damned not excepted. I would gladly aske you, whether you purpoſe to cite places as you find them, to ſeeke out the truth,

or

or only professe to picke out heere and there a word to make you availe to hide your head for shame. You maruell what I meane, I will soone tell you. You alleage but fower words out of Athanasius, besides Prepositions and Pronouns, and in them you commit fiue notable faults, and three of them grosse, wilfull, and wicked corruptions. *Sententiam*, you call, *the sentence of the Law*; Where Athanasius expreslly noteth the *sentence*, which God gaue against Adam for eating of the forbidden fruit: *Soluit*, you interpret, *he satisfied*; where the word is, *he loosed* or *dissolued it*: ἐν μορφῇ, you translate *vnder the appearance*; Athanasius meaning the substance of mans soule and bodie, which he calleth the *fourme of man*: τὸ καταδικασθέντος, you render, of a *Damned man*, applying it to Christ for some countenance to your cause, in laying the paines of the damned on the soule of Christ; where Athanasius speaketh that word of Adam, that was condemned for sinne, in whose substance or forme Christ appeared, that is a true man, to dissolue the sentence giuen against Adam, when he was first condemned. And that which is most intolerable, where Athanasius in the same sentence the verie next words, expreslly addeth, that Christ was altogether *vntouched either with condemnation, or with sinne*, to shew that he ment Adam in the former word of condemnation, you purposely skippe and neglect that which should lead you to the trueth of his speech, and directly against his plaine and manifest words, you referre *Damnation* to Christ, as if in spite of Athanasius, though he earnestly and openly professe the contrary, you would wrest his words to dishonour and belie Christ, and make the Reader beleeue, that some before you had ascribed damnation vnto Christ. But be ashamed of these monstrous falsifications if you haue any shame in you; or if not, your Reader will soone perceaue, what cause it is you haue in hand, that must be vpheld with such hatefull forgeries.

Athanasius doctrine is very sound and good, though you will not acknowledge it, that Christ in his owne person, taking our humane nature vnto him, dissolued the sentence, that he gaue against Adam, when he condemned him for transgressing: and by his bodie dead and laid in the graue, he freed our bodies from the power of corruption, and with his soule descending into hell, he quited our soules from all the right and power, that hell had ouer vs by sinne. This whiles Athanasius mindeth to expresse, he saith; *He that examined (Adams) disobedience, and gaue iudgement; comprised a double punishment in his sentence; saying to the earthly* (part) *earth thou art, and to earth thou shalt returne; and to the soule, thou shalt die the death; and thereupon man is deuided in twaine, and condemned to goe vnto two places*; (to wit, his bodie to the graue, and his soule to hell.) [e] *It was therefore needfull, that the pronouncer* (of that sentence) *should himselfe, by himselfe dissolue his owne sentence*, ἐν μορφῇ τῇ καταδικασθέντος ἀκαταδικάστῳ καὶ ἀναμαρτήτῳ ὀφθεὶς, *appearing in the forme* (or substance) *of him, that was condemned, but yet without either condemnation or sinne, that the freedome of the whole man might be* (wrought) *by man in the newnesse of the image of the Sonne (of God)*. I shall not need to prooue, that [d] μορφὴ is the substantiall forme as well of God, as of man; the Apostle applieth it to both; and Athanasius in this verie place saith. [e] μορφὴν ἰδίας ψυχῆς ἀνεπίδεκτον τῶν δεσμῶν τῷ θανάτῳ παρεσχήσας παρῆσαν παρούσαις. *The fourme of his owne soule vnsubiected to the bands of death, Christ sent present before them*; and so againe *Christ* [f] *deliuering vs*, ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς μορφῇ πλείᾳ καὶ ἀληθεστάτῃ, *in his owne perfect and true forme* (or substance) *answerable to ours*. This could you not chuse but see, if either you perused Athanasius himselfe, or the verie [f] page 181. of my conclusion, which you cite, and whence you tooke this authoritie; where it is euident by the full wordes of Athanasius in the same sentence, that Christ was *cleere from sinne and vncondemned*, and that man was the person condemned for sinne; which you could not misse without infinite negligence, or inexcusable blindnesse.

What Athanasius speaketh of Adam, the Defendor referreth to Christ.

[e] *Athanasius de Incarnatione Christi.*

[d] Philip. 2. v. 6. & 7.

[e] *Athanas. vt supra.*

[f] Defenc. pag. 17. 2d marg. li. 8.

[g] *Austen we saw a little before.*] We saw his name, as now we doe, but we sawe no words of his, that any way made to your purpose. He saith; *Accursed is all sinne, whether it be the deed* (deseruing) *or the punishment* (deserued) *which is called sinne*, because it commeth (by or) from sinne. And likewise that *Christ receaued our punishment* with-

[g] Defenc. pag. 77. l. 15.

out

out sinne, that thereby he might dissolue our sinne, and end our punishment. Truely *accursed* is sinne, and the punishment inflicted on the offender for sinne abiding without remission or repentance; otherwise punishment after sinne remitted, as in the godly; or without desert of sinne, as in Christ; is not a true curse separating from God, nor from the true blessings of God, which make vs certainly and euerlastingly happie: but it is a curse depriuing vs of externall and corporall blessings, which God of his bountie first bestowed on the life of man, and often recalleth for triall of obedience, and chastising of disobedience, as also for preuenting occasions of sinne, and auoiding of greater vengeance, if we should be suffered to walke secure and careless in the waies of our hearts. Christ then receaued a curse for vs, which in him was the chastisement or punishment of our sinne; yet as he no way deserued it, so was it not destruction, which lighteth on the wicked for their wilfull persisting in sinne, but a proofe of his obedience, and a full satisfaction for our offences, respecting his person that suffered it, who was God and Man, and is by Saint Austen called our *Punishment*, as well for the cause, which was wholy ours, as for the likenesse it had with the punishments prouided for vs in this life, where Christ suffered; and not in hel, where Christ could not suffer. [k] *It is no euill* (in it selfe) *to be punished, but to deserue punishment.* And so Basil. [l] *The true euill is sinne, whose end is destruction; that which seemeth euill with afflicting* (or greeuing) *the sense, hath the force of good in it.*

[k] *Dionys. de Diuinis Nominibus. cap. 4.*

[l] *Basil. Homil. 9. quod Deus non sit Author malí.*

[m] *Your former sense that Christ was a sacrifice for sinne, how differeth it from your second, that he was punished for our sinnes?*] With you it may be a question, with me it is none. For though they were both ioined in Christes sufferings, yet that is no reason to take away their difference. In the sacrifice, which Christ offered vnto God for the sinnes of the world, himselfe was the Priest and the Offerer, and by his willing obedience, submitting himselfe to his Fathers will, made a recompence for our sinne, which we could not doe. In his Martyrdome, he was a patient sufferer of that, which the Iewes with cruell and wicked rage wrongfully laid on him, when he was deliuered by Gods determinate counsell into their hands. Now betweene his patient suffering from men, and willing offering to God, there is some difference, if you could see it, though they were both coupled in his death. [*They both proone directly and necessarily, that he must be indeed sinnefull by imputation.*] The one prooueth that he bare our sinnes in his bodie on the tree, but by no meanes, that he was guiltie of them: the other sheweth, that he cleansed our sinnes, and so was no way defiled with them. [*How could he be truely punished for sinne by God, but that he was sinnefull by imputation?*] Because he was most willing and able to make recompence to God for our sinnes by the dignity and innocencie of his person, which we could not. And who but you concludeth a Mediatour and Redeemer to be guiltie of their sinnes, for whom he maketh mediation and Redemption? If a man intreat pardon for a theefe or a traytor, vpon repentance, and satisfaction for the wrong; shall he by your Diuinitie be a theefe and a traitour, as well as the prisoner? If it were not lawfull for Princes to pardon, then were it vnlawfull for others to aske it: but in affoording mercie, where repentance is promised, and none wronged, Princes shew the power and right of their swordes in Gods steed, as well to accept the penitent, where they please, as to reuenge the obstinate. Shall it not then be much more iust with God, in whose only will and hand is the supreame power of all things, to release his wrath, and pardon his prisoner vpon repentance, and recompence offered to his iustice?

[m] *In his Sacrifice to God, Christ was a willing offerer: in his Martyrdome from men he was a patient sufferer.*

A Mediator not guiltie of the sinne for which he doth mediat.

How can any suffer at Gods hand, except he be reputed sinnefull?] For such as were his owne, Christ might suffer, and be no way touched with any guilt of their sinne, but rather accepted with God, and honored with men for the greatnesse of his mercy and charitie. And if he be no good shepheard, that flieth to saue his owne life, and leaueth his flocke to the woolfe; but the goodnesse of a shepheard is tried, as our Sauiour saith, by ventring his life for his sheepe; how commeth it into your braines, to make Christ a sinnefull and hatefull shepheard for giuing his life for his sheepe? [*] *We ought,* saith Saint Iohn, *to lay downe our liues for (our) brethren.* Shall that wrappe vs within

[*] 1. Iohn. 3.

vs within the guilt of other mens ſinnes, or rather commend our obedience to God, when we venter our liues, our dueties ſo requiring, to preuent other mens harmes? [But God himſelfe, you will ſay, doth not puniſh in this caſe; and therefore he holdeth vs not guiltie.] As though an haire of our heads could fall without Gods appointment and decree? or he would accept it as his ſeruice, if it made vs ſinfull? What rude and lewd ignorance is it, to make that ſinfull in Chriſt, which is commended to vs by his example, and commanded vs for his loue, and the good of others?

[1] *The Iewes ſacrifices, the expreſſe figures of Chriſt do moſt likely ſet out this thing. When they were brought vnto God, the people muſt lay on their hands vpon the heads of the beaſts: ſhewing thereby, that their* [m] *ſinnes were put vpon the ſacrifice, and that God ſo accounted them indeed to be.*] As your doctrine is moſt vnſauerie, ſo your proofs be moſt vnſound; your fanſies are ſo fraighted with falſhood, that you can not almoſt ſpeake a trueth. To what end the bringers of Sacrifices did lay their hands on the heads thereof, is not expreſſed in the Scripture, though you boldly auouched it by the example of the Scape-goat, on which the high Prieſt alone impoſed his hands. In [n] peace-offerings of thankſgiuing, where was no mention of ſinne, as well as in burnt offerings and ſinne offerings, the people [n] layed their hands on the heads of their ſacrifices; and in ſinne-offerings the laying on of their hands might be a confeſſion of the *fault* which they were guilty of; or of their deſert, that they were worthie to die; or of their faith in looking to be ſaued from their ſinnes by the bloud of the true Sacrifice, which ſhould purge them from all their vncleanneſſe. The Scape-goat, which you make a preſident for all other Sacrifices, but very falſely, was not ſlaine at all, and had no hands layd on him, ſaue the high Prieſts alone, and liuing caried away the ſinnes of the people into a land not inhabited. What reſemblance hath this with the bloudie ſacrifice of Chriſt for ſinne, or what compariſon can you make betweene them but by contrarieties? The other bloudie Sacrifices, which vndoubtedly were figures of Chriſt, teach no ſuch thing, as you imagine, but rather plainly confute it. For as in nature they were not capable of the guilt, but onely of the paine of ſinne, which is death; ſo in vſe they were holy, and in their reference to the true ſacrifice, accepted for the ſinnes of men. And becauſe you now admit them to be *expreſſe* and *liuely* figures of Chriſt, which in the beginning you denied, reſolue your Reader, whether they were defiled and hatefull to God or no. The Scripture ſayth of them, they *were moſt* [o] *holy, and* [p] *accepted* as *offerings of a* [q] *ſweet ſauour vnto God*. And if the figuratiue Sacrifices, when they did beare the ſinnes of tranſgreſſors, were not defiled therewith, but moſt holy and accepted to God; what true Chriſtian will endure your vncleane thoughts and words, that the Sonne of God was defiled with our ſinnes, and hatefull to God for them, when he aſſumed them, to aboliſh them by the ſhedding of his bloud, and to purge vs from all pollution of fleſh and ſpirit? Neither truſt to your termes of imputation, to ſaue you from impietie of heart and mouth, our ſinnes were imputed to Chriſt to beare the burden of them in his bodie, that is to be chaſtiſed for them, but not to be defiled with them, or guiltie of them, much leſſe to be hatefull to God and truely accurſed for them.

[r] *The compariſon of Chriſt with a Suretie, is neither a ſimple ſimilitude, as you ſimplie call it, neither is it vncleane, but a holie and fit repreſentation of Chriſtes paying our debt for vs.*] Chriſtes vndertaking our cauſe, and paying our debts in farre more ample and pleaſing maner to God then we were able, I no way reiect or reproue; (it is the anker and holde of our ſaluation) but that you bound him thereto by a ſingle ſimilitude of a Suretie, who could not be bound farther then his owne loue and liking did leade him, I did and do miſlike; and ſay, if you take not heed thereto, it breedeth a peſtilent and pernicious hereſie. For it is moſt certaine, that long before the manhood of Chriſt was conceiued, the ſecond perſon in Trinity vndertooke our redemption; and in that reſpect the true and eternall God euen from the beginning profeſſed himſelfe to be our Redeemer. [s] *I am ſure*, ſayth Iob, *that my Redeemer liueth.*

[1] Defenc. pag. 77. li. 23.

[m] Leuit. 16. 21.

[n] Leuit. 3 v. 2. 8. 13.

Why the People laid their hands on the heads of their Sacrifices.

[o] Leuit. 7 v. 1. 6. & 10. v. 17

[p] Leuit. 1. v. 4. & 13. 17.

[r] Defenc. pag. 77. li. 30.

Chriſt no way bound to be our Suretie.

[s] Iob. 19.

[g] Psal.30. [h] Psal.78. [i] Esa. 44. [k] Esa. 63. [l] Psal.34. [m] Psal. 130. [n] Ose. 14. [o] Hebr. 1. [p] Defenc. pag. 77.li.34. [q] Hebr.7. [r] Matth 20. [s] Psal. 22. [t] Ephes. 1. [u] Defenc. pag. 78.li.1.

[g] *Thou hast redeemed me, ô Lord God of trueth*, sayth Dauid. Of the Israelites he likewise sayth: [h] *When he slew them, they sought him, and remembred that God was their strength, and the most high God their Redeemer.* [i] *He that made thee,* (sayth Esay) *thine husband (whose name is the Lord of hosts) and thy Redeemer, the holy one of Israel, shall be called the God of the whole world.* And againe: [k] *Thou ô Lord art our Father, our Redeemer, thy Name is for euer and euer.* And lest any should diuert this to the deliuerance out of Egypt, which was a figure of their true redemption from sinne and Satan; Dauid saith. [l] *The Lord redeemeth the Soules of his seruants, and none that trust in him, shall perish*; yea [m] *He shall redeeme Israell from all his Iniquities.* And so God in his owne person speaketh by his Prophet. [n] *I will Redeeme them from the hand of hell, I will Redeeme them from death; Repentance is hid from mine eyes.* Here is he, that first vndertooke our cause, and professed and promised to be our Redeemer, euen the Sonne of God, [o] *who being the brightnesse of glorie, and the Character of his* (Fathers) *substance,* (or liuely Image of his Person) *supporting all things with the word of his power, made the purgation of our sinnes by himselfe*; that is, in his owne Person. Now if you being a Christian, haue any bands to tie God withall, besides his *loue* and his *truth*, you were best shew them forth; we shall otherwise take you, if you stand vpon it, for little better then an Arian, to lay *subiection* or *seruitude* on any of the Persons in the most glorious Trinitie.

[p] *The word is vsed in the Scripture it selfe, he was made a Suretie of a better couenant. Is not this sufficient to warrant the goodnesse and aptnesse of the similitude against your vndutifull reproofes of it?*] It is not written in the Scriptures, that Christ *was made our Suretie to God*, much lesse that he was a Suretie bound to the Law to pay our debts for vs. Our debt was euerl. sting damnation of Body and Soule, which either Christ or we must pay or suffer, if your prophane vrging of this Similitude take place. The Scripture saith, [q] *He was made a Suretie of a better Testament*; prooving expresly by the Comparison of two Testaments, a *former* and a *weaker*, which was the *Law*; *a later and a better*, which was the *Gospell*; that Christ was not *a Suretie of the Law*, nor to the Law, as you falsely conceaue, but of *a better Testament*, then the Law; that is, he was Gods assurance to vs, that all his promises of *mercie, grace, and glory* should stand fast, notwithstanding our iniquitie, indignitie, and Infirmitie were neuer so vnmeete and vnworthie thereof. This Suretiship of Christ, to establish with his bloud the new couenant, which God made with vs, not we with him, without all respect of our merits to pardon our offences, and to make vs heires of his heauenly kingdome; the Scripture mentioneth, which is no more like to your Suretiship, then freedome is to bondage. I therefore reprooued not the word, which my selfe also did vse, I reprooued your seruile applying the word to bring Christ from loue and libertie, which led him to be our Redeemer, vnto thraldome and debt, to make him thereby sinfull and defiled with our vncleanesse. And is it not worthie of reproofe, when a word is vsed in the Scriptures to one purpose, for you to take vpon you to draw it as you list to your deuices? It is plainly written in the Gospell; [r] *The Sonne of man came not to be serued, but to serue.* Will you hence presume your selfe to be Christs Master, and take him bound to fulfill your Commandement, as seruants must their Masters? He saith of himselfe [s] *I am a worme and not a man.* Will you trample on him, as you doe on wormes? God hath giuen vs his Spirit as [t] *the pledge of our inheritance.* Shall we claime power ouer Gods spirit, as we doe ouer pledges, that are in our possession? What wickednesse may not be bolstered, if we stretch Similitudes vsed in the Scriptures, farder then they were intended, and we authorized?

Christ a Surety to vs of the new Testament.

[u] *You say Christ was not as a Suretie bound to the Law, but of a better couenant euen of grace. Verely a Suretie to vs of both.*] Verely if you say, that Christ was bound to vs, or to the Law, in both; that is, as well to beare our sinnes, as to giue vs grace, you broch two apparant blasphemies. If you shift with saying, Christ doth assure vs he hath done both for vs, you slide from your former Assertion. For that both these are done by Christ, we both agree, only you would haue him, when he bare our sinnes,

to

to be thereto bound, and in that respect worthely [k] *condemned by the iust sentence of the Law, which layeth the Penaltie on the Suretie, when the Debtor cannot discharge it.* I told you, that not onely we were in our selues to wicked and hatefull, as being Enemies, to haue any loue or fauour due to vs from God, but also the Person of the Redeemer was so full of might and maiestie, that no bands could be laid on him by the Lawe, because he was afore the Law, and aboue the Law, that vndertooke our Redemption. To this what reply yon? [*He was a Suretie to vs of both.*] But was he bound to vs, or to the Law in either? Why speake you not to that, which is in Question? It would well become the rest of your conceits, to say that Christ was bound to redeeme vs being his Enemies, and that the Sonne of God was bound to beare our burdens for vs. [*He promised so to doe.*] Then the *Loue* of God which began it; the *Will*, which published it; and the *Truth*, which performed it; are the more to be magnified by vs in the Sonne of God; who could owe vs no duetie; nor be bound to vs, nor to the Law. [*Those are the greatest bands that God can enter.*] If Gods *Counsels, purposes*, and *Promises* be bands to barre the freedome of his fauour, grace, and mercie; and in all these to impose on him a necessitie, then is there in God no freedome, but onely bondage; which God forbid should come within any Christians hart. He is most constant in all his thoughts, words, and waies; which we may not thinke, much lesse call debts to vs, or bands to him, without euident and extreame impietie; but as he giueth all things to all, and oweth nothing to any, which the Scripture calleth his *Grace*, whereof he is a giuer, and not a Debtor; so he cannot repent or change, as men doe; which we must ascribe to the infallible stedfastnesse of his most wise and glorious will; the only Rule of all his gifts and works. No band then, if you know what a band meaneth, can be fastned on God, since that hath in it a debt, which must of necessitie be yeelded, whereto the partie may be compelled and forced by the right of the Law, which chalenges in Gods promises are most prophane and heathenish Blasphemics.

[k] Trea. pa. 93. li. 6. & 9.

It is a most haineus error to subiect God to any bondage.

[l] *It is written that Christ was made, Hyponomon, subiect to the Law, or vnder the Law, which you mightely denie against expresse Scripture.*] You are so well acquainted with corrupting and deprauing other mens words, that you make no care to doe the like to mine. That Christ was vnder the Law, I neuer denied, no more then that he was vnder death; but I said he was not bound to the Law, no more then he was bound to death, though he willingly for our sakes subiected himselfe to the rudiments of the Law, (for of those the Apostle speaketh) to liue vnder them for a time, and to taste of death, that he might in the end abolish them both. For as Christ would be *Circumcised, and Baptised*, though there was nothing in him needfull to be pared or washed away, but rather that *fulfilling all righteousnesse*, he might commend both the one and the other with his person and presence: so would he obserue the ceremonies of the Law, not tied like a *Seruant* vnto them, but content to vse them, as Lord ouer them, till he saw his time, which he did not sticke to professe of himselfe, when occasion was offered. *The* [m] *Sonne of man* (saith he of himselfe) *is Lord euen of the Sabboth:* And so likewise, [n] *I say vnto you, that here is one greater then the temple.* By which words of his it is euident, that he was not bound to the Law, who called himselfe, as he was the Sonne of Man, *Lord of the Sabboth*, and so of all the Law; but as he laide downe his life, when the Law could not take it from him, and was obedient vnto death, though death were in his power; so would he subiect himselfe to the carnall commandements of the Law, though he were free from them, as being the truth and end of the Law. For the Law was our Schole-master to Christ, to whom when we were come by faith, *which made vs the* [o] *Sonnes of God, we were no longer vnder a Schoole-master.* How much lesse then could Christ himselfe, who freed all, that beleeued in him, from obseruing the Law, be bound or of necessitie subiect to the Law; which neede not lead him to himselfe, nor could not force him, that was personally the Sonne of God, to be a seruant vnder the types and figures of the Law, farder then his owne wil induced him.

[l] Defenc. pag. 78. li. 11.

Christ made himselfe vnder the law by loue, when he was free from the Law, and Lord of the Law.

[m] Matth 12. vers. 8.

[n] 6.

[o] Galat. 3.

I made a reason that Sueties bound to the law to pay other mens debts, might

not looke to haue all referred to their *liking and power*, as Christ had to his, but to answer the penalties of the law, to which they were obliged. [r] *Yes forsooth, such a Suertie, as he was, might worthely be a gratious Mediator: he was no ordinarie Suertie.*] You labour to binde Christ to the thraldome of condemnation by the similitude of humane lawes, which subiect the Suertie to the same condition, that they doe the debtour: and now when you see that resemblance to faile, you exempt him from the seruitude of Suerties, because he was no ordinarie Suertie. Doe you now finde, there is great difference betwixt a Suertie and a Redeemer, and howsoeuer the speech may be true, that Christ was a kinde of Suertie for vs, yet may we not make him a seruant obliged to vs, or with vs, but a willing and free Redeemer. For after our transgression committed, and iudgement giuen vpon Adam and all his posteritie by Gods owne mouth, a Suertie commeth to late, a Redeemer is not too late before execution; and therefore the Scriptures doe euerie where giue vs a Redeemer, to note that we were condemned, and reserued vnder feare and danger of euerlasting punishment, till the Redeemer interposed himselfe, and offered such ransome and restitution, as should more content and satisfie the holinesse and iustice of God, then our condemnation could doe. The person that vndertooke our redemption, was not Christes humane nature, which as then was not, but the Sonne of God in his owne person assumed on him to make ful satisfaction for our disobedience; not by suffering euerlasting death, which was due to vs, but by giuing a better and more pretious recompence, then we were woorth. And this he would doe by submitting himselfe to obey and serue in our nature, and in our steed, and so offer the most acceptable Sacrifice of humilitie and obedience vnto death, that Gods holinesse might be honored, which we despised; and his iustice satisfied, which we prouoked. Let all men therefore aduise themselues, how they binde the person of the Sonne of God to their obligation or condemnation; it was he, and none other that vndertooke for vs, and by whose fauour, power, dignitie, sanctitie and humilitie ioyned in one person with our weake and fraile nature, the worke of our redemption was performed.

r Defenc. pag. 78. li. 15.

Though Christ may be called a voluntarie Suertie, yet was he truely a mercifull Redeemer.

[q] *You say he could not be bound to the Law, because he was aboue the Law. He was aboue the Law in his Godhead, but in his manhood he became for vs vnder the Law.*] If you speake of Christes manhood apart from his Godhead, you vtterly ouerthrow all our saluation. For set aside the personall vnion of man with God in Christ Iesus, and his humane nature could do vs no good. Since therefore his Godhead was from euerlasting, and a perfect and distinct person in the Trinitie before his manhood was created, which had neuer any existence by it selfe, but in coniunction with his Deitie from the first instant of his conception; when we speake of the person of Christ, we must speake either of his Godhead, which was before his incarnation, or ioyntly of both after his assumption of man into God. Then either we had no Suretie for our redemption the foure thousand yeeres that Christes flesh was vnmade of his mother, or els the Sonne of God in his owne person was our Suretie. So that our Suretie for foure thousand yeeres could not be bound to the Law by your confession: and when the same Sonne of God tooke vnto him our humane nature into the vnity of his person; HE, that is, the Person could be no more bound to the Law then he was before. For the Godhead was of more power to free the manhood of Christ in that Person from the Law, then our flesh in Christ was to subiect the Godhead vnder the Law. Wherefore the person remained free and vnbound, yet would he submit himselfe to obserue the signes and sacraments of the Law, as he did humble himselfe to the death of the Crosse, to neither of which the person was bound by any legall seruitude, but only by voluntarie submission, that his obedience being no way tied, might be the more precious in Gods sight. For as the [t] *Lord of glorie was crucified*, and we are [f] *reconciled to God by the death of his Sonne*, so God sent his Sonne [s] *made of a woman, and made vnder the Law*, to redeeme vs and giue vs the adoption of children: but as he was made flesh by no compulsion nor obligation, no more was he subiect to the Law by any other meanes, then by his owne loue and liking for vs.

q Defenc. pa. 78. li. 23.

Christ vndertooke to be our Redeemer 4000 yeeres before he was made man.

t 1. Cor. 2.
f Rom. 5.
s Galat. 4.

Neither

Neither doth the Scripture binde the manhood of Christ vnto the Law. For [a] *the Law was not giuen to the righteous*, sayth the Apostle. Which if it were possible to be true in any, it was most true in the manhood of Christ, who had neither in birth, life, nor death any taint of sinne. [x] *If ye be led by the spirit*, sayth Paul, *ye are not vnder the Law: for against such there is no law*. Whether you thinke the manhood of Christ was endued and guided with the spirit, I referre it to your owne conscience. If it were, then against him was no law, though in loue to vs, which was the fulfilling of the law, he would humble himselfe, not vnder the law only, but vnder the worst of men, *to be the* [y] *contempt of men, and reproch of the people.* [z] *If the Sonne shall make you free, you shall be free indeed*, sayth our Sauiour. *For the seruant abideth not in the house for euer, but the Sonne abideth for euer.* If then, when we are made the sonnes of God by faith, we can be no longer seruants to the law, because the law *ingendreth bondage*, which is repugnant to the liberty wherewith Christ hath made vs free; how much lesse could the manhood of Christ, which not only freeth vs, but was personally borne the Sonne of God, be a seruant and in bondage to the law, saue onely because he would humble himselfe to serue in our steads? This Paul learned of his master, and followed in his master, when he sayd: [a] *Though I be free from all men, yet haue I made my selfe seruant vnto all men, and am made all things to all men, that I might by all meanes saue some.* So that by your leaue it is a plaine errour in you, because Christ submitted himselfe willingly to the law, to conclude, his manhood was bound to the law.

[a] 1. Tim 1.
[x] Galat. 5.
[y] Psal. 22.
[z] Ioh. 8.
[a] 1. Cor. 9.

[b] *He was not of himselfe in his manhood bound to the law for vs, but freely and voluntarily vndertaking, and by Gods gratious eternall decree appointing him, so he became bound to the Law.*] The Reader will finde in the end, that your greatest strength is the mistaking of other mens words and abusing of your owne. For when you haue wrangled foure leaues to tie Christ to the true curse of the law, and to hang him by the iust sentence of the same law, because he stood bound with vs as a Suretie to pay our debts; now at last after long lingering, you say, he did freely and voluntarily vndertake to redeeme vs, yet loth to let go, you adde, and *so became bound to the law*. Sir, you should tell vs, WHO did freely and voluntarily vndertake our redemption, and WHEN. For if it were vndertaken by the Sonne of God long before Christes manhood was borne, then binde you the Sonne of God to the law, which before you disclaimed. And did God, thinke you, eternally decree and appoint his Sonne to be bound to the Law? Beware of Arianisme, if you appoint any of the persons in Trinitie to be one bound more then another with any manner of bondage or seruice. Then as the Sonne could not be bound, because he was God; No more would the Father binde the Sonne, whose loue to vs ledde him to vndertake our Redemption; and to binde him that was willing, was to distrust him, which suspition I hope you will not impute to the Father against the Sonne. The Father therefore in the same loue to vs, wherewith his Sonne offered to be the person, that should redeeme vs, accepted the offer of his Sonne, and gratiously decreed with one consent of the whole Trinitie, as well the manner, as the meane of our redemption; which decree did not binde, but accept and approoue the loue of the Redeemer. And when the time came, that the Sonne of God would execute this decree made as well by himselfe, as the other persons in Trinitie, he tooke an vndefiled humane bodie and soule into the person of his Godhead, which he so replenished with the woonderfull light, and supported with the infallible strength of his spirit, that it most willingly embraced, and most earnestly affected the same submission and obedience, which the diuine nature of Christ was pleased to yeeld for our redemption. So that the manhood of Christ neuer hauing any subsistence by it selfe apart from the Godhead of the Sonne, it neuer had any humane action or passion in birth, life, or death, which pertained not to the whole person consisting of God and man. And in that respect the Scriptures say, [c] *God sent his Sonne made of a woman, and made vnder the Law, and we are* [d] *reconciled to God by the death of his Sonne; the Iewes* [e] *crucified the Lord of glorie, and God* [f] *purchased his church with his owne blood.* Which speeches could haue no trueth in them, as likewise our saluation

[b] Defenc. pag. 78. li. 26.

The willing offer of the Sonne to be our Redeemer did induce the decree of the whole Trinitie.

[c] Galat. 4.
[d] Rom. 5.
[e] 1. Cor. 2.
[f] Act. 20.

tion no certaintie, if the manhood of Chriſt could haue had any action or paſsion aſunder from the Godhead. The perſon therefore of God and man after his incarnation, was ſubiect to the Law, and euen the ſame perſon, that from the beginning vndertooke our redemption, and ſo not the manhood of Chriſt, as you would ſhift the matter off, but the perſon of God and man muſt be bound to the Law, if our Suertie were bound.

Gods promiſe muſt not be called Contage.

May not God be bound by his promiſe?] Then muſt you ſay, that God is *bound* to giue vs grace, mercie, and glorie, becauſe he hath promiſed euerie one of theſe, and hath ſworne to performe them; and ſo you turne the whole Scriptures vpſide downe, and put your ſelfe in Gods place, and make him your attendant and ſeruant, becauſe by an immutable decree he hath promiſed to heare vs, when we call; and helpe vs in time of need. By this Diuinitie like to the reſt of your deuices, the loue, fauour, compaſsion, bountie, mercie, trueth, and maieſtie of God ſhall be not onely a neceſsitie, but euen a bondage vnto him, which blaſphemie no Chriſtian eares I hope will endure. God therefore is a moſt mercifull promiſer, a moſt gratious giuer, and a moſt faithfull performer; his promiſes are aſſurances, that he will giue, what he ſaith; but they are no bands, that he muſt yeeld, what he oweth; becauſe we haue neither meanes to deſerue them, nor right to chalenge them, nor power to exact them; but onely need to receaue them, praier to entreat them, and thanks to acknowledge them. He is content to make himſelfe our debtour by promiſe, to let vs ſee, how much we are bound to him, that deſeruing nothing, we are yet by his mercy aſſured of all things.

Defenc. pa. 38. li 29.

Though he who ordinarily Redeemeth a priſoner from the Enemie, be not bound, but content ſo to doe, yet a Suertie being content becommeth bound, and ſo Chriſt our Redeemer became bound, as a Suertie to pay our debt for vs.] Though the Scriptures euerie where calling Chriſt a Redeemer, and no where a Suertie to God for vs to pay our debts, (but Gods Suertie or aſſurance to vs) doe by the verie name giue vs to vnderſtand, that God muſt needs be leſſe bound then men, which are not bound but content to redeeme others from their enemies; yet you will haue your will in ſpite of Scriptures and Fathers, and make Chriſt no Redeemer indeed, by taking his freedome from him, but binde him with your ſimilitudes to doe that in thraldome, which in loue and mercie he was content to doe for vs. And where Gods decrees and promiſes, which are moſt faithfull and firme aſſurances, can not be called bonds in him without blaſphemie, yet you will haue him bound to ſaue vs, becauſe he promiſed to deliuer vs. And our debt being eternall damnation of bodie and ſoule to hell fire, you will tie Chriſt to paie our debts without diſpenſation or qualification; except it pleaſe you with your poſsibilities to releeue him. And the law, to which you will haue him bound, was firſt that, which inflicted penalties on vs for ſinne; then it was the Goſpell, which ſhewed vs our ſaluation in Chriſt; and now it is the eternall decree of God, whereby Chriſt was appointed to be our Sauiour. And all this impiety and inconſtancie you build neither on Scripture nor Father, but vpon the ſimilitude of a Suertie taken from Weſtminſter Hall, where men miſtruſting ech others words and willes, take bands with Sureties to haue their due payed them. But know you good Sir, that God had no diſtruſt of his Sonnes will and loue to vs, nor doubt of his ability to performe our redemption, and therefore bound him not, as you deſperately dreame, when he offered to be our Redeemer; but accepted his loue, which could not faile; and his will, which could not change; making no decree for the maner of our redemption, but what the Sonne himſelfe with the reſt of the perſons in Trinitie liked for the preſeruing of his owne diuine iuſtice, and ſhewing of his owne exceeding loue towards vs.

Then as it is certaine by the Chriſtian faith, the Sonne of God could not be bound to helpe or redeeme vs being his enemies, nor to humble himſelfe to the forme of a ſeruant, but only was thereto led with the loue of his Fathers glorie, and of our ſafetie: ſo it is euident, that the ſame perſon, after he had aſſumed our nature vnto him,

could

could not be forced with any neceſsitie, nor vrged with any commandement againſt his will, but the humane will of Chriſt was ſo guided and directed by his diuine will and power, that it readily and gladly ſubmitted it ſelfe in all things to the will and pleaſure of his Father, which indeed was alſo the will of his owne diuine nature; forſomuch as the three perſons in Trinitie haue all one & the ſame glorie and maieſtie, will and worke. And therefore aſwell the Scriptures, as the Fathers do plainly teſtifie, that euen Chriſtes manhood had power enough giuen it to withſtand all that was offered him by men or diuels, but that for our ſakes the perſon would ſubmit himſelfe to the ſeruitude, infirmitie, miſerie, and mortalitie of our condition; therein to comfort vs, thereby to redeeme vs, and therefrom to deliuer vs; which he could not do but in his humane nature, ſince his Godhead was impaſsible.

The perſon of Chriſt could not be bound, but his humane will was guided by his diuine will.

This fredome and power not to be bound, nor compelled to any of his ſufferings, we muſt reſerue to the perſon of Chriſt, that his obedience might be meritorious and voluntarie, not only at his firſt conſenting thereto, which is this Defenders drift, but in his continuall perſiſting therein, and finall performing thereof; that is, in all and euery part of thoſe things which the wiſedome of God thought requiſit for our redemption. [h] *When you haue done all thoſe things,* ſayth our Sauiour, *which were appointed you, ſay, We are vnprofitable ſeruants; we haue done that which was our bounden duetie to doe.* Will you bring Chriſt within the compaſſe of an vnprofitable ſeruant, by doing that he was appointed and bound to do? [i] *Without thy liking* (ſayth Paul to Philemon) *I would do nothing, that thy good ſhould not be as it were of neceſſitie, but willingly.* If God ſo much reſpect the willingneſſe of the heart, that he will not haue men tied with neceſsitie to doe good, ſhall we thinke, that he would binde his owne Sonne to the obedience of a ſeruant, and not ſuffer his ſubmiſsion to be voluntary, that it might be acceptable and thanks worthy to God? And to what purpoſe lay you theſe bands on Chriſt? If he were willing, there needed no bands beſides the [k] *bands of loue,* which is the ſureſt hold that God requireth of vs. If he were not willing, his vndertaking our cauſe, was neither loue to vs nor obedience to God, *(who loueth a cheerefull giuer)* but a compulſion or exaction, which ouerthroweth the very ground-worke of Chriſtes ſubmiſsion and our ſaluation.

[h] Luc. 17.

[i] Ad Philemon. v. 14.

[k] Oſe. 11. v. 4.

To preuent all lewd and wicked ſurmiſes of bonds, duetie, or neceſsitie to be layd on the Sonne of God in redeeming vs, the Scriptures exactly ſay, that [l] *Chriſt loued his Church, and gaue himſelfe for her*; that is, he was led by loue, and by no compulſion nor commandement, to *giue himſelfe for her,* which otherwiſe by no meanes could be exacted of the Sonne of God. And therefore *he* [m] EMPTIED HIMSELFE, *taking the forme of a ſeruant, and* HVMBLED HIMSELFE, *becomming obedient vnto death, euen the death of the Croſſe*; to aſſure vs it was loue, that cauſed him to *giue himſelfe*; that is, at firſt to offer, and after to yeeld himſelfe for vs, which otherwiſe could by no decree nor band be impoſed on him, nor required of him. And this libertie to do and ſuffer of his owne accord euerie thing, which he in his diuine wiſdome, together with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, thought meet for mans ſaluation, the perſon of Chriſt kept vntouched euen to his death, in his death, and after his death; himſelfe moſt plainly profeſsing ſo much of himſelfe in the laying downe of his ſoule, *that* [n] *none tooke it from him, but he layd it downe of himſelfe*; *and* [o] *would in three dayes raiſe vp againe the temple of his bodie*, by taking his ſoule vnto him. And *this* was the *charge* and appointment that *he receiued of his Father*, to do and ſuffer theſe things of himſelfe, that is, without any band, force, or neceſsitie, but only of his owne accord and voluntarie obedience to that which was his Fathers will, becauſe it was firſt his owne good will and offer, and ſo accepted and decreed to the whole Trinitie, as a moſt ſufficient amends for mans diſobedience, and a moſt iuſt and full deſert of mans adoption and ſaluation by the meanes and merits of Chriſt Ieſus. For which cauſe the Scripture reſolueth vs, that Chriſt [p] *loued vs, and gaue himſelfe for vs, to be an offering and a ſacrifice of a ſweet ſauour vnto God*, that is, a moſt willing, free, and acceptable ſeruice, and ſatisfaction to God for all our ſinnes.

There was no neceſſitie in our Redemption, but Chriſts will, power, and libertie.

[l] Eph. 5. v. 25.

[m] Philip. 2.

[n] Iohn. 10.

[o] Iohn. 2.

[p] Eph. 5. v. 2.

The

The Catholike Fathers were very carefull to continue this Doctrine in Chriſts Church. [a] *Nos Dominum verum hominem ſuſcepiſſe credimus, & in ipſo viſibiliter inuiſibilem apparuiſſe, in ipſo inter homines conuerſatum fuiſſe, in ipſo ab hominibus humana pertuliſſe. Totum autem hoc nulla fecit neceſſitate.* We (Chriſtians) ſaith Auſten *beleeue that the Lord tooke vpon him the true Nature of Man, and therein did viſibly appeare to men, when he was before inuiſible, and in his Manhood conuerſed amongſt men, and in the ſame ſuffered the things, which men may offer to men. All this did he with no neceſſitie.* To ſhew what Chriſt ſuffered from men; Auſten addeth. *The word was made fleſh by his owne power, and was borne, and ſuffered, and died, and roſe againe, Nulla ſua neceſſitate, ſed voluntate & poteſtate; By no neceſſitie laid on him, but of his owne will and power.* And ſo: [c] *Hos humanæ infirmitatis affectus, ſicut ipſam carnem Infirmitatis humanæ, ac mortem carnis humanæ Dominus Ieſus non conditionis neceſſitate, ſed miſerationis voluntate ſuſcepit. Theſe affections of mans Infirmitie, as alſo the fleſh of mans weakeneſſe, and the death of mans fleſh, the Lord Ieſus tooke vpon him not by any neceſſitie of Condition, but by the good will of his mercie.* As elſe where. [f] *Oſtendit Dominus voluntate ſe pati, non neceſſitate. Ergo quod paſſus eſt, miſericordia fuit. The Lord ſheweth that he ſuffered by his owne will, and by no neceſſitie. It was therefore mercie that made him ſuffer.* Euery where Saint Auſten is reſolute, that *Chriſt ſuffered, and died,* [g] *when he would, as he would, and becauſe he would.* Athanaſius. [h] *Chriſt ſeeing the goodneſſe of his Father, and his owne ſufficiencie, and power, κεκίνηται τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ, καὶ οἰκτείρων τὴν ἀσθένειαν ἡμῶν ἐνεδύσατο ταυτῃ; was moued with loue towards man, and pittying our infirmitie, he put on the ſame, and hauing Compaſſion on our mortalitie, he clothed himſelfe therewith:* [k] *ἑκουσίως δὲ καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ὑπέμεινε, καὶ οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος ἦρχετο ὅπου τὸν θάνατον; and willingly tooke vp the Croſſe to himſelfe, and went to his death vncompelled.* Chryſoſtome. [l] *Seipſum tradidit, vt indicet quod voluntariè paſſionem ſuſcepit, & non neceſſitate, neque vi, ſed volens & ſponte. Chriſt gaue himſelfe, to ſhew that he vndertooke his Paſſion willingly, and not by any neceſſitie or exaction, but of his owne will and accord.* [m] *Paſſus eſt quia voluit, reſurrexit quia potuit. Chriſt ſuffered becauſe he would, and roſe becauſe he could.* And ſo [n] *By his deeds Chriſt taught vs, that he went to his Paſſion by no force nor neceſſitie, but of his owne accord.* Ambroſe. *Chriſt was* [o] *no ſeruant to death, but free among the dead. For he was free that had power to diſſolue death.* [p] *By the power of his Diuinitie he laid downe his Soule, and tooke it againe. Thou ſeeſt his goodneſſe in that he laid it downe of his owne accord: thou ſeeſt his power in that he tooke it againe.* [q] *At the time when pleaſed him, the Lord Ieſus emptied himſelfe, and* [r] *ſuffered when he would.* Ierom. [s] *Death came not vpon Chriſt, but Chriſt came vpon it; for Death in him found no way for his power.* [t] *He was no Debtor to Death and ſinne, but he was offered, becauſe he himſelfe would. For* [u] *he ſuſtained not the Croſſe by any neceſſitie, but willingly, otherwiſe if he had not beene offered by his owne good will, he might haue declined thoſe that were ſent to (take) him, whom he met without feare, and of his owne accord offered himſelfe to them.*

Gregorie. [x] *Incarne veniens Dominus non culpam noſtram ex vitio, non pœnam ex neceſſitate ſuſcepit; nulla enim labe peccati pollutus, reatus noſtri teneri conditione non potuit: atque ideo mortem noſtram omni neceſſitate calcata, cum voluit ſponte ſuſcepit. The Lord comming in fleſh, neither tooke on him our fault by any infection, nor our puniſhment by any coaction, (for being defiled with no ſtaine of ſinne, he could not be held by any condition of our guiltineſſe,) and therefore treading all neceſſitie vnder his feete, of his owne accord, when he would, he admitted our death.* [y] *Nos omnes cum nolumus morimur; quia ad ſoluendæ pœnæ debitum culpæ noſtræ conditione coarctamur. Ille autem quia nulli admixtus eſt culpæ, nulli ex neceſſitate ſuccubuit pœnæ. Sed quia culpam noſtram dominando ſubdidit, pœnam noſtram miſerando ſuſcepit. We all die againſt our wils, becauſe we are tied by the condition of our ſinne to the debt of enduring puniſhment. But he that was entangled with no fault, could not be bound to any penaltie by neceſſitie. Yet becauſe he ſubdued our ſinne by raigning ouer it, in mercie and pittie (tovs) he vndertooke our puniſhment, as he himſelfe ſaith: I haue power to lay downe my Soule, no man taketh it from me, but I lay it downe of my ſelfe.* Beda. [z] *Ieſus hungred, it is true, but becauſe he would. He ſlept, it is true, but becauſe he would. He ſorrowed,*

[a] *Auguſt. de fi de contra Manichæos cap. 26.*
[c] *Idem in Pſal. 87.*
[f] *Idem in Ioannem tract. 31.*
[g] *Idem de Trinitate. li. 4. cap. 13.*
[h] *Athanaſius in Paſſionem & Crucem Dom.*
[k] *Idem.*
[l] *Chryſ. in Geneſ. Homil. 53.*
[m] *Idem Homil. de fide. To. 3.*
[n] *Idem in Ioan. Homil. 82.*
[o] *Ambroſ. in Pſal. 118. Sermo. 6.*
[p] *Idem de fide l. 2 cap. 1.*
[q] *Idem. l. 5. de fi. 14.*
[r] *Le oratione ad Auxentium.*
[s] *Hieron. in Oſe. cap. 13.*
[t] *Idem in Pſal. 68.*
[u] *Idem in Iſa. cap. 3*
[x] *Gregorius Moralium. l. 24 cap. 2.*
[y] *Ibidem.*
[z] *Beda in 11. cap Euangelij Ioan.*

rowed, it is true, but because he would. He died, it is true, but because he would. [m] *It was in his power to be so or so affected, or not.* [m] *These affections of mans infirmitie, Non conditione necessitatis, sed voluntate miserationis suscepit, sicut & carnem & ipsam etiam mortem; Christ tooke vnto him not by any band of necessitie, but by the good pleasure of his mercie, as he did flesh, and death it selfe. Wherefore his death was truely free, not forced; because he had power to lay downe his soule, and take it againe.* [n] *He that dieth of necessitie, can not rise of himselfe. Christ then, who wanted all fault, was not tied to the necessitie of death. Therefore Christes death was voluntarie, not necessarie; and so he might rise of himselfe.* Damascene, [o] *Naturall things* (affections and passions) *in Christ did not preuent his will, there was nothing forced in Christ, but all voluntarie. At his owne will he hungred, at his owne will he thirsted, at his owne will he feared, at his owne will he died.* Bernard. [p] *Not onely Christ was willing, and was offered, but he was offered because he was willing.* [q] *Christ being equal with God emptied himselfe by taking the forme of a seruant, and being rich became poore for vs, and of great was made little; of high, low; of strong, weake; and hungred, and thirsted, and was wearied in his iourney, and the rest, which he suffered of his owne accord and not by any necessitie.* [r] *He was voluntarily incarnate, he voluntarily suffered, and was voluntarily crucified.* [s] *For had he not died voluntarily, that death had not beene meritorious. How much more vnwoorthely he died who deserued not death, so much the more iustly (man) liueth, for whom he died. What iustice, thou wilt aske, is this, that an innocent should die for a malefactour?* NON EST IVSTITIA, SED MISERICORDIA. *Si iustitia esset, iam non gratis, sed ex debito moreretur. It is no iustice, it is mercie. If it were iustice, then should he not die freely, but endebted thereto; and if endebted, then he indeed should die, but the other, for whom he died, should not liue. Yet though it be not iustice, it is not against iustice; otherwise he could not be both iust, and mercifull.*

[m] *Idem in Psal. 87.*

[n] *Idem Quæst 13. de libero Arbitrio.*

[o] *Damascen Orthodoxæ fidei li. 3. ca. 20.*

[p] *Bernard. feria 4 hebdomodæ panosæ.*

[q] *Idem ad milites templi ca. 15*

[r] *Idem ibid.*

[s] *Idem ibid.*

The verie Catechisme, on which you seeme so much to stand, diligently teacheth and vrgeth the same doctrine, howsoeuer you be slipt to some Scriueners shoppe to draw Indentures to binde Christ to the penaltie of the Law, as your Suertie. [t] *Luquet ipsum debitas hominum sceleri, sibi indebitas pœnas sua voluntate in se suscepisse, subijsse, & nostrorum flagitiorum maculas morte voluntaria, & suo innocente sanguine luisse, atque eluisse. It is euident, that Christ admitted, receaued, and suffered of his owne good will the paines due to mans wickednesse, but not due to him, and with a voluntarie death, and his owne innocent bloud did wash, and clense the spots of our filthinesse,* And againe. [u] *It is manifest, the Iewes had not in their power these things, or times; sed sua ipsum voluntate, nulla vi coactum, hanc mortem pro nostra salute oppetijsse; but of his owne accord, without anie coaction, Christ died this death for our saluation.* Where also this is set downe as a true position; that, [x] *eligendæ mortis optio penes ipsum fuit; the election and direction of his death was left to his owne power and choise;* which the whole Church of Christ hath hitherto ascribed to the power and will, loue and mercie of the Sonne of God, reiecting your bands and obligations lately deuised to barre the freedome, and abridge the power of the Sauiour of the worlde, because you would tie him to the paines of hell.

[t] *Catechis. anno 1574. edit. fo. 66.*

[u] *Fol. 67.*

[x] *Fol. 67.*

You see not, you will say, how these Fathers make against you.] None otherwise but that they directly denie, that which you affirme. Christ, you say, though of good will he was at first content so to doe, yet after *became bound to the Law to pay our debts.* Now he that is bound must needs obey; and so you lay on Christ not onely a necessity, but also a dutie. These Fathers with one consent disclaime al necessitie in the death of Christ, and consequently they confesse, he was free from all bands and debts, but in loue and mercie, as a free Redeemer, he would giue himselfe for vs, which was a farre greater price, then we were woorth, or could owe. And these multitudes of men, as you call them, though they be not of equall strength with the word of God, which is the touchstone of all trueth, yet doe they plainely prooue, that you innouate the faith of Christes Church, which in their seuerall ages they all beleeued and professed: and for their faith they haue the manifest wordes of our Sauiour, *that none tooke his soule from him, but he laid it downe of himselfe*; and the witnesse of the Apostle, that Christ for loue *gaue himselfe for vs*: which argueth, that he was vrged thereto

The Fathers disclaime all necessitie in the death of Christ.

to with no violence, neceſsitie, nor dutie, much leſſe was thereto bound: and you for your deuice haue the curioſitie of creditours, & the diſcredite of debtours, of whom men require Suerties with bands, becauſe they truſt not their words and promiſes; much leſſe their willes and diſpoſitions. But this iealouſie in the Sonne of God, is hainous blaſphemie; & therfore there could be no cauſe to bind him, as there could be no diſtruſt of him, ſince our miſerie, and his mercie were motiues enough to incline, and continue his loue, though we leaue him at his full libertie without all ſeruitude or neceſsitie.

[a Defenc. pag. 78. li. 34. *Gods decree and his owne good will was, that he ſhould ſatisfie and pay none otherwiſe for vs, then ſo as he did.*] There can be no queſtion, but in creating, condemning, and redeeming man; the Father, the Sonne, and the holie Ghoſt had one and the ſame will and decree, yet except with the Arian heretickes you make an inequallitie of the perſons in the moſt bleſſed Trinitie, you can impoſe no ſeruice, nor ſuffering on the Sonne of God by any decree, but what muſt come from his owne good *pleaſure, offer, and performance*. And that the Scriptures euerie where imply, when they ſay;

[b Eph. 5. [c Gal. 2. *Chriſt loued vs, and gaue himſelfe for vs*; that is, he FIRST of loue towards vs OFFERED to ſerue and ſuffer in our places, and AFTER of the ſame loue ſubmitted himſelfe to performe his purpoſe and promiſe of our ſaluation. So that Gods decree was no iniunction, nor ordinance, that his Sonne ſhould doe it, but an ACCEPTATION of his Sonnes loue and mercie towards vs, and an APPROBATION, that it was a moſt ſufficient recompence for all the tranſgreſsions of men. And the

[d Rom. 8. Father is ſaid *to giue his Sonne for vs*, not that he loued vs better then he did his Sonne, whom he infinitely loueth, as himſelfe, and for whoſe ſake onely he accepteth vs; nor that he vſed any authoritie or power ouer his Sonne, to appoint him to this ſeruice; but that knowing the ſtrength and ſufficiencie of his Sonne, to be as his owne, and ſeeing his loue and mercie towards vs, which was common to him with the reſt of the perſons in that moſt glorious Trinitie; the Father out of the ſame loue towards vs thought it fitter to accept the offer of his Sonne, then that we ſhould periſh. And therefore though the Father loued his Sonne as himſelfe, yet he was content his Sonne ſhould beare our burden, which we could not without euerlaſting deſtruction, and his Sonne could with exceeding honour, and admiration of his mercie, humilitie, obedience, and patience. If you ſlide from the Godhead of Chriſt to his manhood, to binde that, becauſe it was a Creature, and not the Creator, by diuiding the perſon of Chriſt you runne into the hereſie of Neſtorius condemned in the generall Counſell of Epheſus; and yet releiue not your ſelfe. For the perſon, and not this or that part of his nature, muſt be the Redeemer, ſince neither man could ſaue vs, vnleſſe he were alſo God, nor God could die for vs, vnleſſe he were alſo man, and ſo did ſuffer death in his humane nature. So that the Suertie, as you call him, that vndertooke our ſaluation, not onely from the beginning, but before the world, was preciſely the perſon of the Sonne of God, and not the humane nature of Chriſt, and therefore you muſt either binde the Godhead of Chriſt as our Suertie, or free his manhood from all bands. Neither could any of Chriſts ſufferings be of infinite price and merite for vs, except we aſcribe them to the voluntarie obedience of the perſon, ſince the death of a iuſt man could not be the redemption of the worlde, but the death of that perſon, which was more woorth then all the world. If then Chriſts ſufferings take their force and value from the perſon, they muſt likewiſe haue their freedome and election from the perſon.

[b Defenc. pag. 78. li 36. *Thoſe ſentences of your Authors Gregorie, Auſten, and Ambroſe, if they be ſpoken ſimply, ſeeme very harſh, where they ſay, that Chriſt could haue ſaued vs otherwaies then by ſuffering and dying for vs. For herein they oppoſe Gods abſolute omnipotencie againſt his expreſſe and reuealed will; which how it may be liked in Diuinitie I know not.*] Yours is more harſh, that reproue them, before you vnderſtand them; and chalenge that as falſe, which is moſt apparantly true by the maine grounds of Chriſtian Religion. For if you auouch Gods power to extend no farder then his works, as if God could doe

no

no more, then he hath done, or will doe; is a manifest denying of Gods omnipotencie, which is larger then either his will, or his works; and though his works must alwaies be measured by his wil, yet must his power be limited to neither, because God is able to doe many things, which he neuer did, nor will doe. And in his works, if you bind him with any necessitie, to do as he did, and leaue him not at libertie to doe all things according to his owne wisdome and will, you reuiue the accursed error of the Manichees, against whom Saint Austen fully resolueth. [e] *Nullam ergo necessitatem patitur Deus, neque necessitate facit, quæ facit, sed summa & ineffabili voluntate ac potestate. God then suffereth no necessitie, neither doth he the things, which he doth, with any necessitie, but with a supreame and vnspeakeable will and power.* So that the words of Gregorie, Austen, and Ambrose are most true, that God had other meanes in his power to saue vs, then by the death of his owne Sonne; but a BETTER or *more conuenient* way to demonstrate his loue, and mercy towards vs, and to manifest his wisedome, power, and iustice against sinne, death, and Satan, he had not; for no Question God chose the best. And why these words should offend any Christian man I see no cause, since they be both sound and sober.

[e] *August. de fide contra Manichæos. cap. 28.*

They oppose Gods power against his expresse and reuealed will.] You were told, it is an error to restraine Gods power to his will, as if he could not doe more, or otherwise, then he hath done; but in this you conceiue them not. For they doe not say, God had meanes to change his will, or to alter his promise once published, but when he first decreed this way to saue man, it was in his power to haue appointed an other way, if it had pleased him. So that God was not tied to determine this way by any necessitie, as if the power of euill preuailed against him, or choyse of other meanes failed him; but this in the wisedome of God, common to all three persons in that most holy Trinitie, was allowed as the most honorable and acceptable way to God, and most fauorable and comfortable to man. And this confession, which you so much controle, hath beene vsed by Diuines of all ages, howsoeuer you know not what to make of it in your new Diuinitie. Cyprian before their time. [d] *Et sine hoc holocausto poterat Deus tantum condonasse peccatum, sed facilitas veniæ laxaret habenas peccatis effrenibus, quæ etiam Christi vix cohibent passiones. God was able to haue pardoned so great sinne without this Sacrifice, but the facilitie of forgiuenesse would loose the raynes to vnbridled sinnes, which euen the sufferings of Christ doe skant represse.* Nazianzene euen with the eldest of them. *It was possible for God* (to saue man) *without taking flesh by his only will, as he did, and doth worke all things without the helpe of a Body.* Damascene after them. [f] *He was not vnable, that can doe all things, by his Almightie power and strength to take man from the Tyrant,* (that possessed him.) Bernard likewise. [g] *Was not the Creator able to restore his worke without this difficultie? He was able, but he chose rather to wrong himselfe then the most lewd and hatefull vice of vnthankefulnesse should haue any colour in man.* Zanchius resolueth the same. [h] *Could not mankind be deliuered by any other meanes* (then by Christs death?) who can doubt it? *Solo nutu & iussu ac voluntate diuina poterat. It might haue beene deliuered by the onely becke Commandement and will of God.* Master Caluin, whose warinesse you so much commend, where he maketh any thing for you, doubteth not in this Assertion to ioyne with Ambrose, Austen, and Gregorie against you. [i] *Poterat nos Dominus verbo, aut nutu redimere, nisi aliter nostra causa visum esset. The Lord might haue Redeemed vs with a word, or a becke* (of his,) *but that for our sakes he thought good otherwise to doe it.* The Booke of Homilies, on which you would seeme so much to depend, goeth farder then either Ambrose or Austen, & saith; [k] *Was not this a sure pledge of Gods loue to giue vs his owne Sonne from heauen? he might haue giuen vs an Angell, if he would, or some other Creature; and yet should his loue haue beene farre aboue our deserts.*

[d] *Cyprian de Passione Christi.*

[f] *Damasc. Orthodo. fidei. li. 3. cap. 18.*

[g] *Bernard. super Cantic. Sermo. 11.*

[h] *Zanchius in 2. cap. ad Philip.*

[i] *Caluinus in cap. 15. Ioannis. vers. 13.*

[k] *The second Sermon of the Passion. pa. 11.*

[l] *All these Similitudes of Mediator, Redeemer, and Suretie may stand very well together in the office of Christ, though you would perswade vs the contrarie, yea rather they confirme ech other.*] The names of Mediator & Redeemer are exactly affirmed of Christ, and often authorised in the Scriptures; the name of Suretie to God for vs is not; he

[l] *Defenc. pag. 79. li. 4.*

is called Gods Suretie to vs of a better Teſtament, then the Law; becauſe God in him, and by him hath aſſured vs of his mercie and grace in this life, and of his heauenly kingdome in the life to come. And if you will needs vrge the Similitude of Sureties from the courſe and cuſtome of humane Lawes, which appoint and admitte Sureties, they vtterly exclude vs in the caſe that we were in, from hauing any Sureties. For neither in [m] *Capitall crimes*, nor in [n] *Corporall paines* doth mans Law allow any Sureties. Againe no [o] *Suretie ſtandeth bound for a ſeruant*, much leſſe *for a condemned, & dead perſon.* Since then we were not only the ſeruants of ſinne; but for haynous offences condemned, Soule and Body, to euerlaſting perdition, and already dead in Soule by ſinne; no courſe of Law allowed vs Sureties. Moreouer, the Prince who is the Lord ouer the Law, may be no Suretie, becauſe he is not chalengable by the Law. how then will you bind the King of Kings to be our Suretie, as if the moſt Soueraigne were moſt ſubiected to the Law? beſides, Chriſt freed vs by giuing himſelfe, and his life for vs. What Sureties doe ſo? Chriſt bought vs with a Price to be his ſeruants. Doe Sureties buy their debtors to ſerue them? Chriſt gaue infinitely more then we were worth. Is that poſsible for Sureties? Chriſt did change our puniſhment in his perſon from eternall death to the death of the Croſſe. Haue Sureties that libertie, or authoritie? We reſted on Gods promiſe for our Redemption, before it was performed. Know you not that a *bare promiſe*, by mans Law, *doth not bind*, though God be faithfull in all his words? Albeit then Chriſt recompenced our debt, and voluntarily by his owne death diſcharged our danger, being no way thereto bound, yet ſince he obſerued none other conditions of a Suretie, and no right or Law did allow vs Sureties; I ſee no cauſe, why you ſhould change the honor of a free Redeemer, ſo much mentioned in the Scriptures, into the Thraldome of a Suretie bound with vs, as you ſay to pay our debt, which was euerlaſting deſtruction of Body and Soule.

[m] *Panormitan. rubri. de fide iuſſoribus.*

[n] *Digeſt. li. 2. Tit. 11. ſi quis cautionibus. lege quotiens.*

[o] Defenc. pag. 79. li. 10. [o] *Our publike Churches Doctrine alſo auoucheth, that he was our Suretie.*] Our Church alloweth that Catechiſme to be taught in Schooles to Children, with whom it may be you ſeeke to be ſorted, becauſe you neuer waded any farder, vnleſſe in one or two new writers, that fit your fanſie. It doth approue likewiſe, and appoint Eraſmus Paraphraſe to be openly in the Church for euery man, that doubteth of any thing in the newe Teſtament, to reade for his inſtruction; and yet you will not take euery word in Eraſmus Paraphraſe for the publike Doctrine of the Church of England. For ſo you ſhould ſoone exclude the moſt of your new conceits. But what ſaith the Catechiſme, that Chriſt was bound to ſuffer for vs, or did endure the ſame damnation which we deſerued? *It ſayth, that Chriſt was our Suretie.*] The Catechiſme goeth not ſo farre, but ſayth, God dealt *cum Chriſto quaſi ſponſore, with Chriſt as it were with a Suretie.* Chriſt then did voluntarily aſſume ſome ſimilitude, but not the ſtrict and exact condition of a Suretie, euen by the tenor of the words which you cite; though you guilefully tranſlate them, as if Chriſt had beene *our Suretie.* It is one thing to hold, Chriſt was our Suretie, and ioyntly bound with vs by law to pay our debts, which is your errour; and another thing to ſay, Chriſt was as it were a Suretie, or did of his owne *accord* diſcharge our debts for vs. The Catechiſme in this very ſection preciſely noteth, that he was not bound as Sureties be, but of his owne will ſuffered for vs the cruell and wicked rage of the Iewes, in putting him to death. [p] *Hæc quidem illi in eum crudeliter, malitioſè, atq; impiè perpetrarant: verum ipſe ſua ſponte, ac volens hæc omnia perpeſſus, atq; perfunctus eſt. Theſe things* (before deſcribed) *the Iewes did cruelly, maliciouſly and impiouſly againſt him; but he* OF HIS OVVNE ACCORD *and good will,* (not bound) *ſuffered all theſe things.* And before he commeth to your words, he ſayth, *but it is not vnuſuall amongſt men, that one ſhould vndertake and ſuffer for another.* By which he doth not meane, that by right or law one man may be bound to ſuffer or die for another, but by liking or loue, men are ſometimes thereto led. Otherwiſe the law both of God & man is directly againſt all ſuch ſuffering. [q] *Sancimus ibi eſſe pœnã, vbi noxa eſt. Peccata ſuos teneant authores, nec vlterius progrediatur metus, quam reperiatur delictum. We appoint* (ſay the Emperours Arcadius and Honorius) *that puniſhment*

[p] Fol. 64.

[q] *Codic. li. 9. Tit. 47. de pœnis: lege Sanciamus.*

ment

ment shall be there where the fault is. Let offences binde their committers, and let no feare of punishment extend farther than to such as be guiltie of the crime. Gods law doth ratifie the same. [r] *The wickednesse of the wicked shall be vpon himselfe. The sonne shall not beare the iniquitie of the father, neither shall the father beare the iniquitie of the sonne; but the same soule that sinneth, shall die.* Wherefore the Catechisme, if he vnderstood what he said, as I truely thinke he right-well did, could not deriue Christes bodily sufferings from any band or Suertiship allowed amongst men by Law, but onely from Christes loue and will, which is aboue all law, by which indeed he humbled and emptied himselfe to the death of the crosse for our sakes, when there was neither law, nor band to compell him to it.

[r] Ezech. 18. vers. 20.

[s] *Also Cyprians words are plaine, and can not beare any other sense than I make of them, that Christ was a verie Suretie for his people, and suffered such a forsaking of God touching sense of paine, and want of present feeling of comfort in his paines, as the damned doe.*] I did well to say, you neither vnderstood, nor liked the meaning of Cyprian: for where there is nothing in Cyprians words, that bolstereth your error, you haue made such a construction of them, or rather such a contradiction to them, that few men besides you could deuise the like. For by them you bring the person of the Sonne of God in his humane nature, that was alwayes full of grace and trueth, To haue no MORE SENSE NOR COMFORT OF GOD for the time, THAN THE DAMNED HAVE. From which pestilent position, though you kisse your hand in it, I wish all the godly to blesse themselues. But let vs first see, on which words of Cyprian you graffe this golden fruit; and then, how true it is, and agreeable to the faith. Your foundation is, because Cyprian sayth of Christ; *Thou diddest shew,* [t] *anxietates illius querimoniæ verba esse dilectorum tuorum, quorum personam & causam assumpseras; the pensiuenesse of that complaint* (My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?) *to be the words of thy beloued, whose person and cause thou hadst assumed.* What is this to your purpose? or how doth this patronize your violent and wicked assertion? The dolors of Christs complaint on the Crosse, that he was forsaken, *were the words of his beloued*: that is, Christ spake those words in the name and behalfe of his Elect, that they were forsaken of God; not of his owne person: as Austen saith of the same; [u] *That was the voice of Christes members, not of the head.* And Leo: [x] *Sub redemptorum suorum voce clamabat. Christ cried* (those words) *vnder the voice of his Redeemed.* Now this being Cyprians plaine speech, that those were the words of his Elect finding themselues for their sinnes worthie to be forsaken of God; how come you to turne Christ into his beloued, that is, the head into the members, and his beloued into the damned? and then to conclude of Christ, that he had no more sense nor comfort of God in his paines, than the damned haue? Such another leape will easily bring you and your followers from faith to infidelity, and if you take not heed the sooner, from the number of the Elect to the rancke of the Reprobate, which take so light occasion to draw Christ into the same desperation for the time with the damned.

[s] Defenc. pag. 79. li. 22.

[t] Cyrian. de Pass. Christi.

[u] August. in Psal. 21.

[x] Leo de Passio. Domin. Sermo. 16.

Cyprians words (you say) *cannot beare any other sense.*] It is not enough for you shamefully to peruert Cyprians words, but you must proudly proclaime in print, that they can haue none other sense than you list to like of; when his speech expressly doth import the contrarie. If you had auouched so much of Christes words, we would desire no better interpreter then Cyprian, who saith, *those were the wordes of Christs beloued*; and so that forsaking had no direct application to Christes person, but a mercifull relation to his members, who might often inwardly feele, that they were forsaken of Gods fauor and assistance for the time, though not as the damned are.] MEE, you thinke, in Christes words must signifie his person, and not his members.] But Cyprian is expressly opposite to you in that point, and saith; MEE there, is as much as MY BELOVED, or chosen members. And for this exposition Cyprian hath the manifest precedence of the sacred Scriptures, in which Christ often speaketh of his members, as of himselfe, by the verie same words. *Saul,* [y] *Saul, why persecutest thou mee*; that is, my members, whom I loue and esteeme as my selfe? and this is no ca-

[y] Acts. 9.

uilling euasion; the Iudge at the last day shall award heauen and hell with the warrant of this speech. [a] *I was hungrie, and yee gaue me meate; I thirsted, and yee gaue me drinke; I was a stranger, and ye lodged me; I was naked, and yee clothed me; I was sicke, & yee visited me; I was in prison, and yee came vnto me*; and so foorth; where in one Chapter Christ calleth his members by the name of himselfe 27. times. All which are most false of Christs person, for he then raigned in glory at the right hand of his Father, & endured none of those miseries; but yet they are most true in his members, whom he calleth by the name of himselfe, because he loued them as himselfe, & more then himselfe, since for their sakes he humbled, and emptied himselfe. And this reason of his words, himselfe will giue before men and Angels. [c] *In as much as you did it vnto one of the least of my brethren, you did it vnto mee.* The same is verie vsuall in the Scriptures. [a] *Hee that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me.* [b] *He that receiueth you, receiueth mee.* [c] *They haue not reiected thee*, said God to Samuel, *they haue reiected mee.* [d] *He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of his eie.* Where a most louing acceptation is shewed of the sufferings and seruices of men for Christes sake, but no proper attribution verified of Christ.

[a] Luke. 10.
[b] Matth. 10.
[c] 1 Sam. 8.
[d] Zachar. 2.

This Damascene expresseth by making [e] *two kinds of appropriation* vnto Christ in the Scriptures; *one naturall and substantiall, the other personall and habituall. Naturall, as when the Lord in Nature and trueth being made a man, had experience of things incident to our Nature. Personall and habituall*, (as) *when one putteth on the person of another, for pitie or loue, and vseth speech* (in his name and for him) NOTHING APPERTAINING TO (the speaker) HIMSELFE. *According to which, Christ appropriated the curse and dereliction due to vs; not himselfe being made those things, but assuming our person, and reckoning himselfe with vs.* [f] *For neither as God, nor as man, was he euer forsaken of his Father; neither was he made sinne, nor a curse. Assuming therefore our person, and reckoning himselfe with vs*, (as the head for the members) *he spake these things. For wee were guiltie of sinne, and malediction, as incredulous and disobedient, and for that cause were forsaken.* Which are Cyprians plaine words also. [g] *Quod pro eis voluisti intelligi, qui deseri à Deo propter peccata meruerant.* Thy complaint of forsaking, *thou wouldst haue vnderstood* (as spoken) *for them, who had deserued to be forsaken of God in regard of their sinnes.* Then by Cyprians iudgement Christ spake those wordes neither for himselfe, nor of himselfe, but for those, and of those, that deserued to be forsaken of God, whom he calleth by the name of himselfe, as he doth oftentimes elsewhere in the Scriptures, because they were members of his bodie, and as deare to him, as himselfe.

[e] Damasc. Orthodoxa fidei. l. 3. cap. 25.
[f] Ibidem. li. 4. cap. 19.
[g] Cyprianus de Passione.

The Defender cõpareth Christ in want of comfort with the damned.

If this be all that Cyprians words imply, how come you to make that false and prophane collection out of Cyprian, that Christ suffered such a forsaking *of God touching sense of paine and want of present feeling of comfort in his paines* AS THE DAMNED DOE? You would faine set your infernall imaginations to sale vnder the names of some of the auncient Fathers, to inure your Reader with the name of the DAMNED, lest he should detest your irreligious presumption, if you should proferre these pedegrees in your owne name. But a man may know the fowle by the feather; and your deuices shew themselues by the verie vtterance of them. For expressing two points in Christes sufferings, the one is sensiblie absurd, the other apparantly false and wicked. The paine of Christes soule, you euery where defend, was inflicted by the immediate hand of God, and was the selfe same, which the damned doe suffer. Then how could this be called a *forsaking in Christ*, when it was rather a plaine persuing of him by Gods owne hand? Doth a man depart from an other, when he persueth him, or forsake him whom he followeth with the stroke of his hand? If therefore Christes suffering in soule came from the immediate hand of God, as you dreame; Christ should haue said, my God, my God, why persuest thou me? or why doth thine hand oppresse me? and not, why doest thou forsake me, and leaue me in the hands of mine enemies without any shew, that thou regardest or respectest me?

The second point is farre woorse. For if Christ had no more comfort in his paine then

then the damned haue; then Christ for the time of his suffering had neither faith, hope, grace nor loue of God, nor any fauour with God, nor expectation that hee himselfe should be saued, much lesse that he should saue others; from all which the damned are cleane cut off. Indeed this was the conceit, that the diuel by the mouths of the wicked did vrge against Christ, to vpbraid him with his case as desperate, and to persue him as forsaken of God; and therefore this resolution, that Christ was thus indeed forsaken, or felt no more present comfort then the damned doe, is plainly the diuels Diuinitie, and maketh as flat a contradiction to all the Scriptures, as any the damned themselues could deuise. For Dauid ledde by the spirit of God, sayth exactly of Christes sufferings in the person of Christ, [h] *I set the Lord alwaies before me, he is at my right hand, that I shall not slide. Therefore my heart is glad, and my tongue reioiceth; my flesh also doth rest in hope.* And the Apostle saith, that [i] *Iesus for the ioy that was set before him, endured the crosse, and despised the shame.* And he that against these expresse Scriptures auoucheth, that Christ had no more feeling of any comfort in his paines, then the damned haue in theirs, I see no cause why the whole Church of Christ should not hold him madde, or woorse. [But you meane no present comfort.] As if faith, hope, and grace, the assured fauour, and promise of God, yea personall coniunction with God, and his owne certaine knowledge that he should rise againe the third day Lord of the quicke and dead, and Sauiour of the whole world, did not yeeld him present comfort in the middest of his greatest paine; insomuch that the Apostle saith, Christ *endured the crosse,* (hee meaneth with patience) *and despised the shame* thereof. So great was the ioy proposed, and comfort conceaued, euen in the sharpest of his sufferings. [By present comfort you meane present deliuerance.] Meane what you will, your meaning is lewd and wicked, to broche the doctrine of diuels vnder parables and paraphrases of abused wordes, and slie comparisons with the damned. For if Christ had hope, then had he comfort; because hope confoundeth not. If he had no hope, then did he despaire; and so must you admit in Christ either consolation, which you denie, or desperation for the time, which must be ioyned with infidelitie, for that he could not want hope, but by lacke of faith, since Gods promises, and his owne knowledge did assure him, that hee was ordained and annointed of God to be the Sauiour of the world. I omit, that dereliction is one of the properties of the damned, of which before you said, [k] *there could vtterly be none of these in Christ.* Now belike vpon some new inspiration from the father of lies, you haue found, that Christ *suffered such a forsaking of God, as the damned doe.* With such mysteries of impietie and contrarietie, you daube vp your new redemption by the paines of hell and of the damned. But the Apostle teacheth vs, *that* [l] *as the sufferings of Christ abound,* (in his members) *so their consolation abounded through Christ.* And if wee [m] *reioice in trouble,* knowing that [n] *suffering* (with him) *we shall raigne with him:* how could patience, that breedeth *hope in vs, and maketh vs perfect,* exclude him from all comfort, whom God *did* [o] *consummate with affliction, and* [p] *made the Author of eternall saluation to all, that obey him?*

[q] *I adde vnto all this last of all your owne grant, where you fully yeeld, that Christ was our Suertie to the Law, and that he did suffer iustly, or in Gods iustice. The vengeance of the Law say you, once executed in our Suertie can no more in Gods iustice be exacted on vs.*] The name of a Suertie is not it that I mislike, but your concluding from the similitude thereof, that Christ [r] *was bound to suffer hell paines in our steed, and was defiled and hatefull to God by our sinnes.* So much resemblance Christ had with a Suertie, as suffering in our steedes and for our sakes, to cleere and acquit vs by his sufferings; but that he was thereto bound, or therewith defiled, these were the two points, that I misliked to be drawne from the similitude of a Suertie; and heerein I said the Scriptures rather make him a Mediatour and Redeemer, then a Suertie. I say the same still, but that you doe not, or will not perceaue it, least you should want somewhat to quarrell with. ([s] *But I ouerthrow mine owne chiefe exception which I make that Christ was not our Suertie to the Law to pay our debts.*] When I say, Christ *died for vs,* [t] NOT

[k] Defenc. pag. 11. li. 25. & 27.
[l] 2. Cor. 1.
[m] Rom. 5.
[n] 2. Tim. 2.
[o] Heb. 2.
[p] Heb. 5.
[q] Defenc pag. 79 li 28. *I mislike not the name, but the bondage of a Suretie in Christ*
[r] Conclus. pa. 279. li. 34.
[s] Defenc. pag. 79. li. 35.
[t] Conclus. pa. 279. li. 28.

AS A SVERTIE BOVND TO THE LAVV, you put BOVND in your pocket, to ſerue you an other banket againſt you be diſpoſed; where if you did loue trueth, as well as you doe talke, you would farely report, though you did not fully vnderſtand my words. I ſaid, it was not written in the Scriptures, that Chriſt [a] *was a Suertie to the Law to pay our debts*; If you haue found where it is ſo written, ſhew the place, and take the prize: you will prooue it out of my words, you ſay; at leaſt if you could; and yet betweene my wordes and the Scriptures, when you liſte, you can put difference enough. But let vs ſee how you deduce it out of my words, that Chriſt was bound to the Law to pay our debts for vs. That he did ſubmit himſelfe to the curſe of the Law, to diſcharge vs from all our debts to the Law, I neuer denied; the Apoſtle ſaith, [b] *Chriſt redeemed vs from the curſe of the Law, being made a curſe for vs*, that is in our ſteeds, or to our vſe. The Queſtion is whether he did this willingly, freely, and of his owne accord, as I with the whole Church of Chriſt affirme he did; or whether he were bound to the Law ſo to do, which is your new found faith to defile Chriſt with our ſinnes, and to hang him iuſtly by the ſentence of the Law. You haue laboured a long while in vaine, ſaying much and prooving nothing; what now conclude you out of my words?

[a] Ibid. li. 25.

[b] Galat. 3.

The vengeance of the Law was executed on him as our Suertie.] The vengeance of the Law due to vs was executed on him, that of his owne free-will put himſelfe in our places, by his ſuffering (who was an innocent, and the Sonne of God) to ouerthrow the curſe of the Law, which we could neuer haue done, but rather by our puniſhment haue confirmed it. How prooue you now, that he was bound thus to doe, or that the Law did *allow vs Suerties?* You haue my words, make your beſt of them. [He was our Suertie.] May not a man as well freely, when hee ſeeth his time, diſcharge an others debts, as if he were bound? muſt euerie man, that will ſhew mercy, be thereto tied with bands? was not the loue, which the Sonne of God bare vnto vs, as good an aſſurance, as all the bands you haue brought in, to make him a ſeruant vnder the Law, that was Lord ouer the Law? [Thoſe are not properly Suerties.] Amongſt Banckrowts and Vſurers they are not, but honeſt and able men do moſt deſire ſuch. How much leſſe then ought we to binde the Sonne of God, as if his credite were crazed, or haue him in ſuſpition, except he will enter an obligation to redeeme vs? [*The debt can not now by Gods iuſtice be exacted on vs.*] And why? becauſe God in his mercie towards vs, liked rather to accept the obedience of his Sonne for vs, then to execute his vengeance on vs. Which ſince he did no way owe for himſelfe, being not onely a moſt innocent man, but the moſt excellent Lord of heauen and earth, his ſufferings were in vaine, if they preuailed not for vs. [For vs then they were iuſt.] Farre woorſe were well deſerued by vs, and reſerued for vs, if the Lord of glorie had not interpoſed himſelfe: but his willing admitting the puniſhment due to vs in his owne bodie did not make him guiltie of our ſinnes, nor woorthie of our puniſhment. [If Chriſtes ſufferings were iuſt in him, how was he an innocent?] Becauſe God is as well righteous in his fauour, as in his anger; and no leſſe iuſt in ſauing his elect, then in condemning his enemies. Wherefore Chriſtes ſufferings were not due to him by Gods reuenging iuſtice; but in his righteous mercie towards vs, he laid our burden on him, who was well able to beare it, and of his owne good will deſired it. And this ſuffering as an innocent, with his vndeſerued death to releeue others, was more righteous and glorious in the ſight of God by infinite degrees, then if he had patiently ſuffered, and deſerued it. It was therefore exceeding mercy in the Sonne to offer it, and maruellous clemencie in the Father to accept it; and in both moſt admirable loue to performe it, which is neuer vniuſt with God. And this though you for a ſhift call Law, the Scriptures call grace by faith in Chriſt, which is not of the Law, nor by the Law, that increaſeth ſinne and cauſeth anger. [c] *For the Law was giuen by Moſes, but grace and trueth by Ieſus Chriſt.* But heereof I haue ſpoken enough before, I may not repeat it for your pleaſure.

A man may diſcharge an others debt and not be bound thereto.

The rule of Iuſtice ſuffereth the ſtronger to beare the burden of the weaker.

[c] Iohn. 1.

[d] Defenc. p. 3. 80. li. 7.

[d] *Your Similitude of a Kings Sonne intreating for his Fathers Rebels is very weake, and*

and ouerthroweth, if it were good, a confeſſed point of Chriſts Redemption.] Becauſe you coyne new Principles of Religion, you thinke your ſelfe Authorized to make newe Rules for Similitudes. In the Scriptures it is not required, that Similitudes made of God, or of Chriſt his Sonne, ſhould be lawfull in euery part of the Compariſon, but onely that they be poſsible, and ſo propoſe the thing which the holy Ghoſt would intimate. [a] *The day of the Lord ſhall come euen as a Theife in the night.* Will you iuſtifie night Robbers becauſe Chriſts comming is reſembled to theirs? Chriſt draweth a compariſon from the [b] *vnrighteous Iudge*, to God; and taketh likewiſe a Similitude from [c] *Vſurers* and *Extortioners* to teach that God will haue his gifts carefully imployed. Will you by that Parable make it lawfull to lend money for aduantage? Or for men *to reape, where they did not ſow*, becauſe theſe things are proportioned to Gods graces? Chriſt bringeth the Similitude of an vnfaithfull Steward, that waſted his Maſters goods, and abated his Maſters debts; and ſaith, *the Lord* (and Maſter) [d] *commended the vniuſt Steward, that he had done wiſely.* Will you hence vphold prodigalitie and infidelitie in ſeruants, which coſen their Maſters, rather then they will worke or want? Similitudes we ſee of things moſt vnlawfull are made and referred to Gods Actions by Chriſt himſelfe, and therefore it is no weakning to my Similitude (whatſoeuer you ſay,) that no King hath power by Gods Law to lay bodily death on his Innocent Sonne. I doe not by that reſemblance make any thing lawfull or vnlawfull; but ſhew how euill it becommeth Priſoners and Captiues to twite or vpbraid their Redeemers and deliuerers, as if they were defiled, and guiltie of their Sinnes, for whom they mediate and intreate. Of bodily death I ſpake neuer a word, that is your Idle conceite added to my compariſon.

Similitudes are not alwaies of things lawfull.

[a] 1. Theſſ. 5.

[b] Luke. 18.

[c] Matth. 25.

[d] Luke. 16.

But the Similitude fitteth not Chriſts ſufferings in our Redemption.] No more doth any Similitude, that man can make. I ſay of Chriſts death, as Saint Auſten ſaith of his birth. [e] *If you ſeeke for a reaſon, it ſhall not be wonderfull; if you aske for an example, it ſhall not be ſingular.* The Acts of men may in ſome ſort reſemble or imitate, they cannot match or euen the works of God. But why are you ſo curious in other mens Similitudes, that are ſo careleſſe of your own? Doth your example of a Suretie fit the bodily ſufferings of Chriſt? I hope humane lawes haue no power, nor practiſe to take mens liues away for Suretiſhip; nay they allow no Sureties for any corporall paines, as we ſaw before, becauſe no man is Maſter of his owne Body to engage the whole, or any part thereof to be mangled or maymed, vnleſſe he will be an homicide of himſelfe, which Gods Law doth not permit, nor mans Law accept. How much leſſe then doth your Suretie reſemble the paines of the damned ſuffered in the Soule of Chriſt, as you ſay, from the immediate hand of God? If men haue no power to pawne their owne Soules, nor to kill other mens; your ſimilitude of a Suretie bound to the Law to pay an other mans debts, is as wide from Chriſtes ſufferings, as mine and farre wider. For he muſt be Suretie not onely life for life, but Soule for Soule, which Mans Law doth not meddle with. And yet your owne example of a Suretie ſerueth my turne to declare your Doctrine to be falſe, as well as any other. For if a Man fined by a Court for ryots, contempts, or other miſdemeanures, and committed to priſon till he pay the ſame, find friends that to purchaſe his libertie, will make preſent payment of his fine; haue you any reaſon or conſcience to charge them as guiltie, or partakers of thoſe Riots, or other offences done by him whom they deliuer? If men may be Sureties, Mediators, and ranſomers of others, and yet not deſerue to be blamed for other mens Crimes; why could not the Sonne of God take vpon him the puniſhment of our ſinnes, and yet be moſt free from the fault and guilt thereof? [Becauſe God did puniſh Chriſt, you will ſay, with his immediate hand, which he would not doe, if Chriſt were Innocent.] Soft Sir, that is no way prooued, but barely pretended by you, that God was the Tormentor of Chriſts Soule with his immediate hand: The Scriptures teach the contrarie, that God [f] *deliuered him into the hands of ſinners,* [g] *to doe whatſoeuer Gods hand and counſell had determined before to be done.* And though the wicked be [h] *the Rod of Gods wrath; and the ſtaffe in their hands*

[e] *Auguſt. Epiſt. 3. ad Volus.*

[f] Marke. 14.

[g] Acts. 4.

[h] Eſa. 10.

is his Indignation; Yet serue they their malice in afflicting the faithfull, when God hath an other end, which is most iust and holy, to put his Saints to the tryall of their obedience, and patience, in suffering for righteousnesse sake, that he may be glorified in them, and they exalted and crowned by him. In the cruell and wrongfull death of his Sonne, to which Christ willingly submitted himselfe, God had farre greater and waighrier causes and works, euen the Redemption of the world, and the demonstration of his Diuine power and wisedome, and such like, which I haue often mentioned, and therefore doe presently passe them with silence.

[i] Defenc. pag. 80. li. 28. [i] *An other Reason of mine you impugne with marueylous skorne and detestation. That seeing Christ on the Crosse spoyled powers and Principalities, and made a shew of them openly triumphing ouer them; Therefore I collected that Christ felt (the diuels) as the very instruments, that wrought the very effects of Gods wrath vpon him.* I grant I tooke it to be not a ridiculous, but impious iest rather then a tolerable reason, for you to conclude, that because Christ triumphed ouer diuels, therefore diuels *tormented his Soule with the very effects of Gods wrath*; which euery where you make to be the paines of the damned. And surely as yet, why I should conceiue better of it, I see nothing either proued or produced by you. First you assume, that these words of the Apostle were spoken of Christ hanging on the Crosse; but what Scripture assureth that besides your selfe? you peremptorily put it into the Text by saying, [k] *Christ on the Crosse spoyled Principalities*, but your additions are no good illations with me. The place, if you take the paines to turne to it, doth rather shew the Contrarie. To proue that the faithfull are tied neither to the *Rites* and *shadowes* of the Law, nor to any submission or seruice of Angels, the Apostle bringeth Christs death for the one, where the handwriting of Ceremonies, that kept vs in bondage, was fastned to the Crosse, and so cancelled, and we freed from it; and for the other he bringeth Christs Resurrection, by which all contrarie powers were openly spoyled, triumphed, and subiected to Christ, as to the head of all power and principalitie. (Yee were) [l] *buried with him in Baptisme*, (saith Paul) *with whom yee were also raised*; *and (when yee were)* [m] *dead in sinnes, and in vncircumcision of your flesh, he quickned* (you) *together with him, forgiuing your sinnes*, (and) [n] *cancelling the handwriting of ordinances that was against vs:* (and) [o] *spoyling powers and principalities, he made an open shew of them, triumphing ouer them in himselfe.* Yee died and were buried with Christ, who fastned the handwriting of ordinances to the Crosse, that he might abolish it, from hauing any right to tie or yoke his members. Yee likewise were quickned, and raised together with Christ, who rising spoyled powers and principalities, and triumphed ouer them in his own Person, that he alone might be Lord of quicke and dead, of Men and Angels: so that these words, (*spoyling powers and Principalities, and triumphing ouer them,*) are not referred to the Crosse, for any thing that appeareth in the Text, but to Christs Resurrection, and take their truth and force from his subiecting all power in heauen and earth vnder him by his rising againe from the dead. This triumph ouer Satan and all his kingdome the same Apostle to the Ephesians setteth downe as a consequent to Christs death, and pertinent to his Resurrection. [p] *Ascending on high he led Captiuitie Captiue; and this, he ascended, what meaneth it, but that he descended first into the lower parts of the earth?* So that ascending from the lower parts of the earth, *he led Captiuitie Captiue*, which is all one with, *he triumphed ouer powers and Principalities.*

[k] Trea. pa. 45. li. 9.

[l] Col. 2. 12.

[m] Vers. 13.

[n] 14.

[o] 15.

[p] Ephes. 4.

The Syriack translation of the New Testament, together with the ancientest of the Latine Fathers, doth not only so interpret the place, but it doth expresse so much in the verie text; that Christ had this conquest after his death. The Syriack translation sayth: [q] *By the dispoiling* (or putting off) *his bodie* (Christ) *made a shew of principalities and powers, and confounded them openly, (backnumeh) in his owne person.* For *kenumah*, whence *backnumeh* is framed, in that tongue properly signifieth a *Person.* The translations which the eldest Fathers of the Latine church either made or followed, contained as much. [r] *Apostolus de Christo refert vt exutus carnem potestates dehonestauit palam triumphatis illis in semetipso. The Apostle reporteth of Christ* (sayth Nouatian) *how*

[q] Syriaca translat. in vers. 15. cap. 2. ad Colos.

[r] Nouatianus de Trinitate. c. 16.

putting

putting off his flesh, he disgraced powers, openly triumphing ouer them in his owne person. Neither doth he idlely propose him putting off (his) *flesh, but because hee would haue him conceiued in his resurrection to put it on againe.* Hilarie sometimes translated it: [c] *Exutus carne*, and sometimes [c] *Spolians se carne, & Principatus & potestates traduxit cum fiducia, triumphans eos in semetipso. Christ putting off, or stripping himselfe of flesh, led powers and principalities* (captiues) *with boldnesse, triumphing ouer them in his owne person.* Both which he repeateth in his ninth booke, shewing how they may stand together, and adding; [d] *Spoliata enim caro Christus est mortuus; The flesh put off was Christ now dead.* So Ambrose alleageth this place: [e] *Carnem se exuit; Christ put of his flesh.* And Pacianus: [f] *Exuens se carnem traduxit potestates liberè triumphans eas in semetipso. Christ putting off his flesh, carried powers* (as Captiues) *freely triumphing ouer them in his owne person.* S. Austen [g] often citeth the same place, interpreting the word ἀπεκδυσάμενος, & (as the rest doe) *Exuens se carnem* or *carne*; *and thereby* noting Christes *laying aside of mortalitie.* [h] *Apostolus dicit, exuens se carnem, principatus & potestates exemplauit, fiduciaaliter triumphans eos in semetipso. The Apostle sayth, Christ putting off flesh, made an example of principalities and powers, and confidently triumphed ouer them in his owne person. Where he sayth, Christ deuested himselfe of flesh, by flesh in this place we vnderstand the mortalitie of flesh, for which the bodie is properly called flesh.* Zanchius a learned and aduised Reader and weigher of antiquitie, not onely followeth this exposition himselfe, saying, [b] *Resurgendo de inferis triumphauit, principatusq; & potestates expoliatas in triumphum captiuas abduxit, vt est ad Colos. 2. By rising from the lower parts, Christ triumphed and spoiled principalities and powers, carying them captiue in maner of a triumph, as is in the second to the Colossians:* but he also giueth his testimony of it. *Therefore nothing hindereth, but what Paul here writeth, we may interpret, as the words doe sound, of a reall triumph of Christes soule* (seuered from his bodie) *in the sight of God onely, and of the blessed spirits, specially since the Fathers for the most part do so expound it, and of our writers not a few, nor the meanest.* Bethinke your selfe now, how wide you range from the Apostles meaning by the exposition of so many learned and ancient writers. Christ rose Conquerer of death and hell. *Ergo*, say you, the diuels tormented Christes soule before he died, with the very paines of the damned. If any man be so patient to like this Logicke, and not to laugh at it, I much maruell, seeing the Conclusion so meere a stranger to the Antecedent, which hath no coherence with it.

[c] *Hilarius de Trinitate. li 1.*
[c] *Idem. de Trinitate. li. 10.*
[d] *Idem li 9.*
[e] *Ambros. de fide. li. 3. ca. 2.*
[f] *Pacian. serm. de Baptismo.*
[g] *Ep. 31. 50. & de Agone Christi. ca. 2.*
[h] *August. contra Faustum. li. 16. ca. 29.*
[b] *Zanchius de operibus Dei parte 1. li. 4. ca. 13.*

The diuell tormented not Christs Soule on the Crosse.

But some, you will say, expound it of the Crosse.] That is more repugnant to your purpose than the former: for if not only after, but euen on the Crosse, Christ had that apparent and glorious triumph ouer Satan and all his power, which the Apostle speaketh of; then was Satan farre from tormenting Christes soule with the paines of hell, as you imagine. [There was a conflict, you thinke, before the conquest.] A conflict argueth a resistance for the time, but no preualence. [a] *There was a battell in heauen* (sayth S. Iohn) *Michael and his Angels fought against the dragon, and the dragon fought, and his Angels, but they preuailed not. And the great dragon, called the Diuell and Satan, was cast out into the earth.* Shall we say, that the dragon and his angels, euen the Diuell and his assistants, preuailed against Christ, because they resisted and encountered him? If this please you not, take the Similitude which our Sauiour himselfe vseth of his owne doings towards the Diuell. [d] *When a strong man armed keepeth his house, the things that he possesseth are in peace: but when a stronger then he entreth vpon him, and ouercommeth him, he taketh away all his armour wherein he trusted, and diuideth his spoiles.* [e] *And no man can enter into a strong mans house, and take away his goods, except he first binde that streng man, and then spoile his house.* If Christ then did enter on Satan, and binde him, and disarme him, and so spoile him, that he might make an open shew of him, and of all his power; what necessitie is there, that Christ being the stronger, should be endangered or oppressed by Satan, farther then hee himselfe would? [*The conquest was bloudie*; for so much as in ouercomming Satan, Christ lost his life.] He lost it not, he layed it downe to put the diuell to greater confusion: for when he was, not onely weake and wounded vnto death, but past all helpe and hope,

[a] Reuel. 12.
[d] Luk. 11.
[e] Mark. 3.

hope, as Satan in his pride presumed, then Christ raised himselfe from the dead, and ouerthrew the whole kingdome and strength of Satan, spoiling him of all his force, and leading him captiue with a most glorious triumph in the sight of God and his Angels. And though you can not digest it, yet I make no doubt, but [f] *the omnipotencie of the Sonne of God, by which he is equall to his Father in the same essence, was able by the only command of his will to haue taken mankinde from the dominion of the Diuell:* but the submission and humilitie of the Sonne of God vnto death was so vnknowen and vnlooked for to Satan, that his confusion was the greater, when he saw with his owne eagernesse he had beene the instrument of mans redemption, and his owne destruction.

[f] Leo de Passione Domini. Serm. 14.

[g] Defenc. pag. 80. li. 35. [g] *Doth not the verie maner of speech import some mightie contention and violent opposition, where yet at length an absolute and most glorious triumphant victorie was obtained?*] The words import a glorious conquest, but what contention or opposition could there be betweene the Sonne of God and the diuell, farther than pleased Christ himselfe to permit and admit? I hope you will giue the diuell no power nor abilitie to resist God against his will. It was Gods will, and Christs good liking, that the [h] *serpents head* should be *crushed* by biting the *heele* of the promised *seed*; for so the Scripture expresseth the contention and opposition, that Satan should be suffered to haue against Christ. Grant then Christ suffered the diuell, by the violent hands and tongues of the Iewes to doe his worst (which may be proued by other places of Scripture, though not by this that you bring) what thence inferre you? [i] *This must be conceiued and felt by Christ.*] What must Christ conceiue and feele? The question is not whether Christ wanted sense, but what the diuell did against him. [k] *These could be none other effects, but only of Gods proper wrath, seueritie, and indignation against the sinne of the world.*] We are no whit the wiser for this answer, though this be plainly repugnant to your former principles, which make the soules proper suffering in Christ to be from the immediate hand of God, and that the diuell, I trust, is not. If it be truth that you teach, why speake you not more directly and particularly, what it was that Christ suffered from the diuell? Are your mysteries so bottomlesse, that they can not; or so truethlesse, that they may not be specified? [l] *It could not be the reuealing of any glorie or comfort, which such instruments procured vnto him, and wrought vpon him.*] Make you the diuell the authour of Reuelations vnto Christ? It may be he is the founder of your fansies; but Christ needed no such Reuealers. Or do you reason, that because the diuell reuealed no comfort to Christ, therefore he tormented the soule of Christ? These are some new found Reuelations, they are no conclusions in any diuine or humane learning. [*Against this you bring not a word.*] I need not bring any thing against it, till you bring somewhat for it; but you be farre from prouing it, that can not, or dare not expresse it.

[h] Genes. 3.

[i] Defenc. pag. 81. li. 1.

[k] Pag. 81. li. 2.

[l] Defenc. pag. 81. li. 4.

[m] Defenc. pag. 81. li. 9. [m] *What if no tongue can expresse the maner, as neither haue I once endeuoured to expresse it: shall not therefore the testimonie of the Holy Ghost be true, that on the Crosse Christ had such a conflict as I haue obserued?*] Few men besides you conclude that which they can not expresse; but your maner is to prate of your obseruations, as if they were some reuelations, which yet you neither vnderstand, nor can declare. The testimonie of the Holy Ghost is as true as yours is false, and hath no more concordance with your conceits than light hath with darknesse. [*A conquest*, you say, *implieth first a conflict*;] But a conquest extendeth farther than the conflict: for not only the persons and weapons of the resistants are in the Conquerers power, but all the goods, rights and dominions, that any way belong to the vanquished. It is therefore true, that Christ subduing Satan, subdued sinne, hell, eternall malediction, confusion, desperation, and damnation: but these things did not inwardly assault Christ, howsoeuer by the mindes and mouthes of the wicked Christ was reputed and reproched as a reprobate. The Scriptures then describe the outward tentations and afflictions, that Christ suffered from the malicious thoughts, tongues, and deeds of the Iewes fired and inflamed by Satan to this mischiefe; but of your mysticall, internall, and Satanicall

call prouocations and torments the holy Ghost speaketh not a word. I gaue you occasion enough to speake of these things, when I tolde you *the diuell had nothing to doe with the soules of men, but either to tempt them, or torment them*, which words you report; but you after your loose maner leade your Reader by by-wayes and crosse-paths, to eye other things, & then you glance at my exceptions, forgetting still, that the reason which you made, remaineth both weake and idle, for ought that you haue brought, first or last.

[a] *Before I answer you directly, this we may consider: Christ might, and no doubt he did in his soule discerne, conceiue, and applie to himselfe, all the rage, malice, and violence of the Iewes tormenting him to death, as set on fire by Satan himselfe, and by all the powers of hell.*] You were to proue, the diuell himselfe did worke on the Soule of Christ without any meanes of men, whom he maketh his Instruments for his wicked purposes; and now you tell vs that Satan did set the Iewes hands and tongues on worke, to reproch the Soule, and torment the Body of Christ. This that you last say, is most true, and ouerthroweth all that you would say. For if Christ discerned and felt no worke nor force of Satan, but by the mouthes and hands of the Iewes, then certainly Satan had no such inward and spirituall conflict with Christ, as you imagine; much lesse had Satan any power to possesse and torment the Soule of Christ, which is the thing you must proue, before your hell paines will be haled out of Christs triumph. [a] Defenc. pag. 81. li. 17.

[b] *These* (powers of hell) *also were set on worke by the Iustice and seuere wrath of God now purposely laying punishment on his Sonne, thereby to take Satisfaction for all our sinnes.*] If you meane that God by his secret Counsell and Iustice losed the raines to Satan to shew his malice against Christ by the mouthes and hands of the wicked, as he doth in the afflictions of all his Saints, for purposes to him knowne and by him liked; I see not how this should any thing helpe your Cause: but if by this you would, that Satan was Gods Instrument inwardly to torment the Soule of Christ, or that the diuell had any speciall Commission to inuade the manhoode of Christ, otherwise then by the violent hands and virulent tongues of the Iewes; as it is most false, that you affirme, so is it most wicked, that you intend. [b] Defenc. pag. 81. li. 22.

[c] *Now this feeling and suffering in the Soule of Christ made an other kind of impression in him, and was infinitely more greeuous and dolefull as touching the present sense, then otherwise the meere outward stripes and wounds of men were or could be.*] Sir you haue cast out your nets all night, and caught iust nothing. We know the diuell can not touch any haire of our heads till he receaue power from God so to doe. This our discerning and acknowledging the hand of God in setting the wicked on worke, as you call it; in giuing them leaue to sift his Saints, as I say, and to exercise his graces in them, doth breede no such feare nor torment of conscience, as you talke of in Christ, so long as we are perswaded, that God loueth vs, and doth all things for the best, and that the sharpest triall in this life is the speediest way to his kingdome. If we that be sinfull, and fraile, subiected indeede to the iust remorse of our consciences, can yet apprehend and discerne the rage of Satan, and of the wicked, armed with power from aboue to make triall of our Faith and Patience, and not be dismayed nor tormented in mind, in any such sort as you speake of: what shall we thinke the Soule of Christ, full of grace, and of the holy Ghost, inseparably ioyned with his Godhead in one and the same person, could conceaue of these his sufferings, or Satans incensing the Iewes against him, but as the truth was, that he well liked, and God approoued and annointed him to be the Sauiour of the world, and the destroyer of Satans kingdome for this obedience and patience, which he should shew in admitting the Iewes to execute Satans furious rage against his Body? You would haue Christ to conceaue, that he was *sinfull, defiled, hatefull and accursed of God*, and in that respect God was become an Enemie to him, and had *forsaken him*; but these mysteries of iniquitie and Infidelitie were farre from that holy, vndefiled, and acceptable Sacrifice, which the vnspotted Lamb of God did offer for the sinnes of the world. But why shrinke you, and shift you thus from pillar to post; and make sometimes the immediate hand of God [c] Defenc. pag. 81. li. 24.

to

to be cause of Christs suffering in Soule, sometimes the working or conflicting of Satan with him, and sometimes Christs owne apprehension that the Iewes and the diuell were set on worke by the secret wrath of God; and all this while you *doe not once endeuour you say*, to expresse *the manner of it?* where in deede you doe nothing but waue to & fro, not knowing where to stand, or what to hold, but only to requoile to your accustomed coverts of Gods proper wrath and indignation against sinne, from which you thinke you may frame what fansies you will.

[g] Defenc. pag. 81. li. 33. [g] *In your Booke you speake directly against the maine ground of it; affirming that God himselfe did nothing to Christ; that is, he did not* PROPERLY *punish him.*] Indeede I doe defend, that God with his immediate hand or power did not torment the Soule of Christ; otherwise that God gaue power to the Prince of darkenesse *to come against him*; and [o] *deliuered him into the hands of sinners, to doe* (vnto him) [t] *whatsoeuer the counsell of God had determined before to be done*; that I euery where confesse and auouch. Himselfe saith, his [u] *Father gaue him the Cup*, which he did drinke; to shew as well the Fatherly moderation, as the righteous permission of his sufferings; more then which no Scripture doth enforce, though it call that Gods hand or deede, which God by his loue did approoue and ordaine, and by his wisdome and power direct and order for the performance of our Saluation. [h] Defenc. pag. 82. li. 2. [h] *The very truth and Gods word it selfe is flat contrarie to you.*] Your fansies perhaps be very strong against me, but as for the Scriptures, you vse to crake a great deale more of them then you haue cause. He that can tell the meaning of Iobs words, when he said, [x] *the Lord hath giuen, and the Lord hath taken*, though the Sabeans and Chaldeans tooke his *Oxen* and *Camels* from him; and [y] *the hand of God hath touched me*; when yet *Satan* [z] *smote him with sore Boyles from the sole of his foote vnto his Crowne*; shall soone disperse the mists, that you would make out of the word of God.

[i] Defenc. pag. 82. li. 4. [i] *It is written, God made him sinne for vs: Yea he made his Soule sinne. Which is nothing else but the Lord laid vpon him the iniquitie of vs all.*] You shew your skill and vnderstanding in the Scriptures. To prooue that God with his immediate hand did afflict and torment the Soule of Christ, you note that God did appoint him to be the Sacrifice for sinne, and that Christ accordingly did offer vp his Soule, (or life) to be disposed at Gods pleasure. What is ment by sinne in those words of the Apostle, *God made him sinne for vs*, I haue largely shewed before; whence you may conclude, that God did appoint and approoue Christ to be the Lamb, that should take away the sinnes of the world, because he was vndefiled, and accepted of God as a most sufficient exchange or recompence for the sinnes of men: but torment from the immediate hand of God these words doe not touch, and therefore you might haue as well saued your Paper, as lost your paines. The next words, that Christ *made his* (owne) *Soule*, (or life) an offering for sinne, to what purpose you bring it I can not gheesse, except it be to let your Reader see, that you doe not vnderstand where about you goe. For how doth Christs giuing of his life for many, proue that his Soule was afflicted by the very hand of God? Had Gods immediate hand tormented his Soule, when he commended his Spirit into his Fathers hands, by your Doctrine he commended it not to rest, but to Torment. [*This is nothing else*, you say, *but the Lord laid vpon him the iniquitie of vs all.*] Then none of these three Texts come any thing neere your intention, that God with his owne hand laid the punishment of our sinnes on Christ, since the last word, by which you expound the rest, interreth no more, but that God *caused* or *made* our sinnes *to come* against him. In which words, as in all the rest implying any such thing, the Prophet meaneth; God was the Supreme Cause and Author of all Christs sufferings, which I no way deny; but not the immediate executioner with his owne hand, as you haue lately deuised, and now would prooue, if you could tell how.

This Phrase in the Scriptures, that God DID these or these things, concludeth not that he did them with his immediate hand, but that he was the Decreer, director, and disposer of those things by his iust Iudgement to punish sinne, or by his wisdome to make triall of his Saints; God vsing for his Ministers and executioners, Men or Angels,

Angels, good or bad, as seemed best to his heauenly will and Counsell. [b] *Is there any euill in the Citie, and the Lord hath not done it?* saith Amos. Where he doth not ascribe all euill of punishment to the immediate hand of God, but to the Soueraigne Iudgement and power of God appointing and ordering what shall be done. [c] *I am the Lord, there is none other; making Peace, and creating euill.* In both God had and hath his Instruments, though in both his will and power did and doth preuaile. When Dauid had sinned by killing Vriah, and taking his wife, God thus threatned him by Nathan the prophet. [d] *I will raise vp euill against thee out of thine owne house, and will take thy wiues before thine eies, and giue them to thy neighbour, and he shall lie with thy wiues in the sight of this Sunne. For thou didst it secretly: but I will doe this thing before all Israell and the Sunne.* Shall we attribute Absolons vnnaturall rebellion against his father, and his most shameles incest to Gods immediate hand, and so make God the onely author of so horrible sinne, which is the heigth of all wickednesse? Or did God by his iust iudgement giue libertie to Satan to lead Absolon, that ambitious murderer of his eldest brother, by the wicked counsell of Achitophell to this impudent villanie? So when Iob sayth, *The Lord hath giuen, and the Lord hath taken it*; did he meane that God tooke it with his immediate hand? or that God by his righteous iudgement did enlarge the diuell, and these wicked robbers to make triall of him by the losse of his goods and children? [e] *Stretch out thine hand, and touch his bones and his flesh*, said Satan to God, when he desired leaue to strike Iobs body. Whereupon Saint Austen sayth. [f] *Manum Domini appellabat permissam à Domino manum suam, id est, ipsam potestatem quam volebat accipere. The hand of the Lord* (Satan) *calleth his owne hand permitted by God, that is, the power and leaue which he would receaue.* God himselfe thus speaketh of the Assyrians, that oppressed his people. [g] *O Ashur, the rod of my wrath; the staffe in their hands is mine indignation.* God then vseth the wicked both men and Angels, to execute his iudgements, and exercise his seruants, though they haue no such knowledge or purpose; and their rage and deeds he calleth his anger and acts, because he giueth them power and leaue, without which they could not stirre to hurt any of his creatures, much lesse any of his seruants. Which Christ signified to Pilate, when he said; [h] *Thou couldest haue no power at all against me, except it were giuen thee from aboue.*

[b] Amos 3.
[c] Esa. 45.
[d] 2. Sam. 12.
[e] Iob. 2.
[f] *August. ad Simplicianum. li. 2. Epist. 1.*
[g] Esa. 10.
[h] Iohn. 19.

[i] *The Prophet sayth, the Lord delighted to bruize him, and afflicted him, or slew him.*] In points of faith vndoubted, men may dally with diuersitie of significations, and doe no hurt; but if you will erect new religions, and then iustifie your inuentions with new translations to your liking, you bring vs now not the word of God, but the humour of your owne head. If I may be allowed the like libertie, I can soone coole the fire of your words, by the same rules that you kindle them. For the words may signifie; *The Lord would humble him and made him expectant*, (or patient.) The proper significations of the words, you will say, must be preferred. But none of them can be verified of Christs sufferings, at the least if we beleeue your Lexicon. For *dacha*, with you, is to bruise or *beate to powder*, and *chol* properly noteth the *labour of Women in childbirth*, as *chalah* doth *to be painefully sicke*; which things agree not properly to the Passion of Christ. Since then we must be forced to the consequent or adherent significations of the words, mine haue as good right to be receaued as yours. Howbeit to direct the Reader the safest way in this case; Neither you, nor I must intrude our deuices vpon the words of God, but what the Euangelists describe in Christs sufferings, that without Question the Prophets foresaw, and foretold in their Predictions. The words then of the Prophets must not inferre any new fansies of yours, nowhere confirmed in the Euangelists; but what the Gospell witnesseth Christ did suffer, that Esay foresaid Christ should suffer. The immediate hand of God tormenting the Soule of his Sonne, is no where testified in the Gospell: It was therefore no where foreshewed in the Prophets. But the true & accustomed translation may stand for good; *the Lord would bruise him*, or humble him, and *made him weake*. And where you catch hold of the word *khaphets*, as if it were Gods owne action, because *he tooke pleasure* and delight

[i] Defens. pag. 82. li. 7. *What the Prophets foretolde of Christs suffering, that the Euangelistes affirme was verified.*

light therein, besides that the word signifieth to be *willing* and *content* as well as to *desire* and *delight*, that part of your exposition refuteth the rest. For God taketh no pleasure in punishing, as the Prophet confesseth of him, [k] *He doth not punish with the hart*; and as hee witnesseth of himselfe, [l] *I take no pleasure in the death of him that dieth.* Where you must either translate the wordes, that God tooke pleasure to humble and weaken his Sonne to trie his *obedience* and *patience*; or else that for our sakes rather then we should perish, *God was content*, or *would bruize him* with stripes and wounds due to vs, and *made* him taste of our Infirmities; yet neither way conuinceth, that God did this with his owne hand. For [m] *The death of his Saints is pretious* (which is as much as pleasant) *in his sight*; and then most pretious, when with Faith and Patience they despise for Gods cause, all that their pursuers can doe vnto them.

[k] Lament. 3. vers. 33.
[l] Ezech. 18. vers. 32.
[m] Psal. 116.

[n] Defenc. pa. 82. li. 8. [n] *The Apostles doe acknowledge that both the counsell and hand of God was in Christs punishment.*] The place which you bring, Acts 4. verse 28, doth cleerely confute your erroneous conceit, and answer all that hitherto you haue cited to the contrarie. [o] *Against thine holy Sonne Iesus both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and the people of Israel, gathered themselues together, to doe whatsoeuer thy hand and counsell had determined before to be done.* Let the simplest that is, heere iudge, whether the Apostles in this their praier acknowledge any thing done to Christ in his sufferings by Gods owne hand without all meanes, as you imagine; or whether they doe not expressely auouch, that both rulers and people of Iewes and Gentils were Gods meanes to doe that, which his hand and counsell had before determined to be done. So that Christ was not left to the will and power of his enemies, to doe with him what they would, but to doe that vnto him, which Gods wisdome determined, and hand guided to be done. Heere apparantly is the hand of God named and confessed, but mediate; that is, ordering and disposing the Iewes rage and violence according to Gods foresetled counsell. Wherein the goodnesse of your iudgement and cause appeareth, that when you should prooue any thing, you produce places that euidently impugne your purpose. With like discretion you cite that which followeth. For what if God *condemned* (that is, abolished) *sinne in the flesh*, (of which words I haue spoken enough before) doth that imply, that God punished Christes Soule or bodie with his immediate hand? Small store of proofes you haue for your vpstart doctrine of God tormenting Christes soule with his immediate hand, when you turne aside to texts, that no way mention any such matter, and prate in your pride, that the word of God is flat contrarie to me.

[o] Acts. 4.

[p] Defenc. pa. 82. li. 12. [p] *Gods owne hand then did smite Christ, and inflicted on him whatsoeuer he suffered, as the condemnation of sinne.*] Well leapt; From Gods hand vsing the Iewes and Gentils as his meanes to doe to Christ whatsoeuer his counsell had determined, you step to Gods owne hand, excluding all meanes; directly against the profession of the Apostles, and the whole Church with them, and against the tenor of the new Testament, which sharpely rebuketh the rage and wickednesse of the Iewes, that put Christ to death. Were you not caried with the spirit of slumber and giddinesse, could you thus loosely conclude so weightie causes, not onely without, but against the Scriptures? [q] *The punishment ordained for sinne by the iustice of God, and inflicted by the hand of God (whatsoeuer meane it pleaseth him to vse) is called the wrath of God, as you acknowledge.*] My words make as much for you, as the Apostles did euen now, when they expretly contradicted you; but such as your cause is, such is your conscience; you duck and diue, you care not where nor whether, so you may haue a generall Phrase to beare you aboue water, when you are out of breath. You set your selfe to proone that God with his immediate hand afflicted the Soule of Christ; and when your proofes faile you, you catch vp my words anouching [r] *the punishment ordained for sinne by Gods Iustice, or inflicted on vs by Gods hand* (WHATSOEVER MEANE HE VSE) *is called the wrath of God.* Would you hence inferre, that because God vseth meanes, therefore he vseth no meanes, but inflicteth all punishment of sinne with his immediate

[q] Ibid. li. 16.

[r] Conclus. pa. 245. li. 31.

diate hand? Or because all punishments great and small on vs, or on whomsoeuer, come from the Soueraigne power & hand of God, therefore God vseth no meanes? Or what other absurd conceite would you collect out of my words? I speake not here of the Reprobate, I speake of all mankinde, though you leaue out my words (inflicted ON VS) of purpose to serue your owne sense. Neither do I say it is Gods eternall or spirituall wrath, but all afflictions imposed on vs for sinne, by what means soeuer, are in the Scriptures called the wrath of God, as I haue else where shewed, albeit they tend not to damnation, nor destruction. What is this to Gods immediate hand punishing the Soule of Christ? Or which way recall you this to the Conquest, that Christ had ouer Satan and all his power, wherewith you began?

[f] *Then how may we thinke Gods infinite iustice and power punished Christ?*] You must goe by thoughts indeed, and neither by warrant, nor word of holy Scripture. How Christ [t] *bare our sinnes in his body on the tree*, and gaue the same *to be* [u] *broken for vs, and his blood to be shedde for many, for the remission of sinnes*; we shall need no thoughts nor conceits of yours: the description of his sufferings is so particularly and precisely set downe in the Scriptures, that no man doubteth thereof besides you, that respect more your secret fansies, then the publike histories of the Euangelists. [x] *In his spirit certainly he suffered spirituall and incomprehensible punishments being no sinnes such as mens soules are subiect vnto, as from God.*] Though by no learning you can truely deriue any such thing from the Scriptures, touching the tormenting of Christs soule by the immediate hand of God, yet your conceit is so strong, that you CERTAINLY auouch any thing. For in these few words you presume more then you will prooue whiles you liue; to make God with his immediate hand to afflict the soule of Christ with the same paines, that the damned are tormented; and other reason for it you haue none, but because all power in heauen, earth, and hell is from God; and called the hand of God. By which the Scriptures doe not imply the immediate hand of God, but his power working by meanes appointed and established by him. In the Scriptures God is euery where proclaimed to be THE LORD OF HOSTES, and therefore as there is no power in Angels, Diuels, Men or other creatures, that cōmeth not from him, so they are not idle armies, nor lookers on, but are indued with power from God as well to protect, as to punish where, when, how, and whom they shal be appointed. Which the wisdome and power of God hath ordained and setled, not to shorten his arme, nor to weaken his strength as needing assistants, but by constituting Seruants and Ministers vnder him, to let men and Angels, good and badde, continually behold how mightie and wise, righteous and glorious he is, that wanteth no meanes to execute his will, and yet directeth all things by his wisdome. Is not God able to preserue and keepe his Saints by his word or his will without aide of others? who doubteth it? And yet [y] *He giueth his Angels charge ouer thee, to keepe thee in all thy waies. And* [z] *the Angell of the Lord pitcheth round about them, that feare him and deliuereth them* Is he not able also to punish with his own hand, & to reuenge his enemies without helpe of his creatures? Who denieth it, that knoweth what belongeth to a God? And yet Dauid praied thus against his enimies. [a] *Let them be as chaffe before the wind, & the Angel of the Lord scatter them. Let their way be darke & slippery, & the angel of the Lord persecute them.* And the Psalmist, describing the plagues powred out on Egypt, saith; [b] *God cast vpon thē the fiercenesse of his anger, indignation, wrath, & vexation; euen the sending in of euill angels* (amongst them.) God then in this life vseth men & angels to performe his iudgements, & chiefly the diuel is vsed against sinners, as we may see by the Apostles speech and course, who *deliuered* hainous offenders *vnto Satan*, as vnto the publike tormentor appointed by God to execute vengeance; wherein though he were to haue power & leaue from God, yet execution was allotted to him.

The auncient Fathers haue duely obserued so much out of the Scriptures. [c] *Vtitur Deus ministris etiam malis spiritibus ad vindictam malorum, vel ad bonorum probationem. God vseth as his ministers euill spirits*, saith Austen, *to reuenge the wicked, and to trie the good.* Saint Ierom. [d] *Non solum homines ministri sunt, & vltores iræ eius, sed etiam contrarie*

[f] Defenc. pag. 82. li 18.
[t] 1. Pet. 2.
[u] Matth. 26.
[x] Defenc. pag. 82. li. 21.
[y] Psal. 91.
[z] Psal. 34.
[a] Psal. 35.
[b] Psal. 78.
[c] *August. ad Simplician. li. 2. quæst. 1.*
[d] *Hieron. in Ioel. cap. 2.*

contraria fortitudines, quæ appellantur furor & ira Dei. Not onely men are Gods ministers, and reuengers of his wrath, but also the contrarie powers (which are diuels) *are called the wrath and displeasure of God.* For [c] *as the Babilonians punishing Ierusalem are called Gods armies, so wicked angels are called Gods hosts and camps, whiles they execute the Lords will.* Likewise Basile. [f] *Euill spirits which execute punishment on the wicked, and the powers that serue God* (in that sort) *are called the Anger and wrath* (of God.) And that this was a receaued opinion amongst Christians, Ierom giueth testimonie, where he saith. [g] *Plerique nostrorum iram furoris Domini Diabolum interpretantur, cui tradimur ad puniendum. The most of our men interpret the wrath of Gods furie to be the diuell, to whom we are deliuered to be punished.* And to that end this office is assigned the diuell and his angels. [h] *Malis angelis tormentis præpositi sunt. Wicked angels are appointed to inflict or execute torments.* Wherefore this resolution is learnedly, and truely made by Zanchius. [i] *Duo ad summam sunt officia, ad quæ Dæmones omnes sunt a Deo destinati. There are summarily two offices, to which all the diuels are appointed of God. One that by their tentations the godly elect may be exercised in patience and humilitie, and so their saluation more and more furdered: the other, that God by them, as his ministers and executioners, may inflict spirituall and corporall punishments on the wicked reprobate.* [k] *Id quod maxime fiet in fine seculi &c. Which shall most be seene in the end of the worlde, when God shall performe, that the diuels shall be tormented themselues, and torment others in the place of eternall punishments.* You take the diuels office from him, and impose it on God himselfe, making him the tormentor of damned soules, with his immediate hand, to which incomprehensible punishments as you call them, you subiect the soule of Christ on the crosse, without ground or grant of holie Scripture; and as if this were not desperate impietie enough, with obstinate impudencie you say, CERTAINLY it was so.

[l] Defenc. pag. 82. li. 24. [l] *Some, God himselfe immediatly inflicted, some he inflicted by meanes and instruments, but still it was his hand principally, which did whatsoeuer was done vnto him.*] You told vs not twelue lines before, that *Gods owne hand inflicted on Christ whatsoeuer he suffered*; now you tell vs, [m] *some God himselfe immediatly inflicted, some by meanes and instruments, but still his hand was principall.* The first is a notorious and presumptuous vntrueth, no way iustifiable by any Scripture; the next is a trifling cauill, or a pestilent blasphemy: for if you meane no more, then that God was the principall Decreer and Appointer how farre Satan and his members should haue power over Christes bodie; so God is the principall Agent not only in all the sufferings of Martyrs and Innocents, but the supreame and chiefe Directer and Disposer of all things done by angels, men, or diuels. A thought can not rise in the heart, a word can not proceed out of the mouth, the hand can performe no act, without the power and will of the Creatour. In [n] *him we liue, moue, and haue our being*; and so haue the Angels, all whose power commeth from him, and serueth him. But if you meane, that God by his reuealed will, or publike ordinance set the Iewes and the diuell on worke to kill his Sonne, then you must either excuse them by Gods authoritie, or charge God with the same iniquity.

[m] Pag. 81. l. 12. *God is the principall agent in all our sufferings but not with his immediate hand.*

[n] Acts. 17.

[o] Defenc. pag. 82. li. 27. [o] *You can not say, that Christes punishment was Gods meere and bare permission onelie.*] What you meane by *meere and bare permission*, I know not; it proceeded, I say, from the same kinde of will and power in God, whence all the trials of his saints and deaths of his martyrs come, though this were of more moment then all theirs; in that it touched a greater person, and tended to a greater honour then men might haue. [p] *Nay Christes punishment was Gods written and reuealed will, his expresse and publike ordinance, and most holy appointment from the beginning of the world.*] God in his written and vnwritten decrees, in his publike and priuate ordinances, is equally wise, iust and holy; that is, he is alwayes like himselfe. Wherefore this farre fet Preface hath in it no strength to tie the whole action of Christes sufferings to Gods immediat hand. Did not God expretly by his Prophet denounce to Dauid, what he would doe against him, for defloureing Vrtahs wife, and deuouring him with the sword? And yet I trust you will not impute Absolons ambition, rebellion and incest to Gods immediat action.

[p] Ibid. li. 28.

action. What [q] *affliction and tribulation* the Church ſhall ſuffer towards the end, what [r] *ſtrange illuſions and lying wonders ſhall* leade them to beleeue lies, that receiue not the loue of Gods trueth; what [s] *hereſie and* [t] *iniquitie ſhall abound* in the latter dayes; *the written and reuealed will of God, his expreſſe and publike ordinance, doth appoint, foretell and aſſure.* Shall we therefore aſcribe all theſe perſecutions, deluſions, and tranſgreſſions to Gods immediat action? Except you be madde, you will be of another minde. In decreeing, ordering, and effecting all theſe, God is moſt iuſt, pure and holy; and yet theſe actions in their immediat authors, perſwaders, and approuers, are moſt vniuſt, impure, and vnholy. Wherefore this prating of Gods meere and bare permiſsion will nothing helpe your falſe and wicked collection. [*But God*, you ſay, *appointed Chriſtes ſufferings from the beginning of the world.*] As if any thing were new and lately remembred with God. *From the beginning of the world all his works were knowen to him*; little or great, all are alike decreed, appointed, and ſetled with him.

[q] Matth. 24. [r] 2. Theſſ 2. [s] 1. Tim 4. [t] 2. Tim 3.

[u] *The whole ſuffering of Chriſt was Gods owne and moſt proper action.*] *Moſt proper* is that which is *more* PROPER then all other, or at leaſt *as proper as any*. If theſe words of yours be true, then all that Chriſt ſuffered in bodie, was as properly Gods action, as the creation of the world, the renouation of mans minde, the infuſion of grace, the miſsion of the Holy Ghoſt, and glorification of his Elect. And conſequently Chriſt ſuffered nothing at the hands of men, but all that is reported in the Scriptures of his outward ſufferings, is fabulous and falſe, which is blaſphemie in the higheſt degree.

[u] Defenc. pag. 82. li. 33.

[x] *The wicked Iewes and Diuels were only inſtruments to do that which he ſet them on worke to doe, though they thought not ſo.*] If God had the wicked Iewes and Diuels for his inſtruments in afflicting Chriſt, then was the whole ſuffering of Chriſt not ſo properly Gods action, as thoſe things which God doth by the immediate working of his ſpirit, and power of his will, without all meanes or inſtruments vſed by him. And when all this flouriſh is faded away, tell vs why the crucifying and wounding of Chriſtes bodie and ſhedding of his bloud by the rage of the Iewes, was more properly Gods action, then the beheading of Iohn Baptiſt, or ſtoning of Steuen, or the violent death of any Martyr; in which God decreeth, directeth, and appointeth what ſhalbe done, though the wicked vnawares performe Gods conſell by ſatisfying their bloudy rage and furie. If you anſwer, that abſolutely and immediatly *God worketh all in all*, then referre you all the wickedneſſe in the world both of men and diuels to Gods immediat action; which is not an heape, but an hell of blaſphemies. If you meane, that God worketh all the good which is in euery action, but not the malitious and furious deſires of the diuell and his members, then are you no whit the neerer to make the whole ſuffering of Chriſt to be Gods moſt proper action. For not in Chriſtes ſufferings only, but in the trials and afflictions of all his Saints, as in all the puniſhments of the Reprobate God hath his moſt righteous iudgements, and moſt holy purpoſes, which the diuell doth execute, not knowing Gods counſels, and hating Gods ſeruants, as he doth God himſelfe; and ſo by Gods ſecret wiſdome and almightie power is made an inſtrument by his eger malice to ſerue their good, and promote Gods glory, whiles he laboureth their deſtruction and Gods diſhonour. Of this S. Auſten wiſely and ſoberly ſayth: [b] *Neſcit Diabolus quomodo illo & inſidiante & ſeuiente vtatur ad ſalutem fidelium ſuorum excellentiſſima Dei ſapientia. The diuell doth not know how the moſt excellent wiſdome of God vſeth his lying in wait, and raging, to the ſaluation of the faithfull.*

[x] Defenc. pag. 82. li. 34.

[b] *Auguſt. de Trinitate. li. 4. ca. 13.*

[z] *Now we come to anſwer you more directly touching the text in hand. Where you would intimate, that Chriſt on the Croſſe was not tempted by the powers of hell, becauſe Chriſt could not be tempted by Satans inward ſuggeſtion, but only by the eare receiuing an outward voice; this I ſuppoſe alſo is a ſingular conceit of your owne, without any title of Scripture to proue it by.*] I can not call your conceits ſingular, they are ſo void of all reaſon and iudgement; priuate they are to your ſelfe, and deprived of all trueth, and teſtimonie either of Scripture, ſaue ſuch as you moſt ignorantly abuſe, or of the Church of Chriſt before you, which you regard not, as drowned in the depth of your ſelfe-pleaſing paradoxes.

[z] Defenc. pag. 82. li 36.

radoxes. Whether I haue grounds of Scripture, and the consent of Christs Church, for that which I defend in this and other points refused by your curious conceitfull head, the Reader shall see before we depart. But in the meane while you forget, Sir Defensor, that you should proue this to be the Apostles meaning in those words produced by you, Christ *spoiled powers and principalities*, which you neuer offer to doe. You denie that I affirme, and without any farther processe you presume your fansie to be the Apostles sense; which is your common course throughout your writings. Could you deforce mine exceptions, as you can not, that maketh not your exposition the truer, nor your argument the stronger, till you haue iustly proued this, which you pretend to be the Apostles purpose.

[a] Defenc. pag. 83. li. 4. [a] *What reason can you giue, that where the minde conceiueth any temptation, there of necessitie must be concupiscence, and corruption of the flesh? &c. In vs men it is so you say; I grant it is so: but that of necessitie in nature it must be so, I see no reason in the world.*] *The conceiuing* & discerning of *a tentation* is not the point we speake of, but the profering and *suggesting it*; and why that can not inwardly be done by the minde of man without corruption of sinne, the reason is euident in the Scriptures. For a tentation to sinne is not a cogitation or imagination, but a prouocation and motion to sinne, which is sinfull in the Tempter, since it is no lesse euill directly and purposely to prouoke to sinne, then to consent or commit sinne. For which cause the Scriptures a-

[b] Acts 5. v 3. Matth 4. v 3. 1. Thess. 3. v. 5. scribe that office namely to the diuell, to be the [b] *Tempter* vnto euill; and S. Iames expretly and truely denieth it of God, as from whom being good, commeth nothing but that which is good. And consequently, as [c] *God can not be tempted with euill, so neither tempteth he any man* (to euill) sayth Iames; thereby teaching vs, that he must first be tempted, or filled with euill, that tempteth and leadeth another thereto. Since then Man in his first Creation was made after the Image of God, that was very good, and void of all euill; though he might be outwardly tempted, because he was mutable, yet could he not inwardly be tempted by his owne heart, because he was innocent: for that which was right and good, as euery part within man was, could not perswade or prouoke man to euill, but like must leade the like. And this is the reason of that generall rule in Saint Iames touching inward tentation, where he saith: *Euery one is tempted, when he is drawen, and enticed by his owne concupiscence.* The Apostle speaketh not this of outward tentations, but of inward; sending men to the corruption of their owne hearts and lusts, by which Satan secretly prouoketh them to sinne, without externall speech and presence, which all the godly would soone detest and abhorre; but baiting them with their owne desires and delights by meanes of that concupiscence which naturally dwelleth in them, and not onely serueth the diuell as an instrument to farther his wicked suggestions, but of it selfe lusteth after euill, and striueth against the Spirit of grace. If this were not in Adam before his fall, then could the diuell worke in him by no inward motion of infidelitie or iniquitie, since the parts and powers of the soule that should suggest either, must be infected and inclined to either, before they could prouoke and allure the rest to consent. Howbeit, the question is of Christ, whether he could inwardly be tempted to euill by the cogitations or thoughts of his owne heart, though neither consent, nor act did follow; and herein I thinke you will shew your selfe to haue a fountaine of folly, if not worse, springing out of that vnquiet braine of yours.

[d] Defenc. pag. 8, li. 11. [d] *I suppose you haue no reason to affirme (as you doe) that Christ in the wildernesse was tempted by Satan by outward voice only.*] The discreet Reader, when he hath well considered your vanities in this place, will the lesse woonder at, and the sooner discouer your nouelties in other things. Haue I no reason to affirme, that Christ was tempted in the wildernesse by the outward voice of Satan, when the Scriptures directly record the words and deeds of the Diuell to Christ, as also Satans presence before him, and departure from him? Doth not the Scripture expresly say, that the diuell tooke him

[e] Matth. 4. [e] *vp into the holy citie, and set him on the pinnacle of the Temple: and againe tooke him into a very high hill, and shewed him all the kingdomes of the world, and the glory thereof?* Are not

not the diuels words to Christ in three ſeuerall temptations likewiſe ſet downe by the Euangeliſts, Luke and Matthew, whereby he tempted Chriſt; firſt to make (the) *ſtones*, (that lay in ſight) *bread*; then *to caſt himſelfe* from the pinnacle of the Temple; and laſtly, *to fall downe before the diuell, and to worſhip him?* [It was a temptation, you will ſay.] The words and deeds of Satan were, So ſayth the Scripture; but not that Chriſt imagined theſe things, or that the diuell mooued Chriſtes heart thus to thinke. It is a narration of things done and ſpoken, not a viſion or cogitation what might be profered by Satans ſuggeſtion; the Diuell ſayd to Chriſt, [f] *If thou wilt bow thy knee* ἐνώπιόν μου, (before me or) *in my preſence, all this* (glory of the world, which I haue ſhewed thee) *ſhall be thine.* To whom Chriſt replied with iuſt indignation; ὕπαγε ὀπίσω μου, *Get thee behinde me Satan.* [g] *It is written, Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him alone ſhalt thou ſerue. And ſo the Diuell left him, and loe, the angels came, and miniſtred vnto him.* Why may not the reſt of the Hiſtories in the Goſpell be thoughts and imaginations aſwell as this, ſince they haue no plainer words nor deeds then this?

[f] Luke 4.

[g] Matth. 4.

[h] *It ſeemeth rather to be manifeſt, that (Chriſts) temptation was meerely in cogitation, and in the thoughts of his heart, ſo mooued by the ſpirituall ſuggeſtion of the diuell.*] Beſides your manifeſt gaine-ſaying the wordes of the Euangeliſts, that the diuell *did and ſpake* thus to Chriſt, as the Goſpell reporteth, and carried him to the temple, and to the mountaine; you make the thoughts and cogitations of Chriſtes heart to be inwardly mooued with *Infidelitie, preſumption, idolatrie and blaſphemie.* For ſuch in effect were the perſwaſions, that Satan profered Chriſt by word of mouth; which if you thinke Chriſts heart ſuggeſted to himſelfe in Satans ſteed, and by Satans meanes, then bring you worſe then corruption into the ſoule of Chriſt. For a [i] *fooliſh thought is ſinne*, ſaith Salomon; *and* [k] *an euill thought is an abomination to the Lord.* What then are perfidious, preſumptuous, mendacious, and blaſphemous thoughts, I ſaie thoughts ſuggeſting and perſwading theſe hainous ſinnes, though conſent or act doe not follow? and yet if you looke well to them, you ſhall ſee falſe and wicked aſſeuerations in Satans words, which if any mans heart ſuggeſt vnto him in the ſame forme, that Satan vttered them, he is guilty of the ſame impietie with Satan. To ſhew his pride and vaunt his power, Satan ſayd; [l] *all* (the authority and glory of earthly kingdomes) *is committed to me, and I giue it to whom I will.* If any mans heart or thought do but ſay, or ſuggeſt the ſame to it ſelfe after Satan, doeth not his heart affirme a lie to Gods great diſhonour, as Satans mouth did? You therefore and your hobler, that would faine helpe you out of this quake mire, by ſetting his cenſure in the margine, may do well to beware of maintaining ſuch *ſpirituall cogitations in Chriſt* as proceeded from the diuels mouth by the witneſſe of holy Scripture, and are meet for none but for him and his members: and to tread rather in the plaine path of the Holy Ghoſt, that Satans voice vttered thoſe blaſphemies, which Chriſtes heart ſo deteſted, that he could no longer endure the diuels ſpeech, when he brake out to ſuch open impietie, that he put himſelfe in Gods ſtead, but commanded him away.

[h] Defenc. pag. 83. li. 13.

[i] Prou. 24.

[k] Prou. 5.

[l] Luke 4.

And when you next ſuffer any man to reuiſe your doings, intreat him not to croſſe you and himſelfe ſo fondly as this Corrector doth. For where you ſay it *is manifeſt, that Chriſtes temptation was meerely* (that is onely) *in cogitation*, your owne ouerſeer controleth that as an error, and ſayth, [m] OR ELS *by ſome ſuch outward obiects, which might worke that ſpirituall cogitation in Chriſt, as Satan might well know how.* What theſe meanes were or might be, this Huckſter knoweth no more then you doe, but it ſufficeth ſome of your ſort neuer to holde their tongues nor pennes, though they know not what you ſay or write. Outward obiects to worke any ſuch cogitation in Chriſt, muſt be by the *eare* or by the *eye*. The eare in Chriſt you denie to haue beene the inſtrument that receiued this temptation; though the Scripture by plaine conſequent auouch ſo much. What obiect of the eye could leade Chriſt to thinke, that Satan was the Diſpoſer of earthly power and glorie; and that the Diuell would affoord him all, if he would bow his knee in the diuels preſence to acknowledge the giuer,

[m] Defenc. pag. 82. ad margin li. 15.

can you tell? In vs, since the soule was weakened, corrupted, and diuided against it selfe by sinne, the diuell can (when he is permitted so to doe) stirre the imaginations of men either sleeping or waking, and moue their affections; otherwise he can impresse no cogitation in the soule, but must proferre the suggestion by some speech of his owne or others. In Christ he could do nothing, farther than Christ was willing to permit; the words of our Sauiour are very plaine: [a] *The Prince of this world commeth, but in me he hath nothing*, that is, no power, place, nor worke. So much the diuels themselues confessed. [b] *What haue we to doe with thee, thou Iesus of Nazaret?* And since he was stronger than the diuell, and tooke his armour from him, and bound him, and cast him out of others, neither could he so much as enter hogges without Christes leaue, how was it possible the diuell should worke any cogitation in Christ, but what Christ was willing he should? Now, will, that Satan should impresse these impious cogitations in his heart, Christ had none, nor could haue any; since with disdaine he put the diuell to silence vpon the hearing of that blasphemous and idolatrous suggestion. Wherefore it is euident, that these things were spoken and done by Satan, euen as the Scriptures describe them; and we may not for our pleasures make them imaginations, not actions; cogitations, not speeches.

[a] John. 14.

[b] Luke. 4.

Of this opinion with me, haue beene the best learned of all Ages in the Church of Christ. Ignatius. [c] *How wast thou not afraid,* (saith he) *o thou the worst of all wicked spirits, τοιαῦτα τῷ φωνὴν ἀφεῖναι, to vtter such a voice against the Lord, if thou wilt fall downe on earth, and worship me?* Irenæus citing the words of Christ, *Depart Satan,* saith: [d] *The Angell, that fell from God, is destroyed by that voice, detected who he is, and conquered by the Sonne of Man.* Tertullian maketh the diuell to bragge of this tentation in this sort. [e] *Ego ad ipsum* Deum *accessi, ipsum cominus tentaui. I came to God himselfe, and tempted him hand to hand.* Athanasius. [f] *The Lord conuicted the diuell first in the Mountaine, pulling from him the folds (or couerts) of his brest, and shewing, that he was the diuell, reprouing him to be none of the Saints, but Satan the Tempter, in saying, goe behind me Satan.* Vincentius Lirinensis. [g] *Sicut tunc caput capiti, ita nunc quoque membra membris loquuntur. As then* (in the Wildernesse) *the head spake to the head, so now the members* (of the diuell) *speake to the members* (of Christ.) Ambrose. [h] *Christus, quia fortior, facie ad faciem tentatur. Christ, as the stronger, was tempted face to face.* Austen. [i] *Incertum quid prius factum sit, nihil tamen ad rem, dum omnia facta esse manifestum sit. It is vncertaine, which (of the two last Tentations) was first done, but that skilleth not, so long as it is manifest, they were all done.* Gregorie. [k] *Omnis Diabolica illa tentatio foris, non intus fuit. All that Tentation* (of Christ) *by the diuell was without, not within* (Christ.) And so againe. [l] *Sic dignatus est hæc exteriùs cuncta suscipere, vt mens eius interiùs inconcussa maneret. So the Lord vouchsafed to receaue all these tentations outwardly, that his minde inwardly stoode vnshaken.* Beda followeth Gregorie. [m] *All that Temptation of the diuell* (saith he) *was not inward, but outward.* Damascene. [n] *Christ was tempted, and did ouercome. ὁ μὲν οὖν πονηρὸς ἔξωθεν προσέβαλεν ἐ διὰ λογισμῶν, ὥσπερ κὴ πρὸ ἀδάμ. The wicked spirit then suggested from without, as he did vnto Adam, not by thoughts. For Adams Tentation was not by thoughts, but by the Serpent.* Theophylact. [o] *ἀδύνατος γὰρ ἐφάνη αὐτῷ ὁ διάβολος. λογισμὸς γὰρ ὁ κύριος οὐκ ἐδέξατο· μὴ γένοιτο. The diuell appeared to Christ* (in the Wildernesse) *by some sensible shape. For Thoughts the Lord would not admit. God forbid,* (we should so thinke.) *Sensibly therefore the diuell shewed* (Christ) *on the Hill all the kingdomes, proposing them before his eyes by some shew,* or appearance. The very ordinary Gloze could say. [p] *Nota, hæc omnia corporeis sensibus esse completa. Nec mirum si se permiserit circumferri, qui permisit se crucifigi. Note that all these tentations were accomplished to the senses of the Body. Neither is it a marueile that Christ suffered himselfe to be caried about* (of the diuell,) *when he suffered himselfe to be crucified* (by him.)

[c] Ignatius ad Philippenses epistola 5.

[d] Irenæus lib. 5. ca. 18.

[e] Tertullianus aduersus Praxeam.

[f] Athanas. contra Arianos oratio 1.

[g] Vincentius de Hæresibus c. 37.

[h] Ambros. in Lucam l. 4. de 2. tentatione Christi.

[i] August. de consens. Euang. l. 2. ca. 6.

[k] Gregorius in Euangel. homil 16.

[l] Moralium in Iob. l. 3. ca. 11.

[m] Beda in 4 ca. Matth.

[n] Damasc. orthodoxæ fidei l. 3 ca. 20.

[o] Theophylact. in Matth ca. 4.

[p] Glossa ordinaria in Matt. ca. 4.

Christ not tempted by his owne heart.

The best learned of the new Writers dissent not from these; though in one point some make a doubt, whether that were done by inspection, or vision. Zanchius. Christ [q] *Was not tempted by prouocation of flesh* (within) *as we are; which Tentation is not without some sinne, for so much as Concupiscence is sin. This Christ had not. Sed tentatus à tentatore exterius*

[q] Zanchius in 3 ca. ad Philip.

externo, hoc eſt à Satana, But he was tempted by an externall Tempter who *was Satan,* WHICH MIGHT BE VVITHOVT SINNE. Caluin ſaith, it is no abſurditie that Chriſt ſhould be tempted of Satan, [f] *Modo ne intus, hoc eſt, in mente & anima quicquam putemus paſſum fuiſſe; ſo as we doe not thinke, that Chriſt ſuffered any thing within the mind, or Soule.* Gualter. [g] *Neque aliquis putare debet illum cogitationibus eiuſmodi, quæ, etſi nihil aliud accedat, per ſe peccati nomine cenſentur, vel momento indulſiſſe. Externis tamen ſenſibus iſta obiecit Satan. No Man ought to thinke, that Chriſt ſuffered* (or admitted) *theſe cogitations, not a moment; becauſe, though nothing elſe be added beſides thought, yet of themſelues they are within the compaſſe of ſinne.* HOVVBEIT SATAN *propoſed theſe things to Chriſts ſenſes.* Yea, of the ſight of all the kingdomes of the world in a point of time, which ſome thinke was a viſion, he ſaith; [h] *Non nuda modo imaginatione factum exiſtimo. Iſta enim ſimplici narratione, vt rem veram geſtam, Euangeliſtæ exponunt, & tam diligens loci atque temporis notatio id omnino innuere videtur. I doe not thinke, that this was done by imagination only. For the Euangeliſts report theſe things with a ſimple narration, as a matter of fact; and their exact noting of place and time ſeemeth vtterly to confirme the ſame.* Vitus Theodorus. [i] *Hiſtoria eſt, quomodo Ieſus poſt baptiſmum à Diabolo tentatus ſit. It is an Hiſtorie* (and neither Viſion nor Cogitation) *how Ieſus after Baptiſme was tempted of the diuell.* Aretius. [k] *Manifeſtum eſt præſentem corporali ſpecie cum Chriſto egiſſe. Nam inceſſum illi tribuit, & congreſſum cum Chriſto pronomen αὐτῷ emphaticé declarat; præterea ſermonem habet, loquitur, proponit, citat Scripturam, quæ corporalem præſentiam Satanæ arguunt. It is euident, that the diuell tempted Chriſt in ſome corporall ſhape. For the Scripture giueth him an acceſſe to Chriſt, and the Pronoune* (to him) *declareth emphatically his congreſſe with Chriſt; beſides he talketh, and vttereth words, propoſeth, and citeth the Scriptures, which argue the corporall preſence of Satan.* In Eraſmus, Bullinger, Muſculus, and others, it likewiſe appeareth that this Tentation was externall, which for length I omit. Yea the Reaſons, which leade you to make it an Imagination and ſpirituall Cogitation of Chriſts, are ſo childiſh, that they will rather euert, then any way eſtabliſh your conceite.

[f] Caluini harm. in Matth. 4.
[g] Gualterus in Luc. 4 hom. 38.
[h] Ibidem.
[i] Vitus Theodorus in Matt. ca. 4.
[k] Aretius in ca. 4. Matth.

[l] *Chriſt faſted but fortie daies and fortie nights, and ſo long he was in the Wilderneſſe. Seeing then Chriſt was in the Wilderneſſe all the while that he was tempted, how could he be Really and Actually on a Pinnacle of the Temple at Ieruſalem?*] Learne firſt to vnderſtand the Scriptures, before you charge them with Contradictions. Saint Marke, whom you would oppoſe to the reſt, omitting the particular circumſtances of Chriſts temptation, ſaith in generall words, that Chriſt was in the Wilderneſſe fortie daies, (& was) tempted of Satan. Hence you would infer, that after theſe forty daies Chriſt was not tempted; but which way? can you tell? The Euangeliſt, whoſe words you pretend, deuideth theſe two, which you ioyne together, as the point betweene them in all our Greeke Copies doth cleerely conuince. And were they not diuided, thence perhaps you might prooue, that during the time of fortie daies he was in ſome ſort tempted, but that he was not tempted after the end of fortie daies, thoſe words doe no way imply. Beſides you take fooliſh and irreligious paines to conclude by a lame conſequent out of one Euangeliſt, that which two others directly and expreſly refute, as if you would trippe the holy Ghoſt in his Tale. Saint Mathew ſaith, [m] *Chriſt faſting fortie dayes and fortie nights,* ὕστερον *afterward began to be hungrie.* S. Luke is plainer: [n] *Fortie dayes* (ſayth he) *was Chriſt tempted of the diuell, and he did not eat any thing in thoſe dayes.* καὶ συντελεσθεισῶν αὐτῶν ὕστερον ἐπείνασεν, *and thoſe* (fortie) *dayes ended, afterward he began to hunger.* So that apparantly Chriſt faſted fortie dayes eating nothing, and at the end thereof began to be hungrie; which occaſion the diuell tooke firſt to tempt him openly, and ſo ſpight of your cauilling conceits, Chriſt was tempted after the end of fortie dayes, whatſoeuer he was before. Now thoſe words in Saint Lukes text, *(Fortie dayes tempted of the Diuell)* Euſebius and Cyrill, two ancient Greeke Fathers, reade diſioyned, referring the fortie dayes to Chriſtes being in the wilderneſſe. [o] *He was ledde of the Spirit in the wilderneſſe fortie dayes,* (where the text which they alledge maketh a point;) *being tempted of the diuell.* Howbeit, it is not materiall to me, whether

[l] Defenc. pag. 82. li. 18. *Chriſt was tempted after fortie daies.*
[m] Matt. 4. v. 2.
[n] Luk. 4. v. 2.
[o] *Euſeb. demonſt. Euang. li. 3 cap. 2.* *Cyril. de recta fide ad Reginas. li. 2. de Sacerd. Chriſti.*

whether we ſay, that Chriſt abode thoſe fortie dayes in the Wilderneſſe, or he was tempted thoſe fortie daies in the Wilderneſſe, ſince it is plaine, that Saint Luke ſpeaketh of other Temptations during thoſe fortie daies, then thoſe three, which himſelfe and Mathew exactly note, begun after the end of thoſe forty daies. Euthymius obſerueth, that Marke and Luke doe ſay, [p] *Chriſt was alſo tempted in the fortie daies: ſo that it is manifeſt the Diuell tempted him in thoſe daies a farre off, by ſleepe, ſloth, heauineſſe, and ſuch like. But after he knew him once to be hungrie, then he ſet vpon him, propè & manifeſtè, neerely and openly.*

[p] Euthymius in 4. ca. Matth.

[q] Defenc pag. 83. li 23.

[q] *Chiefly when the Diuell ſhewed him all the kingdomes of the world, and the glorie of them, and that in the twinckling of an eye, how could that poſſibly be done really, actually, and externally?*] The two things, that ſtumble you, are the ſhortneſſe of the Time, and the largeneſſe of the world, all whoſe kingdomes were ſhewed to Chriſt; which you ſuppoſe could neither be viewed in one place, nor in the twinckling of an eye. For the Time; Saint Lukes words are, ἐν στιγμῇ χρόνου, [r] *by which Prouerbiall ſpeech,* ſaith Eraſmus, the *Grecians expreſſe a ſhort time.* The Syriack Tranſlation importeth as much. For that ſaith; *Satan ſhewed him all the kingdomes of the earth in a ſmall time.* Neither doth the word στιγμὴ, which S. Luke vſeth, neceſſarily ſignifie an indiuiſible time, but a ſhort time As where Plutarch ſayth, [t] στιγμὴ χρόνου πᾶς ὁ βίος ἐστί: *our whole life is but a touch or ſmall ſtay of time.* And likewiſe Phauorinus: [t] ἐν τῇ στιγμῇ πολὺ τὸ διάστημα. *In a point is a good pauſe* or time to breathe. The Apoſtle vſeth the word [u] στίγμα for the ſpots and ſcarres of the ſtripes which he receiued in his bodie for the Goſpell of Chriſt. Howbeit, let the word haue his full ſtrength, it can ſignifie but that part or point of Time, in which we may ſee, or *ſpeake*, as *punctum* doth in Latine. [x] *Hoc punctum temporis, quo loquor. This point of time wherein I ſpeake*, ſayth Cicero. And Lucretius: [y] *Temporis in puncto rerum ſimulachra feruntur. In an inſtant of time the reſemblances of things are caried* to the eyes. So that στιγμὴ doth not enforce ſuch an inſenſible time as you pretend; though the diuell tooke no long time to ſhew thoſe things, and Chriſt tooke leſſe to beholde them; for he knew better then the diuell did, the vanitie of that worldly glory which Satan ſo much magnified; and ſince for our ſaluation Chriſt had layed aſide the brightneſſe of his diuine Maieſtie, during the time of his humilitie; I verily thinke he would not vouchſafe all earthly pompe any longer view then the turning of an eye to it, and from it; not that he doubted any temptation in it, but that he deſpiſed it as not worthy of his ſight, who was Lord of all heauenly power.

[r] Eraſmi Annot. in ca. 4. Luca.

[t] Plutarch. de liberis educ.

[t] Phauorinus in verbo στιγμὴ.

[u] Gal. 6. v. 17.

[x] Philip. 2.

[y] Lucret. li. 4.

The manner alſo how thoſe things were *ſhewed* to Chriſt, may ſeeme to haue ſome queſtion; yet that doth not prooue it an imagination, becauſe the waies were many, by which it might be truely performed. Some thinke the word ἔδειξε, (*Satan ſhewed him all the kingdomes of the world*) includeth no particular inſpection of euerie place, but a generall direction to the coaſts and parts of the earth, where thoſe kingdomes lay, the reſt being ſupplied by ſpeech, and not by ſight. So the author of the expoſition vpon Matthew vnder Chryſoſtoms name. [z] *Satan ſhewed thoſe things, not ſo that Chriſt ſaw the kingdomes themſelues, or the cities, people, gold and ſiluer in them; but the parts of the earth, in which euerie kingdome, and the chiefe citie thereof ſtood.* For Satan [a] *might moſt directly point with his finger to euerie place, and in words expreſſe the ſtate, and honor of euerie kingdome.* So Euthymius. [b] *Satan in a moment of time, as Luke ſaith, that is, in a ſmall tyme pointed with his finger to the parts of the earth, in which the kingdomes of the world were.* This expoſition [c] Muſculus a man of no meane learning amongſt our new writers followeth.

[z] Homil. 5. in 4. ca. Matth.

[a] Ibidem.

[b] Euthymius in 4. ca. Matth.

[c] Muſculus in 4. ca. Matth.

Satan alſo might ſhew, and Chriſt might ſee the places themſelues, and the pompe thereof: for Satan being an Angell, had another maner of ſight, euen in the bodie which he aſſumed, then we haue: and Chriſt, when pleaſed him, could ſee whither, and what he would. That the Angels of God heare and ſee the particular words and actions of all men here on earth, S. Paul is a witneſſe, where he ſayth: [d] *I charge thee in the preſence of God, and of the Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and of the elect Angels, that thou obſerue theſe things without preiudice or partialitie.* And againe, we are made a [e] *ſpectacle*

[d] 1. Tim. 5.

[e] 1. Cor. 4.

to

to the world, to angels, and to men. And likewiſe: [f] *The woman ought to haue power on her head, becauſe of the Angels*; that is, ſhe ought to couer her head in ſigne of ſubiection to the power of the man, becauſe the Angels beholde this, as all other actions of men, either in the Church or in the world. From this power to heare and ſee what is ſayd and done on the face of the earth, euen in the ſecret and darke places thereof, the diuell is not excluded, in that he is an Angel, though fallen from heauen, and caſt vnto the earth, yet an [g] *accuſer*, and ſo a beholder of good, whom he impugneth, and of badde, ouer whom he ruleth. And what maruell, that Angels, who by their creation *excell* (vs) *in power and might* haue this incident to their condition, when as men, God opening their eyes, can ſee things done in heauen and earth, which naturally they can by no meanes ſee? When Dothan was beſieged by the Aramites to apprehend Elizeus, and his ſeruant was afrayd at the ſight of them, the Prophet encouraging his ſeruant, ſayd: [h] *Feare not, for they that be with vs, are moe then they that be with them:* and prayed God to open his ſeruants eyes, which the Lord did; and [h] *he looked, and beholde, the mountaine was full of fierie charets and horſes, round about Elizeus.* [i] *Aſſoone as Iohn was come out of the water*, where he baptized Ieſus in Iordan, Iohn *ſaw the heauens cleaue aſunder, and the Holy Ghoſt deſcending on (Chriſt) like a Doue.* Steuen likewiſe not only had his face changed in the Councell, [k] *as the face of an Angell, but looking ſtedfaſtly into heauen, ſaw the glory of God, and Ieſus ſtanding at the right hand of God.* Which though the incredulous Iewes did no wayes beleeue, but ſtopped their eares when they heard him ſo ſay, and ranne vpon him all at once, and caſt him out of the citie, and ſtoned him as a blaſphemous liar, yet can he be no Chriſtian, that doubteth whether Steuen ſaw this with his bodily eyes or no; the Scripture being ſo reſolute for it, how impoſsible ſoeuer it be to our eyes. This power to beholde things farre diſtant, notwithſtanding all impediments interiected, not onely Chriſt had when he would, as appeareth by his words to Nathaniel; [l] *Before Philip called thee, being vnder the figge tree I ſaw thee.* (for which Nathaniel acknowledged him to be the Sonne of God;) but he promiſed his, that they ſhould ſee greater things. [m] *Becauſe I ſayd to thee, I ſaw thee vnder the figge tree, beleeueſt thou? Thou ſhalt ſee greater things then theſe.* [n] *Verily, verily, I ſay vnto you, henceforth you ſhall ſee the heauens open, and the Angels of God aſcending and deſcending vpon the Sonne of man.* Since then Chriſt could and [o] *did ſee Satan, like lightning, fall downe from heauen*; I make no doubt, but he could open his owne eyes to ſee the remote parts of the earth, when it pleaſed him, though vſually he did it not, by reaſon he needed it not: for *he knew all things*, and euen *what was in man*, which the Angels doe not; and therefore needed not any ſuch vſe of his eyes, but when he ſaw his time; which in this caſe he might like, leſt the diuell ſhould deſpiſe him, as hauing greater power and cleerer-ſight then Chriſt did or could ſhew himſelfe to haue. For which cauſe alſo Chriſt would ſtand on the pinnacle of the Temple without the diuels helpe; to let him know, that he wanted not power to doe greater things then the diuell vrged him vnto; but onely that hee would take his owne time, and do nothing at the diuels inſtigation or motion, nor repugnant to the will and pleaſure of God.

A third way the diuell had, if Chriſt would permit it, to ſet theſe things before our Sauiours eyes. Satan is able not onely to aſſume, what ſhapes he will, and to transforme himſelfe into an Angell of light, but alſo to make ſpecters and ſhewes of any thing in the aire, and to deceiue the eyes of men, when he is ſuffered by God ſo to do: which not onely experience of all ages, but the Scriptures themſelues confirme; wherein all [p] *falſe woonders and ſignes* are aſcribed *to the operation of Satan.* By this meanes Simon the Sorcerer ſo *bewitched* the whole citie of Samaria, that [q] *they all from the leaſt to the greateſt gaue heed vnto him, and ſayd; This man is the great power of God.* The Sorcerers of Pharaoh [r] *turned their rods into ſerpents*, and changed the riuers *into* [r] *bloud, and brought* [s] *frogs vpon the land of Egypt*, as Moſes and Aaron did; and other miracles could the diuell haue done, as we ſee by killing of Iobs [t] *ſheepe and ſeruants with fire from heauen*, and *the* [u] *ſmiting of Iobs bodie with ſore boiles*, had not the hand

[f] 1. Cor. 11.
[g] Reuel. 12.
[h] 2. Kings 6.
[i] Mark. 1.
[k] Acts 7.
Chriſt might ſee what he would.
[l] Ioh. 1. v. 48.
[m] Verſ. 50.
[n] Verſ. 51.
[o] Luke 10. verſ. 18.
[p] 2. Theſſ. 2.
[q] Acts 8.
[r] Exod. 7.
[s] Exod. 8.
[t] Iob. 1.
[u] Iob. 2.

hand of the Almightie stopped him, and thereby made the Sorcerers confesse, that
[x] Exod.8.v.19 [x] *there was the finger of God.* It was therefore no hard thing for Satan to frame the appearances of kingdomes and cities, and shew the similitudes of them from euery part of the earth, since they are but the figures and semblances of things that we see with our eyes, which Angels good and badde haue in their power, when they are sent of God to do his will. Howbeit, Satan could not delude the eyes of Christ without his knowledge and leaue, though Satan did not so thinke. And therefore all these wayes being possible, yet I thinke the second most agreeable to the words, and see no cause why we should measure Christs sight, (when pleased him) by mans reason, when as he did so many things heere on earth aboue all humane power and reason. For *he often*
[y] Marke 4. [z] John 20. [a] John 6. [y] *walked on the sea; and* [z] *came, and stood in the midst of his disciples, when the doores were shut*; and made the ship that receiued him in the sea of Tiberias, [a] *to be by and by at the land, whither they went*; besides many thousand miracles, which he wrought with his word and hand, whiles he conuersed amongst men. Of which, if no Christian may make any question, why flie you to imaginations or visions, so long as Christ had power enough with his eyes to behold whatsoeuer Satan could shew him.

It was Satans act, you will say, to shew them, and not Christes. | Satan as an angell might see them, and shew them; and Christ must either confesse, that he could not see so farre, which would argue him to be feebler and weaker in power then the Tempter, and so not the Sonne of God; or els be pleased to see whatsoeuer Satan could shew, which was easier for him to see, that was God and man, then for Satan to shew, that was but a reprobate angell, and could doe nothing, sauing what was permitted. Whatsoeuer the meanes were, by which Christ did see that which was shewed him, it is euident, that the Scripture directeth vs to a sensible view taken of earthly things and places, and not to a vision, much lesse to a cogitation. For to what end was Christ caried to an exceeding high mountaine, if he did behold those things but in thought, and by a vision? Cogitations and visions need no hilles, and therefore that circumstance expressed by the Euangelists, refuteth your dreame of spirituall cogitations. And so doth the danger, whereto Satan perswaded our Sauiour to put himselfe, by falling from the pinnacle of the Temple, to see whether the Angels would beare him vp from dashing his foot against a stone. What danger of dashing his feet against the stones could there be in a cogitation without an action? And as for visions, besides that the Scriptures vse to distinguish dreames and visions from histories and actions, what visions could the diuell shew Christ, except they were delusions? And that Christ would suffer him to delude his spirit, is far more incredible, than that he would be content to see what Satan could shew. But though the maner may be darke vnto vs, yet is the matter euident, that Satan with the shew of earthly glory would haue allured Christ to accept the kingdome of the earth at his hands. Now the eyes were the greatest prouocations that Satan could vse in that case, since all Christes cogitations were righteous and holy, despising all earthly honour and pompe, as vaine and transitorie; and if the eye could not be affected therewith, the minde of Christ was farther from embracing it.

Histories are not Visions.

[b] Defenc. pag. 83. li 26. *Satan could impresse no euill in Christs heart.*

[b] *I must needs thinke, that as Satan was a subtile spirit, so he could and did sometime spiritually suggest temptations into Christes heart, and yet vtterly without all sinne: which we at no hand can doe, because we are all naturally apt and inclining to euill, as Christ was not.*] And I must needs thinke, that you neither vnderstand what a temptation is, nor what detestation of sin was in the Soule of Christ, that you make him willingly subiect his heart to the motions and suggestions of Satan vnto euill. For a thinking vpon euill to detest it or dissuade it, was common to Christes humane soule with the best saints of God, and euen with the elect Angels, and was the worke of Gods spirit; but an inward temptation to euill, that is, a persuasion or motion of the heart to sinne, Christ
[c] John 14. needed not admit without his owne consent, (since the Prince of this [c] *world had nothing in him*) and could not giue way to any such prouocation without corruption of sinne. In that you attribute more to Satans subtiltie, than to Christes power and integritie,

tegritie, being both God and man, and in his humane soule endued with the fulnesse of the Holy Ghost, you shew your selfe a good Proctor for the Diuell, that giue him abilitie to inuade the soule of Christ, and to impresse in him most sinfull and wicked cogitations, which you call spirituall, because they proceeded from the spirit of error and infidelitie; not remembring, or not beleeuing that Christ was Lord ouer Satan, and displaced him from such as he formerly possessed, and preserued his Disciples as well from the subtiltie as furie of Satan, that in the end they might tread him vnder their feet. If then Christ could, and did [d] *dissolue the works of the Diuell, and* [e] *heale all that were oppressed of the Diuell*; because *he was anointed with the Holy Ghost, and with power*: how could the diuell at his pleasure instill perfidious, presumptuous, and blasphemous thoughts into the heart of Christ? Which if Christ were willing to admit, they could not but infect him with sinne; if he were vnwilling, and yet forced to endure them, that infirmitie and miserie subiecting him to the perpetuall motion of sinne in his owne heart, nothing differeth from our naturall corruption, when we dissent from the inticements thereof by the guiding of Gods spirit.

[d] 1. Iohn 3.
[e] Acts 10.

[f] *Yea the Text to the Hebrewes seemeth to proue it also: Christ was tempted in all things like vs without sinne. Then was he tempted both outwardly and also meerely within: for so are we.*] A light shew of Scripture will serue you to make a flourish for your fansies. In the begining of this very Page, [g] *You graunted in vs, that where the mind conceaued any Temptation, there of necessitie must be concupiscence and corruption of the flesh*; which in Christ might not be. Now you turne round, and will haue Christ outwardly and inwardly Tempted *in all things like to vs*; and doe not see, that if this Temptation be in all points like to ours, then must Christ haue concupiscence and corruption of the flesh by this consequent of yours, euen as we haue. Or if you confesse therein a difference betwixt vs and Christ, because inward Temptations in vs (though we by grace dissent from them) are sinnfull, as proceeding from the corruption of our harts, which in Christ, can not be: then doe you falsely and against your own knowledge vrge this place of Scripture to proue that Christ was tempted meerely within, as we are. Wherefore the words of the Apostle are very true, that Christ was tempted in all things, that is, tried with all kinds of externall afflictions and vnsinfull affections as we are; but as for the internal motion and prouocation of the hart to sinne, which is in vs, that could not be in Christ, because the Apostle in expresse wordes excepteth from Christ all communion of sinne with vs.

[f] Defenc. pag. 83. li. 30.
[g] Li. 6.

[h] *This was meerely by conceauing and considering of Satans wicked spirituall motion in his spirit, which it was possible he might doe without any yeelding thereto.*] The conceauing and considering of Satans motion to sinne, is no sinne; but for our harts to suggest wicked motions and perswasions to sinne either of themselues, or as Satans Instruments, when our spirits dissent, that is the naturall and sinfull corruption of our flesh, which we can not auoide; and yet is it sinne neuertheless in vs, though it be inborne and inuoluntary. What then was it for Christ, when Satan had no power ouer him, nor right in him, to make his hart of his owne accord the diuels Instrument to suggest wicked cogitations and perswasions vnto him, as you defend in this place he did, but to giue place to the diuel to fill his hart with *wicked spirituall motions*, as you call them? which God forbid, should come within any Christian mans hart. And therefore if ignorance carie you to this conceite, recall it in time; if Pride, for my part I must needs detest it as much as I doe any point in all your Defence.

[h] Defenc. pag. 83. li. 33. *The heart suggesting euill sinneth.*

[i] *Thus then it was possible, and most likely it is also, that Christ was assaulted and wrastled withall by the diuels spirituall suggestions now when in his most bitter Agonie he hanged on the Crosse.*] In steede of full and infallible proofes to iustifie your strange conceits, you pretend possibilities and probabilities, which to me are nothing else but ignorant, and absurd impieties. For you labour tooth and nayle to shew the holinesse of your cause, by drawing the Sonne of God within the limites of our sinnes, not onely as bearing them on the Crosse in his Body, which the Scriptures affirme; but as *defiled* with them, and *hatefull* to God for them, and *guiltie* of them, not by Imputation alone,

[i] Defenc. pag. 83. li. 37.

alone, where you first began; but by the violent and inward impression thereof in Christs hart, and on Christs Spirit, through the working of Satan. And the sinnes, wherewith you would haue Christs owne hart by Satans Instigation assault him in the Wildernesse, were no lesse then distrust in God, presumption to tempt God, and blasphemous adoring of the diuel, besides a manifest and malitious dishonor to God, that Satan gaue all the kingdomes of the earth to whom he would. And on the Crosse you ascribe to Christ in like manner the spirituall and inward cogitations of reprobation, dereliction, malediction, confusion, desperation and damnation, wherewith his owne hart tempted him, as you would haue it, *by the diuels spirituall suggestions:* since this is the inward conflict, which you dreame Christ had with the powers of hell not outwardly filling his eares with these reproches from the mouthes of his blasphemous Persecutors, as the Scriptures witnesse; but the diuell inwardly so distracting and diuiding Christs thoughts, that his own cogitations by your vngodly resolutions prompted and suggested these things vnto him, as thereto stirred and incensed by Satan.

[k] Defenc. pa. 84. li. 5. [k] *You say he was tempted of Satan all the time of his abode heere on earth.*] I haue no doubt, but Satan did what he could as well by flatteries, as by contumelies to sift the soule of Christ all the time of his abode heere on earth: but he did not this with his owne voice, saue onely in the wildernesse; by others he did it, and sometimes by such as were neere about Christ; as when *Peter* [l] *tooke him aside*, and said, *Master spare thy selfe, this shall not be vnto thee.* To whom Christ replied, *Get thee behinde me Satan, thou art an offence vnto me, because thou sauourest not the things that are of God, but of men.* Where Christ sharpely rebuked Peters counsell and loue as stirred by Satan, vnder shew of good will to hinder him in his purpose of mans Redemption. But I neuer said, as you alleage my words, that Christ *was tempted by Satan all the time of his abode on earth*; by which you would haue men beleeue, that I confesse Satan inwardly tempted Christ all his life long. My words are, *He* [m] *was tempted in the desert by Satan himselfe, and by Satans members all the time of his abode on earth.* [[n] *Then you denie not, but now euen on the crosse Christ was tempted and assaulted by Satan, that is by Satans instruments mooued and enraged by him.*] That men may be the diuels instrumens in perswading or persuing others, both which are called temptations, there is no cause why any man should doubt; and if these externall temptations could haue sufficed your humorous head, you needed not to haue plunged your selfe so dangerously, as you haue done, into the spirituall cogitations of Christs heart leading and mooning him to sinne in Satans steede. Yea rather you would haue seene, that as men cannot be Satans willing instruments in this case, but they must be partakers of Satans wickednesse, so the heart and thoughts of Christ could not be Satans meanes to suggest any sinne to Christ in Satans place, because euerie part and thought of Christ was holie and vndefiled. God himselfe conceaueth and considereth of all mens wickednesse, when he reprooueth or punisheth the sinnes of men. To conceaue therefore or consider, what Satan by his owne voice, or by the mouthes of his members saide vnto Christ, was no way vnfit for Christes humane integritie, and puritie; but that Christs heart or inward thoughts should suggest or perswade the same vnto him, which Satan and his members did, if you know what you say, you cannot auoide either haynous impietie, or monstrous stupiditie.

[k] Defenc. pa. 84. li. 5.

[l] Matth. 16.

[m] Conclus. pa. 283. li. 3, 4.

[n] Defenc. pag. 84. li. 6.

[o] Defenc. pag. 84 li 9. [o] *This is none other indeed, but that which in the entrance of this Question here I obserued: which as I haue before shewed, sufficeth to proue Christs combating as it were, & wrastling with the powers of hell on the crosse.* Ment you no more al this while, but that in tormenting & reuiling Christ on the crosse the Iewes were Satans instruments? What needed then so many fooliſh and lewd speeches of Satans [p] *inward & spirituall motions, and temptations spiritually suggested into the heart of Christ?* And what proofe is this of Gods proper wrath and indignation laid on the soule of Christ, that the wicked derided him, as they doe God himselfe? Or is this all the spoile and triumph that Christ had ouer hell and Satan, that he endured whatsoeuer mockes and paines they could

[p] Defenc pag. 83. li. 1. 14. 27. 37.

could deuiſe? This no doubt he did, and ſo did fruſtrate all the force of hell with his patience, and confidence in God his Father, but he had an other manner of triumph and recompence for the wrong, which he ſuffered at Satans hand, except you liſt to deface his glorie, as you doe his innocencie. Howbeit the Reader may heere perceaue on what conceits and coniectures your new redemption by the paines of hell is founded, euen on your owne dreames and deuices, which you cannot expreſſe, and dare not ſpecifie for feare of hatefull abſurdities and impieties.

[q] *But you obiect againſt this, that outward temptation by the mouthes and hands of the wicked is no effect of Gods wrath. No is? Heere you are cleane contrarie to your ſelfe and the trueth.*] Were it newes to ſee you wander either from the trueth or from your owne poſitions, heere a man might take a full view of your idle and forgetfull rouing and ſnatching at euerie thing, where not taking the paines to peruſe the whole reaſon, or to looke fower lines farder to the knitting of the concluſion, or to weigh the wordes themſelues, which you bring, you fooliſhly miſtake my words grounded on your aſſertion, as if they were mine owne intention; and preſſe them as contrarieties in me, which are abſurdities in you. Out of theſe words of the Apoſtle, *Chriſt ſpoiled powers and principalities, triumphing ouer them*, you would needs conclude in your Treatiſe after your diſſolute and diſtempered manner: [r] *Theſe principalities are the diuels, therefore it is certaine he felt them, the verie inſtruments, that wrought the verie effects of Gods ſeueritie and wrath vpon him.* By the verie effects of Gods wrath vpon Chriſt in this place, you ment [ſ] *the force of Gods proper and immediate wrath vpon the ſoule of Chriſt*, as I admoniſhed in that ſentence, part whereof you cite to make me contrarie to my ſelfe. Since then the diuels, if they wrought any thing on the ſoule of Chriſt, muſt either [t] *tempt or torment his ſoule*; (as I firſt obſerued) [u] *and inward temptation by the heart Chriſt could haue none*, (becauſe that proceedeth from concupiſcence and corruption of ſinne, from which Chriſt was moſt free) and [x] *outward temptation by the mouthes and hands of the wicked is no* (ſuch) *effect of Gods wrath*, (as you mentioned in thoſe words;) [y] *but rather a triall of Gods gifts and graces beſtowed on vs: It reſted, I ſaid, by your owne words*, (as a conſequent from them) *that Chriſt felt the diuels tormenting his ſoule.* Out of this illation from your conceits you catch the middle wordes, wherein I ſaid, that *outward temptation was no effect of Gods wrath* (by you intended in this place) and will needs haue it in me a contradiction to my ſelfe and to the trueth; not ſeeing that I preſently in the ſame ſentence ſhew, what wrath of God you meane, and to what part of Chriſt you faſten it in this collection; and in my concluſion note, that by the true conſtruction of your owne wordes theſe things follow vpon your owne ſuppoſals.

q Defenc. pag. 84. li. 12.

r Trea pa. 45. li. 11. 20. 22.

ſ Conclus. pa. 284 li. 14.

t Ibid. pag. 283. li 21.

u pa. 284. li. 8.

x li 9.

y li. 15.

Notwithſtanding all this let the words lie, as they doe; and Gods wrath there not be taken in your ſenſe, nor depend on your principles (which yet in all mens eies ſaue yours, will be plaine enough, conſidering the reaſon is a collection from the true intent of your owne wordes, as I admoniſhed the Reader in that verie place) what fault now finde you with the wordes themſelues, imagining they were mine owne, and not drawen out of your veſſell? [z] *Elſewhere you truely acknowledge that all outward croſſes and afflictions, ſmall or great, are in their nature puniſhments of ſinne, and effects of Gods wrath. Now thoſe doubtleſſe are temptations.*] But you impugne that ſaying, when you pleaſe, and will haue all afflictions in vs (of whom I ſpeake) changed into bleſsings; and when the Scripture calleth them wrath, that ſpeech you ſay is moſt improper: and now for an aduantage you creepe to the contrary. For if you marke my words in this place, I ſpeake of the temptations of the godly, which come from the *mouthes and hands of the wicked, and are trials of Gods gifts and graces beſtowed on vs*, which are not imparted to the wicked. And therefore if now I croſſe the trueth, when I ſay (as you ſuppoſe) that the temptations and afflictions of the godly are no effects of Gods wrath, then haue you all this while mainely and mightely reſiſted the trueth, in making this one of the chiefeſt ſtrengths of your cauſe, that no croſſes or afflictions in the godly are ſignes or effects of Gods wrath

z Defenc. pag. 84 li. 15.

againſt ſinne. Howbeit you leaue my wordes and make conſequents of them full like your owne, that is, without toppe or taile, when you come to oppoſe my ſpeeches one againſt the other. For where tentation in the Scriptures is ſometimes taken for perſecution and affliction, ſometimes for perſwaſion and allurement to euill, and ſometimes for probation or triall, what a man will doe; you take hold of the ambiguitie of the word, and where one place ſpeaketh of perſwaſion to euill, the other of affliction, you iumble them together, and make the one repugnant to the other. Now though afflictions may be called temptations, yet all temptations are not afflictions, nor effects of Gods wrath: otherwiſe Adam could neuer haue bin tempted in Paradiſe before ſinne; and friendſhip, fauor, and flatterie do more often and more properly tempt or prouoke, then affliction, which doth more violently prooue the obedience and patience, that is in men. What temptation might well be ment in this place, appeareth by the word of *torment* oppoſed to it, when I ſaid the diuell doth either *tempt*, or *torment*: where temptation, if you will needes take the words themſelues, muſt note that which is no torment, and conſequently be taken for perſwaſion by faire and friendly words or meanes, by which the diuell tempteth as dangerouſly, as by force and violence. And ſo neither way you hit the trueth, nor can conclude any contrarietie in me, though indeed I ſpake thoſe words out of your ſenſe of Gods wrath, which is pregnant enough againſt you, knowing that in your reaſon, which I refute, you made the diuels to be the verie inſtruments of Gods proper and ſpirituall wrath againſt the ſoule of Chriſt.

[a] Defenc. pag. 84. li. 21. *Difference of outward and inward temptations.*

[a] *You ſay outward temptation is rather a triall of Gods gifts and graces beſtowed on vs. And is not inward temptation in the godly ſo to? I pray you what oddes is this that you make betweene inward and outward temptations?*] If you know no oddes betweene outward and inward temptations, you be deepely ſeene in Diuinitie. Saint Iames telleth you, that [b] *euerie man is tempted, when he is drawen away, and intiſed by his owne concupiſcence,* which of it ſelfe naturally *luſteth againſt the ſpirit*, and much more when it is inflamed by Satans ſuggeſtions and motions. This kinde of temptation riſeth from the corruption of our ſinnefull nature, and is the poiſon of ſinne dwelling in vs, the verie motion whereof is forbidden by the law of God, *Thou ſhalt not luſt*; though it be pardoned in the elect for Chriſtes ſake, as all their ſinnes are. Outward temptations haue no ſuch neceſſary condition. It is no ſinne to be tempted externally; otherwiſe Adam had ſinne before his fall, and Chriſt himſelfe was ſubiect to ſinne, for they both were outwardly tempted, though not inwardly, as I teach, and the Church of Chriſt before me taught the ſame, howſoeuer you take a pride in departing from the full conſent of all learned and religious antiquitie to maintaine your vpſtart and moſt abſurd nouelties, that with figures and fanſies you may ſeeme wiſe in your owne conceit.

[b] Iam. 1. v. 14.

[a] Defenc. pag. 84. li. 29. 33. 36.

[a] *Furder, Satan might ſpiritually and extraordinarily worke together with theſe his Inſtruments outwardly afflicting Chriſts body, and Chriſt likewiſe extraordinarily might apprehend the ſame; And thus might Chriſt ſuffer moſt ſtrange Temptations, and incomprehenſible ſorrowes from the furious rage of Satan, and malice of wicked men.*] Here are many *mights*, raſhly and falſly ſuppoſed of Chriſt, but not a mite of Salt, or truth in them. Is it lawfull for you, Sir Defender, to dreame what you liſt of Chriſts ſufferings, and when you are required proofe thereof, to ſay; *It might* be ſo *extraordinarily?* What abſurdities and hereſies may not thus be maintayned, if euery addle braine ſhall frame to himſelfe new Paſsions and ſtrange Temptations in Chriſt, and all on this ground, forſooth *it might be ſo?* Their eares muſt exceedingly itche, that will leaue the writings of the Euangeliſts and Apoſtles, and liſten to your *extraordinarie might be*. But what might be? Might Chriſt vpon all this *ſpirituall fury and ſubtilitie of Satan, or concurrence and cooperation* of the Iewes, haue his *Faith, hope* or *loue* of, and in God faile, or decreaſe? could he miſtruſt or doubt, that he might periſh, and neither ſaue himſelfe, nor vs? why Role you thus with Roperick Termes, and frights of franticke men, when you ſpeake of Chriſts Temptations, as if hell or Satan were to ſtrong for the Spirit and

grace

grace of God in Christ, or could seuer the vnion made with the mightie hand of God of Christs humane nature into one Person with his Diuine? It may be your strange fansies doe often put you to such plunges; but he that stedfastly beleeueth in the Sonne of God, and knoweth the truth and force of his Masters words, when ready to goe to his Passion he said to his Disciples; [d] θαρσειτε, *be bold (or confident) I haue ouercome the world*; will neuer doubt such dangers as you dreame of. For in the world which Christ ouercame, is the Prince thereof compriſed, euen the diuell; whom before Christ pronounced to haue nothing, that is no part nor place in him. And to me that am assured, the diuell could doe nothing against Christ, but what Christ himselfe would, and that the Sauiour of the world had power enough not onely to resist, but also to represse the furie and subtilitie of Satan with his word or becke, saue what himselfe would permit, to let the diuell see his violence endured, his assaults repelled, his temptations reiected, and his whole kingdome despised and troden vnder foote; these Tragicall Termes of yours are but blusterings of a busie Brayne and blastes of an vnstayed Tongue, that would say somewhat, and can not tell what; and therefore hideth his misformed fansies vnder the visard of strange and incomprehensible conceites.

[d] John. 16.

[e] *Here now we may see how vniustly you conclude, that Satan could no other way assault Christ, as an Instrument of Gods wrath, but onely by executing torments on his Soule, euen in such wise as he tormenteth damned Soules in hell.*] We see you haue opened your packe of strange wares, and waftfull words; and otherwise besides your owne liking, you haue brought nothing for all this pelfe and Trash, that you haue vttered. My words that are short, but expressing the same, (which you with many circumductions fetch about to couer the presumption of your cause,) you much mislike; and yet if you weigh them well, you shall see they containe the very summe of your deuices. To be tempted with suggestions of *malediction, reiection, confusion, desperation and damnation*, (so they take no place, nor find no harbour in the hart of man) can haue no such incomprehensible sorrowes, nor hellish Torments, as you talke of. The Hart by Faith presently and throughly resisting quencheth all those fierie Darts of Satan, as flaxe vnder foote. And therefore you must either take from Christ present and perfect resistance, by decreasing his faith, and staggering his hope, or else you can neuer sinck him into such sorrowes, as you suppose. You giue *him* [f] *a glorious conquest at the last*; but in the meane while you leaue him not onely fearing and fainting, but euen *ouerwhelmed, and all confounded* with these strange temptations and incomprehensible sorrowes; which sometimes, you say come from [g] *the immediate hand of God*, and sometimes from the diuels, [h] *as Gods Instruments working the very effects of Gods wrath vpon him*. And these paines, you say, were not onely *as sharpe as any are in hell, but euen the same which the damned doe suffer*: Now wherein haue I wronged you except with too much sparing you? What, in saying you defend, that Satan executed Torments on Christs Soule, such as he doth on the damned? Your words import no lesse. The diuels you say, were *Gods Instruments to worke on Christ the very effects of his wrath*. Now what are the effects of Gods wrath [h] *equall to all the paines of hell, and* [i] *the same which are in hell*, but the torments of the damned Soules in hell? [But you would haue Christ as well inwardly tempted, as Tormented by the diuell; and where you defend both, I reported but one.] Pardon me that wrong; I would haue hid your folly, but you will not suffer me. Howbeit I refuted the one, and left the other, as worthie none other answere, then that, where in the Scriptures the diuels confesse Christs word and presence did torment them, you without Scripture haue found the diuels tormented Christ.

[e] Defenc. pag. 85. li 1.

[f] Trea pa. 45. li. 25.

[g] Ibid li. 24.

[h] Defenc pag. 15. li 18.

[i] Pag. 12. li. 30.

[k] *That can be, say you, no other way then by Satans verie possessing of those soules. Which grosse and infernall speculations of yours, (for trueths you can not make them) I vtterly leaue to your owne discussing.*] Are your fansies become so fine, that what the Scriptures teach of Satans possessing mens soules or bodies, must be grosse; and your inuentions without wit or reason, must be spruice? What sayd I in any of these things which

[k] Defenc. pag. 85. li. 4.

the plaine words, or maine grounds of the Scripture do not confirme? That the diuell can not worke, but where he is? Will you giue him more then an almighty power, to worke where he is not, or will you affoord him an omnipresence equall with God, that he may be euery where, to the end he may worke euery where, as God doth? [Satan may torment the soule, you will say, and not possesse it.] The diuels
[1] Matth.8. that could not *worke* on swine, but they must first [1] *enter them*, before they could make them *runne headlong into the sea*, can they worke in men, before they enter and possesse
[m] Matth.15. them? The Cananite that intreated Christ to haue [m] *mercie on her daughter, who was*
[n] Mark.7. [m] *miserably vexed with a diuell*, receiued at length this answer; [n] *For this saying, goe thy way, the diuell is gone out of thy daughter.* The father that brought his lunaticke sonne
[o] Mark.9. to Christ, confessed [o] *he had a dumbe spirit, which did teare him, and cast him often into the fire, and into the water to destroy him*: and Christ confirmeth his words in saying; [o] *Thou dumbe and deafe spirit come out of him, and enter no more into him.* So that the diuell can not inwardly torment the bodie of man or beast, but he must enter it, and so possesse it. How much lesse can he torment the soule or worke therein, but he must likewise possesse it, and haue it in his power, before he can afflict it?

The *entring and possessing* of mens bodies and soules by diuels, *are no such infernall speculations* as you would make them; they are the caueats and admonitions of Christ
[p] Matth 12. himselfe. [p] *When an vncleane spirit*, sayth he, *is gone out of a man, and returning, findeth his house* (whence he came out) *emptie, he taketh vnto him seuen other spirits worse then himselfe, and they enter in, and dwell there; and the end of that man is worse then the beginning.* *And* [q] *when a strong man armed keepeth his house, the things which he possesseth are in peace.* So that the Scriptures warne vs to haue Christ dwelling in our hearts by faith, lest the diuell finde them emptie, and so enter and possesse them.

Now touching your Iuniper conceits, that Satan inwardly did worke or stirre in Christes heart those strange temptations which you talke of, which indeed were wicked and impious cogitations; or that he did torment the soule of Christ with the paines of the damned, what Scripture I pray you doth warrant these worse then infernall speculations? For the diuels themselues confessed, they had nothing *to doe with Christ*; and you make them the raisers of strange temptations in Christes heart, and inflictors of incomprehensible sorrowes on Christes soule. And where they truly acknowledged, that Christes word and power tormented them, you haue deuised, that the diuels should vnspeakably torment Christ on the Crosse. So lawfull is it for you, and vsuall with you, to take the fulnesse of power and grace from Christ, and to subiect his soule and spirit to Satans subtiltie.

[r] Defenc pag. 85. li 9. [r] *Notwithstanding this heere I auouch, that howsoeuer the meanes or maner was of Satan and his furious bands assaulting of Christ on the Crosse, it made certainly an impression of most dolefull sorrow and torment in his soule.*] Your single and double vouchers with certainty and warranty are so rife, that no wise man will take your word for a grey goose quill. You auouch it and you are certaine of it, but how proue you one line or letter of all that here you say? Christes stripes and wounds receiued of the Iewes, were painfull to him; and the taunts, mocks, and blasphemies of all sorts vttered against him, were grieuous vnto him; but what is this to the *most dolefull and incomprehensible torments* inflicted on Christes soule, as you say you be assured, by the diuell? The Euangelists expresse what was *done and sayd* to Christ on the Crosse, that you disdaine as grosse; and in your curious, but irreligious subtilitie, will haue the diuell not only tempt inwardly the spirit of Christ with strange and most wicked cogitations; (for the diuell hauing by your doctrine power and choise what he would suggest, would forbeare no wickednesse) but incomprehensibly torment the soule of Christ; and when you should make proofe thereof, you tell vs you auouch, it was certainly so.

[s] Defenc pag. 85. li 12. [s] *Christ felt and discerned by that meanes the verie stroke of Gods owne hand vpon him, and receiued the sting of his wrath and indignation therein, which then wrought and was reuealed chiefly then vpon him for all our sinnes.*] Meane you that Christ *felt the stroke of*

Gods

Gods owne hand by the temptations, or by the torments which Satan offered to his soule? If by temptations; besides that you giue S. Iames the lie, who sayth, [s] *God tempteth no man* (with euill,) you make God with his owne hand to moue and prouoke Christ to wickednesse, which is more then infernall wickednesse to auouch. If you meane by torments; those you teach must come from *the immediate hand of God* vpon the soule of Christ; and will you make the diuell to be Gods immediate hand? Choose here, whether all your graue discourse (at your first entrance into this question) of the soules *proper and immediate suffering* shall be wholy idle, and vtterly false, or whether the diuell shall be Gods immediate hand. Gods immediate hand is his eternall, diuine, and almighty power, which if you admit the diuell to be; I must confesse all my speculations, beleeuing but one God, and him to be most pure and holy, are plaine and grosse in respect of your new found hell, and your eternall and almighty Ruler thereof, the diuell. As for proofe, I should wrong you to aske for any; it is not your maner to vouchsafe to proue what you say; but to say what you list vnder certaine generall stales of words; which are but dennes of theeues to rob Christ of his sanctitie and glorie. What Christ discerned in his sufferings, is neuer like to come from you with any trueth, you follow your fansies so much as your best guides; which leade you to a sideleſſe and bottomleſſe pit of absurd dreames and doctrines. You distinguish nothing, you define nothing, you proue nothing; onely you wallow in the mire of *strange temptations, and most dolefull and incomprehensible sorrowes*; how, why, or what, you can not tell, but the hand of God serueth you at all assayes to bring out your misborne and misshapen speculations vnder some shew of religion, because you pretend the power of God. For my part, what the Scriptures euidently auouch of Christes sufferings, that I faithfully beleeue; what is deuised or added by mens imaginations and fictions, I vtterly reiect not as false and presumptuous only, but as absurd and irreligious.

[s] Iames 1.

What the Scriptures say Christ discerned in his sufferings, I haue often specified, which farre differeth from your strange and imaginary speculations. They auouch of Christ, that he [a] *saw God alwaies at his right hand*, that he *should not be shaken*; and therefore his *heart was glad*, and his *tongue reioyced*. *And* [x] *for the ioy proposed vnto him*, (and therefore discerned by him) *he endured the crosse and despised the shame* thereof. Christ himselfe after his last supper, [y] *knowing all things that should befall him*, and that [z] *his houre was come, that he should depart out of this world vnto the Father*, and that *the Father had giuen all things into his hands*, and that *he was come from God, and went to God*; not onely pronounced the diuel, for all his comming against him, [a] *had nothing in him*, but speaking directly of his passion, said; [b] *Father the houre is come, glorifie thy sonne, that thy sonne may glorifie thee; as thou hast giuen him power ouer all flesh, that hee might giue them life euerlasting. I haue glorified thee on earth, and now Father glorifie me with thy selfe, with the glorie which I had with thee before the world was.* With this most assured and infallible perswasion and resolution Christ passed to his passion to be *glorified*, and thereby declared to be the Sonne of God. Which the Theefe on the crosse confessing, receaued that present day an euerlasting reward in Paradise; And the Centurion and Souldiers, that watched him, when they saw the manner of his death and woonders consequent, acknowledged, saying; [c] *Truely this man was the Sonne of God.* Against this foundation of faith and knowledge in the soule and spirit of Christ, if you dreame of any doubt or feare, that did arise in the heart of Christ vpon any suggestions of men or diuels, you make him a *liar and a sinner*. His faith could not shrinke without hainous infidelitie, because he was assured of his personall vnion with God, and of his *inunction* with power and the holie Ghost from God, by the voice of his Father speaking thrice from heauen vnto him, by the visible descent of the holie Ghost vpon him at his baptisme, by the seruice and adoration of Angels, by the power and commaund, which he had ouer all creatures, and ouer diuels themselues. Wherefore the *least doubt or distrust in Christs heart*, that his person might perish, or

[a] Acts 2.
[x] Heb. 12.
[y] Ioh. 18.
[z] Ioh. 13.
[a] Ioh 14.
[b] Ioh. 17.
[c] Matth. 27.

his sacrifice be reiected, or that his Father was or could be displeased with him, must needs haue beene most detestable impietie. And this cleerenesse of faith and knowledge standing fast, and immooueable against all the powers of hell, what strange temptations or incomprehensible torments could the diuell worke in the soule of Christ, the Scriptures assuring vs, that *the* [d] *shield of faith* (euen in vs) *quencheth all the fierie darts of the wicked*, and that [e] *the diuell will flie from vs, when he is resisted?* And therefore as [f] *we reioice*, (and ought so to doe) in that *we be partakers of Christs sufferings*; so Christ in all his sufferings had exceeding both comfort and ioy, though the anguish of his flesh were very painfull vnto him, whereto the manhood of Christ did submit it selfe, according to the will of God.

[d] Ephes. 6.
[e] Iames 4.
[f] 1. Pet. 4.

[g] Defens. pag 85. li. 16. [g] *Neither say you any thing whereby you doe or can ouerthrow this assertion.*] What can, or need more be said against this, and all other your false and vaine conceits, then that they haue no ground in the word of God, but are couered with certaine close and currant phrases, which you neuer expound, least you should lie open to infinite absurdities, and impieties. As euen in this case, which is now before vs; you tell vs, Christ *discerned the very stroke of Gods own hand, & receaued the sting of his wrath:* where these words, the *stroke and sting*, being metaphores, designe no proprietie nor particularitie of Christs sufferings: but any of those paines, which Christ receaued in his bodie, may iustly be called the *stroke of Gods hand, or sting of his wrath.* So that you secretly carie your meaning in euerie place with some ambiguous words, which can not be directly refuted, because there is no speciall thing mentioned in them, but generall and metaphoricall circumstances guilefully proposed.

[h] Defens. pag. 85. li. 17. [h] *Our authorised doctrine in England agreeth with me, saying, he fought and wrastled as it were hand to hand with the whole armie of hell.*] At least you dreame so, but where are the words, that expresse any such thing, as you take vpon you to maintaine? The Catechisme saith, *Christ encountered, and wrastled with the whole power of Satan.* I saie no lesse, but still obseruing Christs owne words, that [i] *within him* (Satan) *had nothing.* You suppose, that Christs owne heart was a souldier of Satans, and fought against his faith by seruing the diuels turne; the Catechisme saith no such thing. Satan with all his power and pollicie, force and furie did what he could, by the mouths and hands of the wicked to tire Christs patience, and shake his confidence, but he could do neither; Christ persisting in most perfect patience, faith, and obedience to the verie breathing out of his soule. To aggrauate the paines of Christes stripes and wounds, Satan omitted no meane, that by men he could execute. To vndermine and batter Christes faith, the diuell opened the mouthes of the [k] *People*, that gazed on him; of the high [l] *Priests and* [k] *Rulers*, that conspired against him; of the *Scribes* and *Pharises* that derided him; of the [l] *Passengers*, that shooke their heads at him; of the [m] *Souldiers*, that crucified him; of the *Theefe*, that hung with him; to *mocke, reuile, and blaspheme him*; as falsly *calling himselfe the Sonne of God*, and forsaken of God, and left *vnable to saue or helpe himselfe.* Their tentations the Scriptures doe specifie, which were sufficient to trie the stedfastnesse of Christs faith and hope; of others they make no mention. And to these, or any other if you thinke Christs heart did yeeld but by fearing or doubting, whether their words were true or no, you take from him all assurance of faith, and place him in the midst betweene fidelitie and infidelitie, hope and despaire, as not resolued whether God would deceaue him, and forsake him vnder the burden of our sinnes, and his sufferings. This perplexitie would indeed haue beene a strange temptation, and horrible torment of minde, but withall a manifest faile in faith, and eclipse of hope, which if you take from Christ, you robbe him not onely of his comfort, confidence, and glorie; but euen of all pietie, patience, and obedience for that time, as doubting whether God were faithfull in his promise, and whether the coniunction of God and man in his person might be seuered and dissolued or no. But of these temptations, feares, and sorrowes, I wish you to take heede, least if you defile the merits, or diminish the graces of his sufferings, you declare your selfe

[i] Iohn 14.
[k] Luke 23.
[l] Mark 15.
[m] Matth. 27.

ſelfe to be any thing rather then a Chriſtian, and to haue no part in the kingdome of God, and of Chriſt, by diſhonoring the Father, and the Sonne to ſerue your owne fanſies.

[a] *Where you deteſt my ſenſe of the Apoſtle in this place, and yet giue no inkling of anie other ſenſe at all, it is more then halfe a concluſion againſt you, that my interpretation of it is vniuſtly by you reprooued.*] Such concluſions doe well become a man of your iudgement. As though I muſt be bound to make Commentaries vpon all the Scriptures, which you abuſe, or elſe you will take the trueth tardie by my default. It ſufficed good Sir, that your application had neither coherence with the Apoſtles words, nor deriuance from them; and ſo was woorthely reiected as voide of all reaſon and ſenſe. For this, that Chriſts ſoule was inwardly tempted, and tormented by diuels, becauſe he triumphed ouer them moſt gloriouſly, this, I ſay, to all wiſe men is rather a meriement or a prattlement, then an argument. That they reſiſted, or inuaded, might happely be collected, not from the force of thoſe words, but from the diſpoſition of ſuch enemies: yet which way they inuaded, or how farre they preuailed, can no way be thence coniectured, though it be ſtrongly by you conceited. The Apoſtles words as I haue ſhewed, may either declare the glory of Chriſtes reſurrection, wherein all knees of things *in heauen, earth, and hell* did bow, and ſtoupe vnto him riſing from the dead; or, as ſome apply them, expreſſe the power and glorie of his Paſsion, in which by the perfection of his innocence, patience, and obedience, he ſpoyled ſinne and Satan of al their right and force ouer his Elect, and caried all his Enemies as Captiues in an open ſhew before God and his Angels, notwithſtanding all the inſtance, or reſiſtance they could make. From either of theſe ſenſes how you can inferre, that Satan tormented the Soule of Chriſt, or that he impreſſed in Chriſts hart ſpirituall wicked cogitations or motions, I verily doe not ſee, except you haue a Patent to make Concluſions contrary to their Premiſſes.

[a] Defenc pag. 85. li. 20. *The Defender vainly preſumeth all places of his vnanſwered, to be granted.*

[•] *Then you come to confute my fourth Reaſon, but the maineſt points thereof you haue not ſo much as touched; I ſhewed that the Godly ſometimes in this life, doe feele a taſt of Gods infinite wrath, and euen of helliſh ſorrowes.* 2. That *Chriſt our Redeemer ſuffered for vs as deepely, yea deeper, then euen any of vs heere doe ſuffer, but all this you can here clenly paſſe ouer without any word to it.*] The matters were belike very waighrie, and your prooſes many, that I was forced to paſſe them with ſilence. Indeede I neither tooke, nor had any more time to refute your Treatiſe, then whiles my Sermons were in Printing, as they know, that had the doing thereof: and that made me the ſhorter in refelling your Reaſons, and ſometimes the darker in propoſing mine owne; but as for this, which here you complaine of, I ſaw no cauſe, why in that ſpeedie diſpatch, I ſhould trouble my ſelfe any longer with it. The firſt Propoſition in ſome ſenſe I admitted; the ſecond, which you barely ſuppoſed without proofe I reiected as iniurious to Chriſt, and repugnant to the Apoſtles words, which you alleaged for it. Neither haue you in this long aduiſed, and farre conſulted Defence ſo much as medled with the inſtances, that I gaue againſt your falſe Collection. Let him that will, read the 286. Page of my Concluſion, and ſee whether touching the maine points here pretended, you were not briefely, but truely anſwered, and ſtand yet ſtaggered with the parts there ſpecified. The ſumme of mine Anſwere to both, as my words there witneſſe, was this.

[•] Defenc. pa. 85. li. 25.

[p] *The Terrors of minde, which we feele through conſcience of our vnworthineſſe, ignorance of Gods Counſell, and diſtruſt of Gods fauour, Chriſt neuer felt; his Faith admitted no doubting, his loue excluded all fearing, his hope reiected all deſpairing.* [q] *He was tempted in all things alike, except ſinne. Then neither the rootes, parts, nor fruites of ſinne muſt be in him: but the Apoſtle, that excepteth ſinne, excepteth all ſinfull adherents.* What ſay you to this, is it no Anſwere? I would gladly heare what you can reioyne againſt it. But you, that skip euery thing, which toucheth you to the quicke, and iette in your generall Phraſes, like a Crow in a gutter, ouer leape what you liſt; and then for a ſhew ſurmiſe, that your Reaſons and prooſes are ſilenced. Well I may ſpeake now more largely and plainly, but in effect I can ſpeake neither more truely, nor more directly, then

[p] Concluſ. pa. 286. li. 7.

[q] Ibid. li. 15.

then I then did. Yet for your pleasure I will not refuse to put your Propositions once more on foote, to see how currant they are.

[r] Defenc.pag. 85.li.27. *Contradictions in the Defender.*

[r] *The Godly sometimes in this life doe feele a tast of Gods infinite wrath, and euen of hellish sorrowes.*] You commit but three foule ouersights in this one proposition. 1. You marre the whole, and make it impertinent to your purpose. 2. You contradict your maine Positions. 3. You rest on euident ambiguities, or open falsities. What some of the godly doe sometimes feele either in Body or Soule, maketh nothing to Christs

[t] Defenc.pag. 86.li.32.

sufferings by your owne Confession. Your owne Rule is. [t] *In these words Christ was like vs in all Temptations and afflictions, we are to vnderstand all, that are incident to mankind generally, not which happen to any man particularly.* So that what the godly doe sometimes feele (for not onely Children and Infants, but many thousand Christians die free from these hellish sorrowes of yours) may not be made a President for Christs sufferings. And where you, or your Corrector would after salue this ouersight, by

[s] Defenc.pag 88 in margine.li.1.

saying in the margine; [s] *which though all generally feele not, yet generally is due to all in respect of sinne*; you multiply your absurdities, you mend not the loosenesse of this Proposition. For *due to all in respect of sinne*, are all manner of *externall* and *corporall* plagues, from many of which your selfe would exempt Christ by this obseruation of yours; and likewise reiection, confusion, desperation, and eternall damnation are *due to all* in respect of sinne, from which if you doe not exempt Christ, you exempt your selfe out of the number of the Faithfull to take a worse course then Iudas, who yeelded his Masters Body into the hands of men, where this conceit yeeldeth Christs Soule into the power of diuels.

Secondly, be you now of the minde that the *Godly doe sometimes feele a Tast of Gods wrath?* How often haue you resolued, and Proclaimed in this Booke, that [u] *to the Godly their afflictions, both small and great, are no effects of Gods proper wrath*, and now *they sometimes feele a Tast of his Infinite wrath?* What shift to saue this repugnancie, can you deuise? [Gods Infinite wrath perhaps is not his proper wrath.] It is the same, you say, that Christ suffered, and since Christ by your Doctrine suffered none but the proper wrath of God, the Faithfull feeling the same, that Christ did, must suffer the same kind of wrath, that Christ suffered. Againe, can you find vs an Infinite wrath in God, that is not properly wrath? What hath Gods proper wrath, of which you haue iangled so much, more then Infinite in time, or degree, or both? but these Resolutions of yours be like your Inuentions, they hang together, as drunken mens steps, or mad mens dreames. Consult I pray you with your friends, and aske them what answere you shall yeelde to this forgetfulnesse of theirs, or variablenesse of yours.

[u] Defenc. pa. 13. li 8.

Men may feare but not suffer the true paines of hell in this life.

Thirdly, what meane you by hellish sorowes? If you thereby note the feare of hell, which may often affright the seruants of God in this life, is that the worst the damned feele? Haue the true paines of hell no more in them, but a feare thereof? Is it possible for men in this mortall flesh and life to endure the true paines of hell, and of the damned? If you so thinke, you new stampe vs a strange, but an easie hell, in respect of those terrible iudgements, which God hath ordeined for the wicked in the world to come. Will you flie to your metaphors, and say that hell paines are taken for great and exceeding? Then play you with figures and phrases, as your fashion is, and come nothing neere to the substance of the cause. So that the one is a sensible vntrueth, the other is a shifting trifle brought in to lengthen the tale, when matter faileth. And

[x] Conclus.pa. 286.li.29.

when all is sayd, so much is sound, as I forwarned at first, that [x] *fearing, doubting, or distrusting lest God will for our manifolde sinnes cast vs from his presence, and condemne vs to hell, commeth in vs from the guiltinesse of conscience, and weaknesse of faith and hope, which in Christ neither had, nor could haue any place.*

[y] Defenc.pag. 85.li.28.

My next proposition, which you left vntouched, is, that [y] *Christ our Redeemer suffered for vs as deeply, yea deeper then any of vs here do suffer, or can suffer.*] This proposition no way helpeth your intent, and besides, wanteth both parts and proofs: for if the whole were granted, as you offer it, you can neuer thence conclude, that Christ

suffered

suffered the true paines of the damned, till first you shew, that all the faithfull in this life do likewise suffer the true paines of the damned, which were a monstrous miscreance meet for your new made hell. Such desperate and reprobate assertions, as haue no touch of proofe, nor taste of trueth, you place in the foreward of your fanseries. [But Christ you say, *suffered as deepely as euer any of vs heere doth, or can suffer.*] Then did Christ by your doctrine not only doubt, and distrust, but euen despaire his owne saluation: for so haue many done, that after were recouered and restored by grace; and so you wrappe the Sonne of God not onely within the guilt, but within the verie sincke of our sinnes inherent, now not in the temptation, but in the perswasion of the heart: for therewith haue many of the Elect beene grieuously afflicted for the time. This it is for a man of your vnderstanding, to wade in waters aboue your heigth, and to finde no bottome till you come to the depth of all impietie, which you do not intend, but can not auoid by the consequence of your positions. Two lines and lesse in my Conclusion, euen where you complaine for want of answer, would haue eased you of all these frantike imaginations, had you but soberly considered them, or aduisedly sought to disproue them. Christes [z] *faith* (I sayd) *admitted no doubting, his loue excluded all fearing, his hope reiected all despairing.* Which of these doe you or dare you denie? Whether *doubting* be infidelitie? S. Iames sayth; [a] *Let a man aske in faith, μηδὲν διακρινόμενος, nothing doubting*, or staggering: *for let not such a man thinke, that he shall receiue any thing from the Lord.* That condition our Sauiour addeth vnto faith: [b] *If you shall haue faith, and not doubt:* for doubting, as Paul writeth, proceedeth from infidelity. Abraham [c] *doubted not of the promise of God through vnbeliefe, but was strengthened in faith; πληροφορηθεὶς, being fully assured, that he which had promised was able to performe it.* Therefore Christ sayd to Peter: [d] *O thou of little faith, why didst thou doubt?* and to all the rest; [e] *Why are you fearefull, ô you of little faith?* So that faith is a full and constant perswasion of Gods promises without all feare or doubt, that we may be deceiued or defrauded. Then must there in Christ be either *no doubting, or small faith.* And if vnbeliefe in vs be sinne, what was it in Christ after so many and so cleere euidences of Gods owne voice and oath vnto him? [f] *I haue sworne to Dauid my seruant, Thy seed will I stablish for euer.* And againe; *I haue sworne once by mine holinesse, I will not faile Dauid, his seed shall endure for euer.* And likewise; [g] *The Lord sware and will not repent, Thou art a Priest for euer after the order of Melchisedech.* After these oathes, promises, and speeches of God from heauen to the manhood of Christ, all doubting and distrusting is most hainous and horrible sinne; which, if any man attribute to Christ, he is worse then a Iew or a Turke. For they know him not; we doe know him to be the Sonne of God, and Trueth it selfe.

[z] Conclus. pa. 286. li. 10.
[a] Iames 1.
[b] Matth. 21.
[c] Rom. 4.
[d] Matth. 14.
[e] Matth. 8.
[f] Psal. 89.
[g] Psal. 110.

Set this downe for an infallible rule in Christian religion, as indeed it is the foundation of all our faith (for if Christ might be a liar and a sinner, we are but deceiued in trusting to him) and none of these *inward torments* or *deepe sufferings* which you desperately dreame of, can be fastned on Christ. So long as Christes heart and spirit stood fixed and immoued in the graces and promises of God, no such strange doubt or feare, temptation or torment, as you talke of, could afflict him. No force of Satan, no sting of sinne, no storme of wrath could confound him, or amaze him. In vs these things are possible, because the corruption of flesh, and want of grace often pinch vs with remorse of conscience, and remembrance of sinne committed; but in Christ there could be no such thing. And all your drifts to make him like vs in our sinfull affections, and conflicts with confusion and desperation, as they haue no ground in the Scriptures, so are they weake and wicked, in that you measure the fulnesse of Christes graces, and his freedome from all sinne, by the faithlesse and fearefull assaults, that sinne and Satan make on the corrupt and irregenerate parts and powers of our soules. Wherefore as I first resolued, so I now reiterate by reason of your importunitie, that [h] *perfect loue* (*in* Christ) *did cast out feare, and* [i] *reioycing vnder hope* made him with *patience to expect* the performance of Gods promises, and with all obedience to endure whatsoeuer the counsell of God had foredetermined to be done vn-

[h] 1 Iohn 4.
[i] Rom. 5.

to

to him, without any inclining to doubt, or despaire of his fathers goodnesse towards him.

Against this, what bring you but very bables, such as children well catechised would not be deceiued with? and those, which before were answered, saue that your maner is to neglect and smother all that impugneth your purposes, by deprauing the Scriptures, despising the Fathers, and ouerleaping what is opposed against you. As here for example, when neither maior nor minor hath any iust proofe in them, you

[1] Defenc. pag. 85. li 31. steppe boldly and blindly to the conclusion, and say: [1 *Whereupon it followeth soundly, that Christ indeed suffered in spirit the true effects of Gods wrath, and euen the sense of hellish sorrowes.*] Which way doth it follow, good Sir? becaus *Christes sufferings were like to ours in all things, sinne excepted?* Were you not tolde in my Conclusion,

[1] Conclus. p2. 2%6. l. 17. *Christ not like vs in any sinfull affections.* that [1] *the Apostle, which excepteth sinne, excepteth all sinfull adherents*, that is, as well sinfull temptations of the heart, as sufferings? Why refute you not that exception, which vtterly subuerteth your illation? For if these be sinfull temptations and corruptions in vs, which you would faine derive to Christ, they are excepted by the manifest and direct words of the Apostle. Then the question was, and is, whether these conflicts of our consciences, which often through our vnbeliefe, and remorse of our vnworthinesse and wickednesse, stagger our hope, and hinder our loue, whiles they call Gods mercies and promises towards vs in question with our owne hearts, may be common to Christ with vs, and he not be wrapped in greater infidelity then we are, because the testimonies of Gods fauour to his person were infinitly cleerer and stronger, then they are to ours. And to this in all your wandring defence you say nothing; but returne vs againe the very same reasons, that before were refuted, as if your still alleaging, and mistaking one thing, did make it any whit the truer.

[2] Defenc. pag. 85. li. 35. [2] *I shewed out of the Hebrewes, that Christ succoureth vs not, but wherein he had experience of our temptations and infirmities. Now he succoureth vs euen in the feeling of the terrors of God, and sorrowes of hell in our soules. Therefore he himselfe had experience of the same.*] And I shewed you, that your first proposition had no ground in the Apostles words. For his giue a reason, why Christ is the readier to succour vs, and you limite them to the matter, wherein Christ is able to helpe vs; his words are affirmatiue, and yours are negatiue: his haue two exceptions added to them, yours haue none. So that his assertion is most true, and yours most false. For by yours Christ either cannot, or will not deliuer any man from infidelitie, desperation, frensie, lunacie and such like, or else Christ suffered all these. Yea by your shewing, as you call it, our Sauiour neuer cast out diuels out of any man, and so the Scriptures giue false witnesse of his freeing men from the vexation of diuels; or else he himselfe by your doctrine must be possessed and vexed with diuels, that hee might haue experience of the same, wherein he succoured others. Againe, the Apostle putteth two limitations to his words, which you purposely did ouer-skip in your argument: namely that Christ was

[3] Heb 4 v 15. tempted [3] *κατὰ ὁμοίωσιν (some) likenesse,* [3] *χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας, but without sinne.* You reiected the one, and neglected the other, and directly against them both concluded, that Christ had not some similitude, but the selfe-same temptations, not regarding, whether they were sinnefull or no. You come now with a sicke salue to plaster your former headdinesse, and say,

[4] Defenc. pag. 86. li. 1. [4] *you ment alwaies so farre as was possible*; but what boies play is this, first to conclude out of the Apostles words not onely impossibilities, but impieties, and then to say, *you ment as farre as was possible*; whereof you your selfe will be iudge, and then we shall haue as strange possibilities, as we had before temptations in Christ. And doth your learning serue you to call these rude stumblings sound reasons; wherein there is neither rule nor resemblance of Arte or reason? for your maior or first proposition being a negatiue, your conclusion is affirmatiue; which whether it be a grosse ouersight in Logicke or no, I referre it to the verie children in either Vniuersitie, that euer learned the first elements of reasoning. But why doth not your wisedome see, that the Apostle before me excepteth all these things from Christ, which are any way remnants of our naturall corruption, and wants of grace in vs, both which

which must be farre from Christ? Is *Infidelitie*, and *distrust* no sinne with you, that you make it common to Christ with vs? or are *doubting* and *fearing* no parts of infidelity? or what feare or doubt of his saluation could incomprehensibly torment the soule of Christ, except his heart did first encline from faith to feare, and so apprehend the griefe of Gods fauour lost, or in imminent danger to be lost?

You haue giuen vs *three variations* of this incomprehensible and infinite paine and griefe, which should torment the soule of Christ, and yet you know not where to rest. The first was vnspeakeable smart and paine from Gods *immediate hand*, inflicting the same anguish on the soule of his Sonne, that he doth on the damned spirits. For this you haue neither script nor scrole, text nor title in the word of God; it is a bold and lewd deuice of yours presuming what you please of Gods hand, because it is diuersly taken in the Scriptures. From thence you lept to diuels, and made them Gods instruments to torment the soule of Christ with strange temptations, and incomprehensible sorrowes suggested into the soule of Christ. Then you made Christs owne heart conceaue, and discerne from the wordes and acts of the Iewes fired and enraged by Satan, the dreadfull and painfull strokes and stings of Gods anger, and iust indignation against him for our sinnes; and yet all these are but the tumultuous dreames of your owne head, and certaine wastefull words that may be drawen to diuers senses, besides which you haue neither expressed nor confirmed any thing. Now you begin to make Commentaries vpon the Apostle to the Hebrewes, which are as cleere as a coale, and as sound as a satchell of saw-dust.

What torments the Defender hath deuised for Christes soule.

[1] *First, en hô, in that which himselfe suffered, signifieth either the* [2] *matter wherein Christ is able to succour vs, or the* [3] *meanes whereby he becommeth readie and fit to succour vs, or els the occasion and* [3] *reason, why he is the readier to succour vs, euen in that he himselfe suffered and was tempted.*] Your expositions be like your conclusions, they haue neither root nor rinde. Here are in shew three parts of a diuision, all which indeed (you say) are [4] *but one and the same in effect*, and so your triple diuision senseleſse and needlesse, the parts importing one thing; and the [5] *first way seemeth to you not the vnlikeliest*; which, if you put any difference between them, is the falsest & farthest from the Apostles meaning. For that Christ helpeth men in nothing, but what himselfe first suffered, that he suffred al particular degrees, & speciall sorts of afflictions, as well in soule as in bodie, which may befall any man; these are so lowd lies, that but you, no man would make either of them the apostles speech or purpose. But your lucke is to light on the worst, or your choise leadeth you to fansie the foulest, that you may differ frō other men, & be singular in your own sense. For your selfe see, & say, [6] *all the particular* (kinds of) *crosses in the world neither could nor can possibly come to any man*, and so not to Christ. Why then make you that the likeliest meaning of the Apostles words, that Christ suffered all *the matter*, that is, *all those kinds of paines wherein he succoureth vs*? If you meane generally, that Christ tasted all sorts of paines, that is, both corporall and spirituall, then shall you neuer conclude, that he tasted this or that kinde of paine in speciall; but it sufficeth that Christ had not only a diuine respect in mercie, but an humane sense and experience of our miseries both outward and inward, to assure vs, that he is compassionate and tenderly affected in our infirmities and extremities, because he himselfe felt the sharpnesse of *feare, sorow, shame and paine*, whiles heere he liued; and hath not forgotten how neere they pinch the weakenesse of mans nature. And more the Apostle meant not in those words then to shew, the Sonne of God would in his owne person and humane nature feele our infirmities and miseries, that he might haue an humane commiseration and compassion of vs, when we are afflicted, by the remembrance of his owne sufferings, which the words doe fully fit. For [7] en hô, *in that* (or in as much as) *he suffered, when he was tempted* (or tried) *he is able* (with more tenderneſse of heart) *to helpe those that are tempted.*

[1] Defenc. pag. 86. li. 2. li. 10. [2] li. 3. [3] [4] Defenc. pag. 86. li. 31. [5] Li. 27. [6] Li. 35. [7] Heb. 2.

[8] *Which way soeuer of these three we take the words, yet they plainly inferre, that Christ himselfe felt all the miserie and smart of our sufferings and Temptations, which at any time we feele.*] The smart and griefe of reiection, confusion, desperation, and such like

[8] Defenc. pag. 86. li. 18.

Christ

Christ neuer tasted, because they are faithlesse, and graceless, feares and sorrowes in vs. Yet in these Christ can and doth succour vs, not because he suffered the same, but for that he knoweth what affliction of spirit, feare, and sorrow bring with them, by his owne experience, not of the same obiects, which are sinfull; but of the same affections, which are naturall. And none of these waies, which you mention, came neere the concluding of any such thing, except you vrge the first against all truth and sense acknowledged euen by your selfe, where you say, [x] *I speake not of euery particular in each of them, or which euery man meeteth withall.* Graunt then, that Christ in his manhood would feele the sharpest impressions, that feare or sorrow, shame or paine could make on the Body or Soule of Man, but still without sinne: is that a proofe that Christ feared reiection, confusion or damnation, because he tasted how deeply feare could affect mans nature? What ignorant and vncoherent Collections are these; Christ tasted the sharpnesse of all our affections, as namely of feare, sorrow, and shame; *ergo* he had all the same causes and obiects of feare, sorrow, and shame, that we do and may feele? Who reasoneth so that hath any reason left in his head or hart?

[x] Defenc. pag. 87. li. 21.

This also the words KATA PANTA, *in all things, doe fully import.* The words *kata panta, in all things*, or *altogether*, may haue out of the very Text of the Apostle to the Hebrewes foure seuerall references, and none of them neere the false construction that you make of them. The first is, he must be like his bretheren, *in all* the parts of Mans nature; *for he tooke not the* (nature of) *Angels, but the Seede of Abraham. Wherefore in all things*, (that is in all the parts and necessarie consequents of Mans nature) *he must be like his Bretheren.* 2. He must be like not this or that Brother, and so not like any particular Persons in any speciall cause or Circumstance, but wherein they all are Bretheren each to other, [y] *in all those things he must be like them all.* 3. It is but a likenesse, that the Apostle vrgeth in all these things, there is no equalitie, much lesse an Identitie required in those words, not that Christ in patient suffering of afflictions did not passe all, but these words import a Similitude, and haue no farder force.

[y] Hebr. 2.

4. These and all other things, that were in Christ, must be in him without sinne; [z] *he was tempted in all things after a likenesse*, (but) *without sinne*. So that in all his Infirmities, affections, Temptations, and afflictions he was still free from sinne, which may be the Apostles meaning in the later place, to note, that how diuers soeuer Christs Temptations were, yet *he was tempted in all things without sinne.* Then all such feares and sorrowes, as haue in them any doubt or distrust of Gods fauour, and Christs Saluation, are vtterly excluded from him by the Apostles owne limitations, and therefore you loose but your labour by pretence of these words to bring Christ within the compasse of your hellish feares and sorrowes.

[z] Hebr. 4.

What Christ vndertooke for vs.

[a] *Hereto serueth our publike Doctrine, Diram execrationem in se suscepit.* You handle the Catechisme, as you doe the Scriptures and Fathers, turning them from their right sense to serue your priuate Doctrines. *Christ vndertook our curse*, saith the Catechisme; what then? Christ vndertooke all our sinnes; and all the punishment due vnto them, not to suffer it in the same kinde, but to dissolue it in his Person, and to discharge vs of it. Yea he vndertooke our reiection, confusion, and damnation; to satisfie them, not to suffer them; to cleere them, not to beare them. So that hence you may conclude a Satisfaction and dissolution made by Christ of all these things, that were due to vs; but you may not inferre, that he was vtterly reiected, inwardly confounded, or eternally condemned; as we should haue beene, and the damned are. Againe, he tooke vpon him the Satisfaction and recompence of all our sinnes and paines. But where? Saint Peter saith, Christ [b] *bare our sinnes in his Body on the Tree*; and Saint Paul saith, Christ [c] *pacified things in earth, and things in heauen, by the bloud of his Crosse, and reconciled vs in the Body of his flesh.* Christ vndertooke then to abolish our curse and condemnation, but in the Body of his flesh, where he reconciled vs vnto God. So that you must bring directer words out of the Catechisme, before your Doctrine will thence be drawen. And by your leaue, I take the Catechisme permitted to be taught in Schooles, but not Authorized for the publike Doctrine of this Realme. Neither

[a] Defenc. pag. 86. li. 25.

[b] 1. Peter. 2.

[c] Colos. 2.

are

are you the Man, that ſo much reſpect authoritie farre more publike then this, where it ſorteth not with your fanſies. But here you haue caught a word or two, that may be miſuſed, and that is the cauſe the Catechiſme is ſo much magnified by your priuate Authoritie, as to be the publike Doctrine of this Realme. Which I ſpeake not to diſgrace the Booke, but to make difference betwixt your verdict, and the Iudgement of the whole Realme.

[d] *You might haue giuen a good ſenſe of my words (if you had any mind thereto) as of thoſe generall and large words of the Scripture, whereupon I grounded my ſelfe.*] It is more then time, we ſhould yeelde ſuch a gheſt as you are, the ſame ſubmiſsion and reuerence, that we giue to the Sacred Scriptures; ſpecially when you abuſe the words of the holy Ghoſt to your priuate & vnſound conceits. In the word of God I am bound to looke to the meaning of the Writer, who could not erre; and therefore howſoeuer the words, if they were another mans, might be reiected, yet in the Scriptures they are to be receaued with all Religion, becauſe he endited them, that is the Spirit of truth; and he hath a ſound and euident Doctrine in them, though we vnderſtand it not. And therefore we muſt ſeeke to other places of like ſenſe, or more light, that we may learne the meaning of the holy Ghoſt. Expect you the like duetie, when you deriue your ſullaine and vnſauorie fanſies by falſe and looſe conſequents from the words of holy write? as if you were not bound to beware how you abuſe the Scriptures, but we muſt looke on, and hold our peaces, whiles you peruert the words of the Prophets and Apoſtles at your pleaſure?

[d] Defenc. pag. 87. li. 7.

You made a number of falſe Propoſitions and Concluſions without all warrant of the word of God; as, [e] *Thus doe the members of Chriſt ſuffer: therefore of neceſſitie Chriſt our head ſuffered the like: yea farre greater terrors of God, and aſſaults of the diuell.* And ſo you Reaſon, [f] *which can not be refuted by the witte of Man; he ſuccoureth vs not but wherein he had experience of our Temptations, but he ſuccoureth vs in theſe our Temptations of feeling the ſorrowes of hell; Therefore he himſelfe had experience of the ſame.*] Where to ſhew your witte, you ioyne an affirmatiue concluſion to a negatiue maior, and in defiance of all truth and reaſon, you make this childiſh and ignorant manner of reaſoning to be irrefutable; And ſo your pleaſant Electuarie, that [g] *of all abſurdities this is the greateſt, that meere men ſhould ſuffer more deepely and more bitterly* (the ſorrowes and paines of hell) *then Chriſt did.* All theſe you build vpon this foundation, Chriſt *was* [h] *Tempted in all things after a likeneſſe,* (but) *without ſinne:* not that there is any ſuch intention or direction in the Apoſtles words, but that you will make ſuch a Conſtruction of them, and no man muſt ſay nay. To let you ſee your folly and falſitie in this point, I [i] ſhewed you many corporall paines and ſorrowes, and likewiſe many ſpirituall, which Chriſt neuer felt, as touching the cauſes and obiects of thoſe afflictions, though I did not exempt him from the generall ſenſe of thoſe affections. In the Body of Man, I named blindneſſe, dumbneſſe, lameneſſe, ſickneſſe, breaking of bones, burning of fire, and ſuch like which Chriſt neuer ſuffered; and yet in all theſe he can and doth ſuccour others. In the Soule I reckned blindneſſe, and hardneſſe of hart, vnbeliefe, deſperation, frenſie, and vexation with diuels, all which Chriſt hath often cured and healed, and readily can, though he were neuer plunged into theſe, as men are. Wherefore your maine and immooueable Collection out of the Apoſtle, as you dreame, that *Chriſt ſuccoureth vs not, but wherein he had experience of the ſame*, was a blind and falſe intruſion of yours vtterly miſtaking the Apoſtles words and meaning. To this what reply you?

[e] Trea. pa. 46. li. 10.

[f] Ibid. li. 32. & pag. 47. li. 1.

[g] Trea. pag. 45 li. 55.

[h] Heb. 4.

[i] Concluſ. pa. 288.

[k] *The Apoſtle and I both doe ſpeake of the ſufferings of mankind in generall, and of each part of nature apt to ſuffer, but not of euery particular in each of them, or which each meeteth withall.*] You are where you would be, when you and the Apoſtle goe hand in hand, as you make your ſelfe beleeue, though you come nothing neere the Apoſtles ſpeech or ſenſe. Then ſince it ſufficeth for the truth of the Apoſtles words, that Chriſt felt feare, ſorrow, ſhame, paine, and death which are common to all men; and there was no neede, that Chriſt ſhould haue all the ſame cauſes of *feare, ſorrow ſhame*, and *paine*,

[k] Defenc. pag. 87. li. 18.

which euery man hath, or may haue; what reason had you out of the Apostle to conclude so confidently, that Christ must suffer the very same sorowes and paines of hell, which sometimes in this life befall some men through vehement remorse of sinne, and faintnesse of faith? For they are not generall to all Ages and Persons; and if they were, yet proceede they from the guiltinesse of our owne consciences, and the not feeling of Gods grace for the time, that we may see our owne vnworthinesse; neither of which could haue place in Christ. [*Generall termes, you say, should be vnderstood according to the possibilitie and probabilitie of the matter.*] Be those the raines of your Reasons, that you will vtter matters neither probable, nor posible, and then require to haue your speech recalled to posibilitie and probabilitie? Doe other men vse so to speake or write, that when they haue ouer lashed themselues, they flie to probabilities and posibilities, such as they best like? You must looke, good Sir, to your Propositions and Conclusions, that they be sound and good, concording with the grounds of Faith, and Rules of holy Scripture, and then you shall not neede to make such idle reseruations. Now in your Conceits, which I repeated and refuted, what probabilitie, or posibilitie doe you dreame of? that Christ was touched and plunged deeper then any other man into feares, Passions, and Agonies of reiection, confusion, desperation, and damnation, though at last with much a doe he wrastled from them all? Such Probabilities keepe to your selfe, no wise Christian will admit them, except he see them prooued with stronger Reasons, and cleerer Testimonies, then such loose posibilities and probabilities, as you bring.

Your wateriſh stuffe in the rest of this page is not woorth the speaking to. You wander about to salue the smallest, and cleane skip ouer the greatest points, that are obiected against you. That [1] *Christ had not his eies put out as Sampson had, nor was swallowed vp by a Whale, as Ionas was; nor was cast into a burning fornace as Sydrac and his fellowes were, nor was stoned to death as Naboth and Steuen were*: These I say were iust and full reproofes of your licencious inference, that Christ of necessitie must suffer whatsoeuer his members suffered. I opposed other instances besides these, touching the soule of man, from which Christ hath holpen many, though he neuer had experience of the same; as from cæcitie and obstinacie of heart, from infidelitie, and all manner of Iniquitie, from frensie, furie, follie, and such like vexations and afflictions of diuels. Wherein if you giue Christ no power nor abilitie to heare and helpe at his good pleasure, you take both his honor and office from him. If you confesse, which the Scriptures auouch, that he hath healed many, which were possessed and oppressed by the diuell, then you must either recall your inuincible Reason, as a palpable follie, or else you must subiect the Body and Soule of Christ not only to diuels, which you dare doe; but to all manner of Impietie and iniquitie, since there is no sinne so great, which Christ will not forgiue vpon true repentance, saue wilfull Blasphemie against his Spirit. [You speake of Paines, not of sinnes.] And is it no paine to be possessed with the diuell in body or mind, as we read of many in the Gospell? diseases, burning, fleaing, and such like, which Christ neuer suffered, are they no paines? frensie, furie, lunacie, are they not rather painfull and greeuous punishments of sinne, then sinne? your Proposition which could not be refuted by the witte of Man, was this; *Christ succoureth vs not, but wherein he had experience of our Temptations and Infirmities*, This speaketh of Temptations and Infirmities; now how farre these words doe stretch, can you not tell? but you will amend the matter, and cleere both the Apostle, and your owne Conclusion.

[1] Defenc. pag. 87.

[a] *Thus this Scripture, is cleered, and my Reason iustified: Christ succoureth vs not in any extreamer kind of paine, then he himselfe had experience of. But he succoureth vs, in the feeling of the terrors of God, he releaseth vs of the paines & sorrowes vnmeasurable, that rise thereof. Therefore himselfe had experience of them.*] You should doe well to tell vs, how this Scripture is cleered? the place prooueth, that Christ had a Similitude with his Bretheren in generall, that is, as well in flesh and bloud subiect to death, as other *sufferings* and *temptations*. These three the Apostle reckneth and calleth *kata panta*, all the parts

[a] Defenc. pag. 87 li. 37. & pag 88. li. 1.

parts of Reſemblance, which Chriſt had with the weakneſſe and wretchedneſſe of our condition and Nature. Your ſelfe confeſſe thoſe three; to wit, [n] *Infirmities, Temptations*, and *afflictions*, to be all the things wherein Chriſt was like vs; for his manhood in ſubſtance was the ſame that ours is, and ſo more then like. As for *en hò*, by which you would haue to be ſignified [o] *All the matter*, and euery kinde of paine, WHEREIN Chriſt ſuccoureth vs; beſides the manifeſt falſeneſſe of that conſtruction, which I haue ſufficiently reproued, you depart, as your manner is, from all Interpreters new and old to a ſingular ſenſe, that no man liketh but your ſelfe. The Greeke Scholies collected by Oecumenius, thus expound it. [p] ἐν ᾧ γὰρ πέπονθε, τετύπται, ἐπειδὴ πέπονθε. *in that he ſuffered, ſignifieth*, FOR AS MVCH AS HE SVFFERED. And Theodoret. The Apoſtle ſaith, [q] *Whereas by experience Chriſt learned the weakeneſſe of Mans Nature, he helpeth thoſe that are impugned.* And Theophylact. [r] *That which the Apoſtle ſaith is this. Becauſe as a Man Chriſt vnderſtandeth all by experience, and knoweth what affliction and Tentation is, therefore he can helpe, that is, he is the readier to ſtreteh forth his hand, and with mercie to aide the oppreſſed.* From theſe perhaps you will derogate the knowledge of the Greeke tongue, though they were all naturall Grecians, as you do from Saint Auſten; but that will doe you little good, and leſſe honeſtie. For the skilfulleſt interpreters, that are of our Age and Religion, and well learned in the Greeke tongue, do exactly agree with them againſt you. Eraſmus in his obſeruations vpon the new Teſtament ſaith, [s] *en hò, id eſt, ideoque* THEREFORE BECAVSE Chriſt ſuffered, and was tempted, he is able to ſuccour them, that are tempted. [t] Caluine, [t] Beza, [t] Piſcator, [t] Marlorate, [t] Eraſmus in his Tranſlation, and others with one conſent expreſſe *en hò* not by WHEREIN, as you doe; but by *ex eo quod, ex hoc quod, ex quò, by that which Chriſt ſuffered*, (or becauſe he ſuffered) *and was tempted, he is able*, (or ready) *to ſuccour the tempted.* The Genevian Tranſlation expoundeth it by *for as much as*. And though you would ſhuffle the *matter* and the *cauſe* together, leaſt you ſhould be taken tardie with a violent wreſting of the Scriptures, yet the ſimpleſt can ſee great difference betweene theſe two Interpretations: WHEREIN Chriſt *ſuffered and was tempted*, (therein and in nothing elſe) *he is able to ſuccour vs*; which is your erroneous expoſition of the Apoſtles words: and *by this that* Chriſt *ſuffered*, (or becauſe he *ſuffered*,) *and was tempted, he is able* (that is ready) *to helpe them that are Tempted*; which is the Generall Reſolution of all theſe late Expoſitors. And ſo your cleering of the Scriptures is the croſsing and miſconſturing of them, againſt the full accord of new and old Interpreters.

[n] Defenc. pag. 86. li. 6.

[o] Ibid. li. 28.

[p] Oecumenius in 2. cap. ad Heb.

[q] Theodoret. in 2. ca. ad Heb.

[r] Theophylact. in 2. cap. ad Hebreos.

[s] Eraſmi. Annotatio. in 2. ca. ad Hebreos.

[t] In 2. cap. ad Hebreos.

The Defenders ſkill in framing Arguments.

As for your reaſon; that is iuſtified with a witneſſe, as error is iuſtified by wilfull ignorance. For if a man would rake vp all the reaſons, that euer thwarted Arte or truth, he ſhall hardly finde any more or worſe faults in any ſyllogiſme then this hath. To a *Negatiue* maior being a plaine compariſon, you put an *affirmatiue* concluſion, that is a ſimple poſition; all *three* propoſitions haue one and the ſame ſubiect; and the *predicate* in the Concluſion is *no where found* in the premiſſes. But your Arte is like your trueth, and therefore I marueil at neither. The forme of your reaſon being ſo out of frame, let vs ſee how the matter of it can be iuſtified. The maior of your firſt argument, which (you ſaid) [u] *could neuer be refuted by the witte of man*, was this. *Chriſt ſuccoureth vs not, but wherein he had experience of our temptations and infirmities*: that is, Chriſt helpeth no man in any thing, which he himſelfe before hath not felt. This falſe and lewd aſſertion you are gone from; and now you ſubſtitute an other of the ſame here by way of compariſon. Chriſt [x] *ſuccoureth vs not in any extreamer kinde of paine, then he himſelfe had experience of.* Before it was the ſelfeſame paine, but now it muſt be as *extreame a paine*, though not the ſame. Neither of theſe hath any foundation in the ſacred Scriptures, nor any coherence with the queſtion, which I propoſed. Beſides, this later, which is new coined, is a bold intruſion vpon things vnknowne, a falſe compariſon of Chriſts ſuccouring and ſuffering, and no way helpeth the Concluſion, that is ſowed to it. For firſt how prooue you that former, or this later propoſition? *Chriſt* (you will ſay) *muſt be like vs in all things.* Omit, that theſe wordes are

[u] Trea pa. 46 li. 31.

[x] Defenc. pag. 87. li 38.

to be vnderstood of the generall heads of humane infirmitie, as affections, temptations, and afflictions, which are common to all and not of particular kindes of crosses or paines, as I haue shewed, and you haue yeelded to be true: In likenesse there is no necessitie, that things should either be the selfe *same*, or *equall*. For example, strong, good, beautifull, pleasant, profitable, and comfortable things haue in euery of these kinds a likenesse amongst themselues. Is it therefore consequent, that they all should be the very same, or equall in any of these respects? fearefull, painfull, and sorowfull things haue a similitude in all their degrees, and yet the obiects are neither the same, nor the impressions or affections equall. So that likenesse doth no way proue an equalitie; and therefore out of these wordes, that Christ was like vs in temptations and afflictions, you shall neuer inferre, that his were equall to ours, much lesse that they were greater then ours. All degrees in euery kinde haue a likenesse, though not an equalitie. For though it may well be graunted, that all his afflictions in their kinds conioyned together were farre sharper then ours in this life which are not mixed with sinne from which he was free; yet out of those words no such thing can be concluded.

We can not Iudge of other mens paines.

Now what certaine Rule of Scripture or Nature can you haue to measure the Paritie of all mens paines? How know you in euery kind of paine which pincheth neerest, and pearceth fardest, or how many occasions of sorrow, feare, and paine doe ioyne together in any mans sufferings? These things are knowen to God alone, and to the sufferers, and it is as possible for you to Iudge of their paines, as of their thoughts.

Desperation the sorest torment in this life.

And if we may Iudge of things in them selues by their degrees, then since *doubt*, *distrust*, and *despaire* of Gods fauour and our Saluation, be three seuerall steps of sinfull feares and sorrowes, each descending lower the one then the other, and plunging the Patient into deeper paines: (desperation being the last and the sharpest in this life;) It followeth from your Proposition that either Christ plainly despaired for the time, which is horrible blasphemie to surmise; or else he can recouer no man from desperation, because he himselfe hath not felt the same, nor as extreame paines, as desperation bringeth with it. *Doubt* of Gods fauour wauereth betweene *Faith* and *feare*; Feare so inclineth to distrust, that it bringeth Terror with it; despaire resigneth all Faith and hope, and falleth *to a* [y] *dreadfull expectation of Iudgement and violent fire, which shall deuoure the Aduersaries*. This paine the Apostle putteth to be the sharpest and terriblest Torment to sinners in this life. Will you then adiudge Christ to desperation, that he may suffer as extreame paines, as any meere man can suffer? or will you depriue him of all power and mercie to recouer the desperate, because he neuer felt the sting and wound of desperation? Set desperation aside, which may be called an hell, because it presenteth hell vnto mens consciences before they come vnto it; and exempt Christ from feare and doubt of his Saluation, which I hope the holinesse of your hart will hold him from, and what paines I pray you were the sharpest that Christ could suffer? He can succour all when pleaseth him, and yet he suffered none of these, which you auouch to be the sharpest. How then come you to conclude, that Christ suffered the sorrowes and Terrors of hell? If you meane the true hell, which is the Iudgement of the damned, you are nothing the neerer for this Maior, if it were graunted you. For Christ succoureth none that are damned, and therefore no neede, that he should suffer the paines of the damned, or any as extreame as they are. And in this life, as *extreame paines*, doe no way conclude the same paines, and so your maior, which saith, *as extreame paines*, and your Conclusion, which saith, the *same paines*, had neede take bote to meete at Billingsgate before they will agree.

[y] Heb. 10.

And where you play with places of holy Scripture as children doe with toyes, still turning and winding them, but to no purpose saue to gaze on them: you shall see how easily and fully the trueth may be taken out of these texts, which you peruert to your errors. The Apostle sayth, as we see by the cleere consent of new and olde writers, that *because Christ suffered, he is readie to helpe*. So that one of the ends of his feeling our miseries, was the releasing and succouring vs in our necessities. Whence I frame you this reason, though not so iustified as yours is, yet better fashioned and

mattered

mattered then yours. *All paines felt by Christ were released by Christ in some or others. The true paines of the damned were neuer released in any by Christ. Ergo, the true paines of the damned were neuer felt by Christ.* This is directly to the question by me proposed, and by you declined, and will cost you somewhat before you solute it. As for the *feare, sorrow*, and *paine*, which Christ did or might suffer without any touch of sinne, lacke of hope, decrease of faith, and want of grace, I reserue that till we come to speake of Christes agonie; in the meane while let vs heare the rest of your iustified proofs.

[a] *The same also sundrie of the Fathers auouch with vs most fully, and euen those which your selfe brings for your selfe.* You goe no farther for your Fathers then to my writings, where they make nothing for you; but because your reading is so lasie, and your wrangling so busie, you will seeme to wrest some of them both from themselues and from me. The words of Cyrill which heere you cite, haue already beene largely discussed and answered: (thither I remit the Reader for his fuller satisfaction) but you must vse to peruse the circumstances of each place, before you will euer alleage the ancient Fathers rightly; which perchance is no part of your meaning, and so you spend neither time nor paines therein. Cyrill speaketh here of the *naturall passions* or affections of man, which in vs are inordinate by reason of sinne and corruption, but in Christ when they were admitted, were directed and gouerned by his will and spirit. All which he would taste, that he might in his owne person represse and moderate them, and so reforme our nature by the power of his heauenly grace. [b] *Ideo permittebat vt natura hominis, quæ in ipso erat, absq; peccato passionibus nostræ naturæ moueretur.* To shew himselfe a true man, euen *therefore Christ permitted the nature of man which was in him, without sinne to be mooued with the passions of our nature.* Another reason thereof he giueth, which are the words here alleaged by you, that by suffering those naturall paisions to arise in himselfe, he might temper and correct them, and so reduce our nature to a better state. [c] *Ita & singulas passiones carnis fuisse in Christo absque peccato commoras inuenies, vt commotæ vincerentur, & sic natura nostra reformaretur ad melius.* As death feare, and sorrow; *so all the Passions of* (our) *flesh thou shalt find were mooued in Christ without sinne, that rising* (in him) *they might be restrained, and our nature reformed to a better moderation.*

[a] Defenc. pa. 88. li. 4.

[b] Cyrill. thesaurli. 10. ca. 3.

[c] Cyrill. ibid.

Your notes that follow out of Cyrill, are like your derivations out of the Scriptures; they shew your mistaking, not his meaning. [d] *All our passions, you say, were stirred in Christ* SO FARRE *as we are cured.* Cyrill hath no such words; he saith, *Christ suffered all to deliuer vs from all*; that is, from the excesse of all our affections, which was not in Christ; for he conquered and tempered them, to wit, death, feare, sorrow, and all other naturall paisions to bring our nature to a better stay in all these things. [d] *Then I hope by Cyrils iudgement, the sense of the true curse and proper wrath of God for sinne was in Christes soule, seeing men are subiect to this suffering as the sharpest amongst others.* Why? Because Christ tempered in himselfe the excesse of our affections? Cyrils words are a good reason rather against it, that since Christ felt none of our paisions, but corrected and conquered, this excessiue paision therefore he felt not. And touching the true curse of God, whether that were in the soule of Christ or no, we need none of your friuolous obseruations, we haue Cyrils owne words in most euident wise to the contrary. [e] *Igitur non est factus secundum veritatem maledictum & peccatum; appellatus autem illorum nominibus, vt aboleat maledictum & peccatum. Therefore Christ was not made in truth a curse and sin, but he was called by those names, because he should abolish both the curse and sinne.*

[d] Defenc. pag. 83. li. 12.

[d] Defenc. pag. 88. li. 15.

[e] Cyril. Apologeticus pro 12. capitum ad orientales Anathematis. 1.

[f] *That one drop of Christes blood was sufficient for our whole redemption, was one of your principles in your preaching, but in your booke you ouerskip it cleane, I know not how.* Neither is your memorie so good, nor your minde so sincere, that you may be trusted to be the Reporter of my preaching. I had no cause nor need to preach any such point, and do not vse ouer easily to broch things vnprofitable for the hearers, and impertinent to my purpose. In some comparison or supposition such words might be vttered

[f] Defenc. pa. 88. li. 21.

red, but that any such came simply from me, truely I doe not remember; they made nothing to my matter, who proposed the death of Christ by the shedding of his blond to be the full redemption of mankinde, without the death of the soule, and paines of the damned. And by that time we both are considered, you are as likely a man to fitten, or misconceiue, as I to forget, and mistake mine owne doctrine.

g Defenc. pag. 88. li. 24.

g *Next we see, that your place out of Ambrose is also fully to the same effect.*] Both Cyrill and Ambrose speake to one effect, but neither of them one word to your purpose. Christ taking our nature, tooke also our naturall affections of feare and sorow. So sayd Cyrill, so sayth Ambrose. What then? *ergo* Christ doubted, and feared reiection and damnation. Be those naturall, or sinfull feares in vs? If sinfull, Christ had nothing to do with them. *He was like vs in all things, sinne excepted.* Naturall they are not, because they are neither necessary nor common to all, though they be consequents of our sinfull corruption, when faith faileth vs. There is a feare, as Damascene teacheth, which is h *naturall and innocent, and not subiect to sinne.* This the Lord admitted or suffered, when he would; *not as we doe, by constraint.* There is another feare, ἐκ προσθέσεως λογισμῶν συμπαθὴς καὶ ἀπιστίας, *that proceedeth from infidelitie, and the betraying* (or selfe-yeelding) *of our thoughts. This the Lord admitted not.* You confound both these, and by one which is a naturall infirmity, would proue the other, which is a sinfull infidelitie to be in Christes person. But awake out of this drowsie dreame, and you shall see them not onely distinct, but as farre distant the one from the other, as iniquity is from the integrity of mans nature.

h Damascen. Orthodoxæ fidei. li 3. ca. 23.

That Christ *layed aside* for the time the delight of his eternall Deity, and would be *affected with the tediousnesse of our infirmitie*, Ambrose sayth; but that it *parted away from him*, is your false translation, not Ambroses intention. That Christ did not dissemble our naturall affections of griefe and sorow, but would feele them for our sake; and in respect of our danger, Ambrose confesseth: but *that Christ exempted himselfe from nothing in his passion, that we haue experience of, as touching paines and sorrowes*; this is your medly, it is no part of Ambroses meaning. The causes of Christes sorrow are in that place repeated by Ambrose; you haue the cunning to skippe them, and to surmise others in their steads, of which Ambrose neuer dreampt, as the feare and terror of reiection, malediction, and damnation, which Ambrose abhorreth. k *Pro me doluit, qui pro se nihil habuit quod doleret. Christ sorowed for me, who had nothing which he might sorow for himselfe.* l *Doles igitur Domine non tua, sed mea vulnera, non tuam mortem, sed nostram infirmitatem. Thou grieuest therefore Lord*, sayth Ambrose, *not at thy wounds, but at mine, not at thine owne death, but at our weakenesse.* The occasions and respects of Christes griefe and sorow are there set downe by Ambrose, which you make light of; and therefore you abuse the words of Ambrose, not so much against me, as against himselfe. But these places and particulars I haue handled before, that may suffice till we come to Christes agony.

i Defenc. pag. 88. li. 33.

k Ambros. in Luc. li. 10. de pr. sl. Christi.

l Ibidem.

m Defenc. pag. 89. li. 1.

m *To this very purpose also, many others before rehearsed do affirme most fully.*] He that knew not your vaine and vaunting humour, would thinke that so many names of ancient Fathers, as *Nazianzene, Fulgentius, Bernard, Tertullian* and *Ierome*, should not be impanelled but to some purpose; but the Reader hath by this time so good experience of your mistakings and wrestings, that he will easily suppose you would make your most aduantage as well of their words, as of their names, if you had any sure holde in them. Howbeit, these places are already discussed, and therefore as you referre me to the Pages, where you cited them, so I send you to the places, where I examined and answered them. Where the Reader shall soone see how you can play with places that make nothing for you, by dreaming, that ancient Fathers thought as you do, because they speake of humane infirmitie and sorow in Christes soule.

n Defenc. pa. 89. li. 4.

n *You greatly abuse them who take them otherwise: namely, as if they meant that by the flesh and bloudshed of Christ meerely and alone without the merit of his soules and mindes proper suffering, our whole ransome were payed.*] The chiefe merit of Christes obedience and patience, I referre to the soule of Christ, since the body of it selfe hath neither *will*

nor

nor *sense*, much lesse *vertue* or *merit*; and the sufferings of Christes soule by affections of feare and sorow I haue often affirmed, I neuer denied. The death of Christs soule I vtterly disclaime to haue beene any part of our redemption, and so doe the ancient Fathers before me with one consent. That you keepe close, as it were confession, and beare men in hand, that I vpholde the *meere sufferings of Christes flesh alone* without any communion of his soule or minde. What tricks you containe in those termes of the *soules proper suffering*, I little regard; when you proue that which you pretend, by more then saying, I will take the paines to refute it with more then denying.

[o] *As for our comparing the paines of Christes suffering, with the paines euen of the reprobate in this life, I see not that you or any man liuing can finde fault therewith: onely set aside their sinfull suffering, which alwayes I testifie that Christ was most free from.* It is well, that not the Scriptures, but you, compare the paines of Christes sufferings with the reprobate; whereby the Reader may perceiue, that the first foundation of your new faith is your owne fansie; and the best bulwarke you haue for it, is the presumption of your owne braine, whereto you leane, without, if not against the Scriptures. Then Christ yet at last shall be alwayes and altogether free from all sinfull suffering; and then how might his soule or mind apprehend any doubt or feare of Gods fauour towards him, or any the least distrust or staggering of his saluation or our redemption? his faith and hope standing sure and vnshaken, as also the full perswasion of Gods loue towards his person, and acceptation of his obedience, preuailing and wholly possessing his heart, what feare or sorow common to him with the reprobate can you imagine in the soule or spirit of Christ? Tell vs what Christ apprehended or conceiued, that should torment his minde with equall anguish, as it doth the reprobate. Your generall phrases of *Gods proper wrath*, and of the *extreamest spirituall punishments*, are but hiues to hide your poisoned honie in; expresse particularly your conceits, that we may know whether they sauour of trueth and faith, or of errour and infidelitie.

[o] Defenc. pag. 89. li. 7.

[p] *Yea, I doubt not but we may compare Christes sufferings in his agonies, euen with those of the damned in hell.* Neither doe I doubt of your boldnesse in this and all other cases, but if you will speake of the Christian faith, you must shew vs what Scripture teacheth you to compare Christes sufferings in the Soule, with the reprobate or with the damned. They be great aduentures to vndertake of your owne head to torment the soule of Christ with diuels in like maner as the damned are; or to giue him the same apprehension of Gods wrath vpon himselfe that the reprobate and damned haue. For either of which, if you can shew any Prophet, Euangelist, or Apostle, that sayd so before you, we will holde you excused; [q] *If it be not written, feare the curse appointed for those that augment or diminish the* word of God. For my part, I haue learned to say with S. Austen: [r] *In any thing touching our faith, if an Angell from heauen teach otherwise then we haue receiued in the Scriptures of the Law and the Gospell, let him be accursed.* For [t] *of Gods matters there is no speech (or doctrine) left vs besides the word of God.* So that if the Scriptures make these comparisons and resemblances, we easily admit them; if you take vpon you to deuise them, as new points of faith, we as heartily detest them. And if I be not deceiued, you will hardly make either of these comparisons good by the sacred Scriptures. For you were euen now very busie with certaine places of the Apostle, which to my iudgement proue the plaine contrarie. *Christ* [t] *must be like his brethren in all things*; and consequently in all his sufferings. But neither the reprobate nor the damned are Christes brethren. His sufferings therefore were not like theirs. And how could Christes sufferings be glorious, if they were like the reprobate or the damned? Haue the reprobate or the damned any glory in their sufferings, as Christ had in his? *Father*, sayd he, *the houre is come, glorifie thy Sonne*; speaking of the houre of his passion. By his sufferings then Christ was glorified, and declared to be the Sonne of God; which if you attribute to the reprobate and the damned, you must new alter the whole course of Gods counsels and iudgements.

[p] Defenc. pag. 89. li. 11.

[q] *Tertull. aduersus Hermogenem.*

[r] *Aug. contra literas Petiliæ. li. 3. ca. 9.*

[t] *Hilarius de Patrũ & filij essentia.*

[t] Hebr. 2.

[s] *Touching the vehemencie of the paine, Christ suffered altogether as bitterly and as sharply,*

[s] Defenc. pag. 89. li. 16.

sharply, (yea I may say in nature the very same) as the damned doe.] It must be the selfe same in euery point, afore it can be as sharpe and as bitter as theirs. Had the damned but one kinde of paine, the comparison were the sooner examined; but they haue exceeding many both outward and inward, and all these must be common to Christ with the damned, before Christes paines in sharpnesse and vehemencie can be equall with theirs. The griefe of *reiection, confusion* and *desperation*, they inwardly feele, the worme of conscience, the horror of darknesse, the paine of fire breedeth them intolerable torments. Yea, what one thing doth the Scripture specifie of the paines of hell, which with any religion you may attribute to Christ? Your generall refuge of Gods wrath will doe you no good; not onely the Scriptures, but your selfe now at last acknowledge the faithfull feele a taste of Gods infinite wrath, who yet I trust feele not the sharpenesse nor bitternesse of eternall damnation. If then Gods wrath in some sort be common to all the sufferings of men, iust and vniust, in this life and the next, what sequence hath your supposall, that because Christ felt Gods wrath in some measure, he therefore felt the very sharpnesse of hell paines?

[a] Defenc. pag. 89. li 20. [a] *If you say the extreamest paines of punishment can not be where sinne is not, that is true: neither indeed can the least paines be where there is no sinne.*] You be likely to vnderstand weighty matters, that so much mistake ordinary points of speech. That Christs sufferings must be void of all sinne, inferreth not only the integritie of his nature, and puritie of his actions, but the sincerity of his affections; which could not be distempered in him by any excesse of feare or sorow, but as in minde he did apprehend the trueth and not erre, by doubting of Gods fauour towards him; so in feare and sorow admitted by him, there could be no want of grace, no fainting of Faith, no decrease of hope, but he must conceaue and discerne both Gods counsels and deeds rightly, without mistaking either the purpose of the punisher, or the measure of the paine in the purgation of our sinnes. For he can not lie, who gaue this Testimonie, that [y] *Iesus knew all things that should come vnto him*, and that [z] *the Father gaue all things into his hands* before his Passion, which prooueth as well his voluntarie submission, as his full power to moderate all his owne sufferings, which he could stay, but would tast for the preseruing of his Fathers Iustice.

[y] Iohn. 18.
[z] Iohn 13.

[b] Defenc. pag. 89. li 35. [b] *You graunt his body suffered truely punishments for sinne. Therefore his Soule might suffer also euen those of the extreamest degree.*] If you ment to deale plainly, you would distinguish the nature of the punishment, the measure of the paine, and the purpose of the Inflictour; in all which Christ differed much from the damned. For, first you no way proone, that any kinde of paine mentioned in the Scriptures to be laid on the damned, was found in Christs Soule or Body. Secondly, the paines of the damned passe the Patience of all Men and Angels, and much more the weakenesse and frailtie of mortall flesh. Lastly, the purpose of God in laying the burden of our sinnes vpon his owne Sonne, was not to dishonor him, or to forsake him, or to execute vengeance on him prepared for the wicked, but to take recompence from him for all our sinnes in such sort, as better pleased the holinesse and Iustice of God, then if eternall damnation had beene inflicted on vs. So that I see no one point, wherein the damned agree with Christ by the verdict of the holy Scriptures: onely he felt sharpe and bitter paines for the Triall of his obedience and patience; and so doe all the Sonnes of God before, or when they depart this life, though I willingly graunt, that the sense of Christs paines in many respects were farre greeuouser, then any the Godly can feele with submission and deuotion to God.

The nature, measure, and purpose of Christs sufferings.

[c] Defenc. pag. 89. li 37. [c] *Your selfe also graunteth, that Christ both might and did suffer the extreamest paines that might be without his owne sinne.*] Then the more to blame you, that content not your selfe therewith, but runne to the Reprobate and to the damned to drawe Christs Soule within the compasse of their confusion and destruction. I neuer sought to diminish or eleuate Christs sufferings, so farre as the Scriptures gaue any witnesse thereof: but to auouch, as you doe, that he suffered the true paines of the damned, as I then saw no Scripture to warrant it, so I yet heare no reason to vphold it, besides your

your presumptuous will. Howbeit I restrained the sufferings of Christ to the state of this life, where he suffered; and excepted not onely all staines of sinne, and wants of grace, but added holinesse and righteousnesse to all his sufferings which must be voluntarie, religious, and meritorious, that they might be the more pretious in Gods sight; and this can agree to no sufferings of the Reprobate, or of the damned. You would faine torment and afflict the Soule of Christ with Gods immediare hand, but your proofe thereof is so weake and idle, and your inconstancie therein so plaine and sensible, that you doe but play with both hands to see, which will soonest deceaue the Reader. For sometimes it shall be Gods *owne and immediate hand*, and his most proper Act; sometimes it shall be the displeasure of God against our sinnes conceaued and discerned by the Spirit of Christ that bred such torment and affliction of Soule; and which of these two you will rather incline to, you cannot yet resolue.

[c] *It was possible for Christ to conceaue and feele in his mind farre greater sorrowes and paines for our sinne from Gods wrath, then he could feele meerely in his Body outwardly.* It euer hath been the last refuge of all heresie to flie from the truth testified in the Scriptures to the power of God, or possibilitie. Tertullian being so answered by Praxeas replieth in this sort. [d] *Plainly nothing is hard to God; but if we vse this sentence so abruptly in our owne presumptions, we may faine any thing of God, as if he had done it, because he could doe it. But though God can doe all things, yet we must not beleeue that, which he neuer did, but we must examine, whether he hath done it.* That God tormenteth Soules in hell with his immediate hand, is a point stifly presumed by you, but as strange to the Scriptures, as the rest of your new found deuices: and why you should doubt of the literall sense of Christs words, *Depart you cursed into euerlasting fire, prepared for the deuell and his Angels*, there is no cause, but that you doe not thinke, God is able to subiect sinnefull spirits to externall meanes of punishment. And therefore you bring in Gods immediate hand as only meete to ouer-master Soules and diuels, and giue him no power to punish them by any Creature ordained for that purpose. Now whether it be Faith, or Infidelitie to elude all those places as figuratiue speeches, where euerlasting fire is threatned and mentioned in the Scriptures, I haue formerly said, what I thought sufficient, thither I remit such as be desirous to read. Likewise that God with his immediate hand tormented the Soule of Christ at the Time of his Passion with the same degree and kind of paine, which the damned feele; this is an other of your Positions, for which you haue as much Scripture, as you haue for the creating of another world.

[c] Defenc. pag. 90. li. 1.

[d] *Tertullianus aduersus Praxeam.*

What Christ discerned of Gods wrath to be laid on his person, I would gladly here you expresse, otherwise then in generall and doubtfull speeches, which vnder a shew of some truth couer a number of your erroneous conceits. For first it is certaine, that Christ conceaued truely as well of Gods Anger against our sinnes, as of Gods fauour towards his owne Person, which infinitely exceeded the displeasure, that Gods holinesse had against vs, that were sinfull Creatures. Himselfe saith: [e] *I know* (my Father) *and if I should say I know him not, I should be a liar like vnto you; but I know him.* The same Euangelist saith of Christs sufferings: *Iesus* [f] *knowing all things, that should come vpon him.* And this knowledge, if it swarued from the truth, was not an ignorance, but an error in Christ beleeuing a lie instead of Truth; which God forbid we should suppose of him, that not onely said, [g] *I tell you the Truth*, but [h] *I am the Truth.* Christ then most certainly knew, that God was highly offended with our sinnes, but better pleased with his Person; and that Gods loue towards him would accept his voluntarie submission and Sacrifice, as a sufficient recompence, and Satisfaction for the sinnes of the world. Againe, he certainly knew, that Gods displeasure against our sin, in loue would not, in Iustice could not extend to the dissolution, reiection, or destruction of his Person, but that God would temper the punishment of our sinnes in his Body, where he bare them; that neither his obedience, nor patience should be wearied, or ouerwhelmed. And to that ende the Scripture plainly testifieth, that *Iesus* [i] *knew, the Father had giuen all things into his hands*; and so whatsoeuer Christ suffered

[e] Iohn. 8.

[f] Iohn. 18.

[g] Iohn 8.

[h] Iohn. 14.

[i] Iohn. 13.

was

was a triall of his obedience, to which he most willingly submitted himselfe, that neither the burden of our sinnes might seeme a sport to him, nor his case common to him with the desperate and damned persons. Christ then neither did nor could apprehend or discerne any wrath of God kindled against his person, as the reprobate feare, and the damned find; neither any purpose in God to punish sinne farther than by the death of his bodie to purge it and abolish it; nor the measure of paine determined to be sharper then his humane patience could without repining or refusing endure. Wherefore though I willingly grant as much paine in Christes sufferings, as his patience could sustaine without declining or disobeying, yet see I no point, wherein the sufferings of Christ, either apprehended or inflicted, did concord with the paines of the damned. As for the terrour of Gods anger against sinne (which wrought in Christ submission, not confusion) and sorow for sinne conceiued, for that God was thereby iustly displeased; these and all such religious FEARES, *sorowes, & tremblings*, I easily yeeld to the soule of Christ, which were sacrifices in Gods sight of inestimable price, and very painfull, though very faithfull submissions and passions of the inward man. The farther proofe of these, I referre to the place where I shall speake of Christes agonie; and in the meane time assure the Christian Reader, that neither this Prater nor all his compartners shall euer be able by the sacred Scriptures to make any proofe of any farther or other sufferings then I haue specified.

The paines as well of Christes soule as of his bodie were equall to the strength of Christes patience.

Whether the paines of bodie or soule in Christ were greater or sharper, I take it to be a needlesse and fruitlesse question. The paines of Christes body were proportioned to the strength of his patience, and so were his feares and sorowes; and in either, the soule was the part that felt the smart, and discerned the cause. And if we balance these things by the consequents of nature, since the paines from the body doe in this life by their vehemency separate soule and body farre sooner and oftner then sorowes and feares of minde, (except in present and ouerwhelming euils, which coole, quench, and ouerthrow the spirits with more speed, though with lesse paines) then the sharpnesse of Christes bodily paines, hauing no release nor ease, but perfect sense and continuance, did pinch as neere, not as the paines of the damned, but as the passions or affections of Christes soule hauing faith and hope to support them, and comfort and ioy proposed to mitigate them. And euen in the damned, both men and diuels, whence you would seeme to fetch your president for Christes sufferings; whether thinke you are the sharper, the paines which they now feele, before the day of iudgement, or the violence of fire, which shall then exceed all the paines they now suffer? For both the diuels and the damned haue as much griefe of reiection, confusion, and desperation; and as mighty terrors and inward torments of minde, as they are capable of; and yet neither of them haue their sharpest punishments. Of the diuels the Scriptures say; [k] *They are reserued in euerlasting chaines vnder darkenesse vnto the iudgement of the great day.* And the spirits themselues could say to Christ; [l] *Art thou come to torment vs before the time?* Of the wicked Peter sayth; [m] *God knoweth* (how) *to reserue the vniust vnto the day of iudgement to be punished. And* [n] *thou* (sayth Paul to euery one of them) *according to thine hardnesse, and impenitent heart heapest vp wrath to thy selfe against the day of wrath, and reuelation of the iust iudgement of God.* By which it is plaine, that the terrors and torments of minde presently felt by the deuill and the damned, are farre lesse then the vengeance of externall and eternall fire reserued, and then augmented on all the reprobate, both men and angels.

[k] Iude epist. vers.6.
[l] Matth.8.
[m] 2.Pet 2.
[n] Rom.2.

[o] *The greatest* (paines) *are no more sinne, then the least. Therefore by your owne graunt Christ might and did feele and endure the greatest sorrowes of the minde and soule, as well as the lesser in the bodie.* | Paines, if they be onely paines and nothing els, are not sinne, and therefore the suffering of hell fire is no sinne; but the terriblest punishment of sinne that men or angels shall feele: yet terrours and torments of minde are increased by *doubt*, *feare*, or *despaire* of Gods goodnesse towards vs, which are sinnes in this life, where grace and mercie are proposed, and could not be in Christ without intolerable infidelitie, after so plaine and plentifull assurances of Gods loue and fauour towards

[o] Defenc.pag. 50. li.4.

wards him. Take therefore from Christ all doubt and distrust of Gods anger and displeasure towards his person, and then it is euident, that neither his apprehension of Gods wrath was the same that the damned and desperate feele, nor any way so sharpe, as if Christ had conceiued God to be displeased with him, or purposed to destroy him, as the wicked are perswaded of Gods indignation against themselues. Christes sufferings then were wrath to the sense and feeling of mans nature, but his faith in the sharpest of his paines beheld the setled and assured loue of God towards his person, and he not only called God his Father in all his afflictions, but out of his owne power he gaue the thiefe that confessed him on the crosse, the inheritance of Gods kingdome that present day together with himselfe. So that he was more then perswaded, or resolued of Gods fauour and faithfulnesse, who tooke vpon him in the midst of his sufferings to giue the kingdome of heauen to such as acknowledged and beleeued in him; though the chastisement of our sinnes in his body and soule were by Gods iustice and his owne consent very sharpe and bitter vnto him, that his loue to vs and obedience to his Father might appeare the more fully, not in peace, ease, and dalliance, but in sorrow, paine and grieuance: by which ardent and constant loue is tried, as golde in the fire. Whereby it appeareth, that all your talke of Gods wrath against Christ, equall with the damned or reprobate, hath no trueth nor sense in it, but is a meere and flat falsity and impiety: only the generall words, that Christ suffered Gods wrath and displeasure against our sinnes, may be tolerated, because the Scriptures vse to call the bitternesse of affliction in whom soeuer the wrath of God, by reason it riseth not simply out of Gods fauour and bountie, but is permixed with his Iustice, that the transitorie and tolerable smart of our sinnes may euen in this life, when we feele it and faint vnder it, commend vnto vs the wonderfull grace of God, that hath for Christs sake released vs of those euerlasting and vnspeakable Torments, which our sinnes iustly deserued, the Reprobate fully feare, and the damned by experience most dreadfully doe feele.

Christs Faith did not faile in the sharpest of his paines.

[p] *You bring a Reason against this, that God spiritually punisheth no man but for his owne vncleannesse which is a thing meerely vntrue.*] Out of two Pages in my Sermons against the death of Christs Soule you piked two words, where I call the death of the Soule spirituall punishment, and because, to auoyde tediousnesse, I repeat not in euery line the same words; you neglect, that purposely in that Section I entreate of the death of the Soule; that eighteene times in those two Pages I name the life and death of the Soule, that ouer right those very words, which you bring, I set this Note in the Margine, *the Death of Christs Soule could neither proceede from God, nor be acceptable vnto God*, as the summe of that which I intended to prooue in that place: that my Conclusion immediatly vrged vpon these words is this, [q] *Christ then might not suffer the inward or euerlasting death of the Soule:* All this I say you neglect, and ouer-skip many sound and sure reasons in those two sides against the death of Christs Soule, and carpe at two poore words, where I vse *spirituall punishment* for the death of the Soule. But take the words in their right sense for the death of the Soule, whereof I reason in that place, and then see what you, and all your Adherents can say against them. Eternall or spirituall death, which seuereth the Soule from all grace and glory, God layeth on none for an others fault; because God neuer reiecteth or condemneth any Man but vpon his owne desert. Punish one for another by affliction of Bodie or Mind he may, because he can restore and recompence, when he seeth his Time; though no Man (Christ Iesus excepted) can want sinne, whiles here he liueth, which God may iustly punish when, and in what respect he will.

p Defenc. pag. 90. li. 8.

q Serm. pag. 103. li. 1.

[r] *But I pray you shew me this mysterie how it is, that God cannot punish spiritually where there is no sinne inherent, but can and may corporally where there is none.*] Though there be no Children of Adam, in whom there was not sinne either naturally cleauing to them, or voluntarily committed by them, yet Infants after Baptisme, by which Originall sinne and corruption in them is pardoned, are said by better Diuines, then you or I, to haue no sinne, and to be often punished corporally for other mens faultes.

r Defenc. pag. 90. li. 13.

Saint

Saint Auſten aſſerteth both. [f] *Quis nouit, quid paruulis, de quorum cruciatibus duritia maiorum contunditur, aut exercetur fides, aut miſericordia probatur, Quis inquam nouit, quid ipſis paruulis in ſecreto iudiciorum ſuorum bona compenſationis reſeruat Deus? quoniam quanquam nihil rectè fecerint, tamen nec peccantes aliquid iſta perpeſſi ſunt. Who can tell, what good Recompence God reſerueth in the ſecrecie of his Iudgements for thoſe Infants, by whoſe paines* (or Torments) *the hardneſſe of their Parents or friends is repreſſed or their Faith exerciſed, or their pittie prooued? becauſe though the Children did no good Acts, yet neither ſuffered they thoſe things for any ſinne of theirs. Neither doth the Church in vaine recommend thoſe Infants to be honored as Martyrs, which were ſlaine by Herode, when he ſought to kill the Lord Ieſus Chriſt.* Zanchius ſayth the like. *Of* [t] *the puniſhments pertayning to this preſent life, by which we are viſited of the Lord, either in our outward goods or in our bodies, it is a cleere caſe that God verie often doth viſite the ſinnes of the Fathers vpon the children.* But in the death of the ſoule, which is the ſpirituall puniſhment that I ment, God himſelfe ſayth; [u] *The ſoule that ſinneth, euen that ſhall die; the ſonne ſhall not beare the iniquitie of the father, but the wickednesſe of the wicked ſhall be vpon himſelfe.* Saint Auſten maketh the difference, that I ſpake of. [x] *Neque enim hæc corporalis eſt pœna, qua legimus quoſdam contemptores Dei cum ſuis omnibus, qui eiuſdem impietatis participes non fuerant, pariter infectos. Tunc quidem ad terrorem viuentium mortalia corpora perimebantur, quandoque vtique moritura: ſpiritualis autem pœna animas obligat, de quibus dictum eſt, anima quæ peccauerit, ipſa morietur. This is no corporall puniſhment, in which we reade ſome deſpiſers of God haue beene wrapped with all theirs, that were not partakers of the ſame iniquitie: for then to the terror of the liuing mortall bodies were ſlaine, which at one time or an other muſt haue died. But a ſpiritual puniſhment bindeth ſoules of whom it is ſaid the ſoule that ſinneth, that ſoule ſhall die.* Neither ſhall you euer be able to ſhew, that one ſoule was ſlaine for an others fault (as mens bodies often haue beene) except they both did communicate in ſinne, which was the cauſe of their common deſtruction.

[f] *Auguſt. Epiſt. 28.*

[t] *Zanchius in tractationibus Theologicis de 2. præcepto. pa. 340.*

[u] *Ezech. 18.*

[x] *Auguſt. Epiſt. 75.*

[y] *All the reſt of your aſſertions, Pag. 101. 102. 103. 105. 266. 94. are of this ſuite.*] I like your wit, that you can make ſhort worke, and when you can not anſwer, to ſaie the things be of like ſute. But refell the reaſons brought in theſe pages againſt the death of the ſoule, and you will finde a warmer ſuite, then you are ware of. I need not repeate them, if it pleaſe the Reader to peruſe them, let him iudge in Gods name, whether it were weakeneſſe in you, or in them, that made you ouerſlip them.

[y] Defene pag. 90. li. 16.

[z] *By this one reaſon I weakened all yours, but you could paſſe that euer anſwearing vnto it not a word.*] By what authoritie muſt euerie trifle of yours be tediouſly diſcuſſed, when you leape ouer ſixe leaues at a iumpe, leaſt you ſhould entangle your ſelfe with more then you could well diſcharge? It was belike ſome worthie reaſon, that I durſt not ſo much as offer a word about it; let vs heare it in Gods name. [a] *If Chriſts body hanging on the croſſe, and held by death in the graue, was puniſhed by God, where yet hee found no ſinne, and which he ſtill intirely loued, and was neuer ſeparated from; then ſo he might and did puniſh properly Chriſtes ſoule alſo, and yet neuer deuide his Godhead, nor his loue from it. The one ſtandeth with Gods iuſtice, and with the nature of man in Chriſt, as well as the other.*] A wanton colt, when he winceth with his heeles, thinketh he can batter walles, and beate downe trees with a blow; when yet the skittiſh thing doth but hurt it ſelfe. Is this the reaſon which weakened all, that I ſaid in ſo manie ſides againſt the death of the ſoule? for of that I ſpeake in all thoſe pages, which you quote. Neede you a paire of ſpectacles ſo ſee the difference betweene the death of the ſoule, and the death of the bodie, that you ſo falſely, idlely, and fooliſhly match them together? A verie drone would ſoone diſcerne, that the death of the bodie innocently, obediently, and patiently ſuffered could no way ſeparate Chriſt from the fauour and loue of God, nor hinder the worke of our redemption, though it depriued him of life, ſenſe, and motion in the bodie for the time, which are the good bleſsings of God, when they are vſed to his glorie; and yet the death of the ſoule, (which leaueth neither action, affection, nor communion of grace, trueth, or faith in the ſoule) ſeuereth

[z] Defene. pag. 90. li. 17.

[a] Ibid. li. 18.

ſeuereth both Soule and body quite from God, and maketh them hatefull vnto God, and altogether vnapt to reconcile others vnto God, when they themſelues are diſioyned and parted from God. And therefore notwithſtanding your Crakes, that you can blow mountaines afore you with your breath; and your craft, that ſhift the death of the Soule, (whereof I ſpeake in all thoſe places) into a *proper ſpirituall puniſhment* of your owne framing; you haue not auoyded any one Reaſon there, nor offer ſo much as to come toward the matter in queſtion, but roue after your wonted manner with generall phraſes proper to your ſelfe, and then thinke that no man ſeeth you. [there are other puniſhments in the Soule beſides death.] but none, that can reconcile vs vnto God. For [b] *We were reconciled to God by the death of his Sonne.* [c] I *declare vnto you* (ſaith Paul) *the Goſpell, which I preached vnto you, and whereby you are ſaued. For firſt of all I deliuered vnto you, that Chriſt died for our ſinnes according to the Scriptures.* Then you and whoſoeuer elſe, that preach or beleeue Remiſsion of ſinnes by any thing elſe, but by the death of Chriſt, you preach not the Goſpell, which the Apoſtle deliuered, neither can you looke for ſaluation in Chriſt, that leaue the maine ground thereof, which is the death, that he taſted for all, and through which he deſtroyed him, that had the power of death, euen the diuell. So that to ſtep to any other ſpirituall puniſhments for the ſatisfaction of our ſinnes and reconciliation to God, then to that which the Scriptures call the death of Chriſt and the death of the Croſſe, is to renounce all, that God hath ordained or reuealed for our Saluation, and to create you new Sauiours after your owne conceits. You muſt therefore be directly and plainly brought to this point, whether Chriſt ſuffered for vs the death of the Soule by the Scriptures, and not ſuch giggets of proper puniſhments, nor ſtraines of improper ſpeeches, as you and your friends hunt after; but fairely and fully according to the direction of the ſacred Scriptures, which muſt be heard, and preferred before all your fanſies, as well touching the death of the ſoule, as the trueth of our redemption by the bloud of Chriſt Ieſus. Wherein though I exclude not the ſenſe and affections of his ſoule, which felt the paine, knew the cauſe, and beheld the counſell of God in all thoſe ſufferings vndertaken for man, through the tender loue that he bare to man, yet none of thoſe feares, ſorrowes, nor paines, which the ſoule diſcerned and receiued, did any whit diminiſh the power of Gods ſpirit and grace in him, nor the perfection of his faith, hope, and loue, whereby the ſoule cleaued faſt to God without any ſeparation; and conſequently the innocence, obedience, and patience of Chriſtes ſoule in his ſufferings both outward and inward, did confirme and manifeſt the life of his ſoule. But of this more in due place.

[b] Rom 5.
[c] 1. Cor. 15.

[d] *Then you addreſſe your ſelfe againſt another, euen one of the chiefeſt reaſons of mine, which I make from the ſtrange and incomparable agonies of Chriſt in the time of his paſſion.*] You make no reaſons from Chriſtes agonie; but aſſuming that for a ſhew, which you do not vnderſtand, you inferre what you liſt, by your raſh, preſumptuous and manifeſt contradictions both to your ſelfe and to the Scriptures. [[e] *Theſe inuaded him, as we reade, principally at three times; Firſt, in the foretaſte of his paſſion, Ioh. 12. ſecondly, in the Garden a little before his apprehenſion. thirdly, in his very extreame paſſion it ſelfe on the croſſe.*] The Scripture mentioneth one agonie, and you multiplie that to three. In the twelfth of Iohn when ſome of the Grecians that came to worſhip on the feaſt of Eaſter, were deſirous to ſee Chriſt (of whom they had heard much) and made their deſire knowen to Philip, and he to Andrew, and *they both to Ieſus*, Ieſus anſwered them, *The houre was come* (euen at hand) *that the Sonne of man ſhould be glorified*; by his death. This therefore was not a time to ſhew himſelfe, when his (heart or) ſoule was troubled with other matters, euen with the meditation and preparation of his death. Now except you be ſo wiſe, that you will make euery affection in Chriſt an agonie, there is no cauſe to conceiue this to be an agonie. He often times thought and ſpake of his death before, where no man beſides you doth dreame of agonies; and this verie word is in other caſes aſcribed aſwell to Chriſt, as to others, where no colour of an agonie doth appeare. When he tolde his Diſciples, that one of them ſhould betray

[d] Defenc. pag. 90. li. 27.
[e] Ibid. li. 30.
[f] Iohn 12.

s Iohn 13. him, s ἐτάραξεν τῷ πνεύματι, *he was troubled in ſpirit*; and meaning to raiſe Lazarus from death, when he ſaw Mary the ſiſter of Lazarus, and the Iewes that were with her,

t Iohn 11. to weepe; t *he groned in ſpirit*, and *troubled himſelfe*, inſomuch that *he wept*, which yet was no agonie, but a touch of humane compaſsion, ſhewing the loue he bare vnto them. The complaint on the croſſe, beſides the words, had no ſhew of an agonie; and what ſenſe they beare, we ſhall after examine. Verily, he that would not ſuffer his owne Diſciples to beholde his agonie in the Garden, would neuer in the eyes or eares of his enemies with his owne deeds or words verifie their reproches and taunts againſt himſelfe, as if he were forſaken of God, which was the thing they vpbraided him with. And therfore you may deuiſe not three, but threeſcore agonies, if you will: The Scripture expreſſeth one, and that you neither rightly conceiue, nor rightly vſe.

r Defenc. pag. 90. li. 35. r *To all (that duely conſider) it appeareth ſo cleere as the Sunne at noone day, that the paynes of his paſſion, which plainly now he felt and feared (becauſe he knew he was to feele them further vnto death) were the proper and direct cauſe of thoſe agonies. But we aſſume, that ſuch ſtrange and lamentable things and behauiour in Chriſt were not the effects onelie and meerely of his bodilie paines and death. Therefore Chriſt felt and endured more then his meere bodilie paines and death, by the teſtimonie of the Scriptures, which thinge you denie.*] Your cleare Sun is the darke cloud of your owne imaginations; your proper & direct cauſes are the light and falſe coniectures of your owne braine; your concluſion is a childiſh digreſsion not onely from the thinges queſtioned by me, but from the verie matters propoſed by you: onlie in the vpſhot you hold your wonted courſe, to ſtrengthen your cauſe with a lie, when trewth will not ſtand you in ſteed. To beginne where you end: you are not ignorant, that I defend no ſuch thing as meere bodily paines, your ſelfe haue directly confeſſed the contrarie, as I haue formerly ſhewed. I ſay indeed, Chriſt ſuffered no death. but only the death of the body; that you turne to a manifeſt vntrewth, and ſay, *I denie that Chriſt felt any more, then meere bodilie paines.* To what purpoſe then is your concluſion, *that Chriſt endured more then bodily paines?* What gaine you by that, ſo long as Chriſt ſuffered none other death, but the death of the body? Chriſtes *feare and ſorrow*, which the Scriptures expreſſe in the Garden, were more then meere bodily paines, and thoſe though he felt, you ſhall neuer thence conclude, that he felt the paines of hell or of the damned.

t Defenc. pag. 91. t *Your aſſumption, as* you ſay, *I graunt and acknowledge*; (and ſo your labour is the leſſe) *but the propoſition I gaineſay in my whole diſcourſe, denying that the paines of Chriſtes paſſion, or the naturall feare of them was the proper and direct cauſe of thoſe agonies, or that the Scriptures implie ſo much.*] If you looke well to my wordes, they containe two things; firſt, that *the* u *right cauſe of Chriſtes agonie* in the Garden *is not* u *determinately and* x *certainely reuealed in the Scriptures*; ſecondly, that the ſuffering of hell paines at that preſent was the *leaſt probable cauſe thereof, if not altogether intolerable*. let vs now ſee how you impugne either of theſe. y [*this your aſſertion I ſimply deny: and then my propoſition ſtandeth firme, that his paines inflicted on him by way of proper puniſhment and vengeance for ſinne were the proper and maine cauſe thereof.*] This is the cleerenes of your Sun-ſhining at noone day: *you deny my aſſertion, and then your propoſition ſtandeth firme*, ergo the Scriptures doe certainly ſpecifie the proper and direct cauſes of Chriſtes agonie, and thoſe were the paines of the Damned, which you call the proper vengeance for ſinne. Then if you liſt to denie any thing, the contrary is preſently prooued, and concluded by you *as cleere as the Sunne at noone day*. ſuch proofes and concluſions, which are nothing but ſtrange and violent Imaginations, your booke is full of, and theſe twentie leaues and more, which here you ſpend in examining Chriſts agonie, haue nothing els in them but ſuch meere falſhoods and confuſions. Before we ſpeake of the firmeneſſe of your propoſition, I would gladly know which of theſe three propoſitions, which here you haue varied to ſhew the ſettlednes of your conceits, is that, which you offer to be examined. In the firſt you ſay, q *the paines of Chriſts paſſion, which plainly now he felt, and feared to feele further vnto death*: in the ſecond you ſay r *thoſe paines or the naturall feare of them*: in the third you ſay, s *his paines inflicted on him*

u Serm pag. 17. li. 13. x 14. & 15.

y Defenc. pag. 91. li. 22. 24. 27.

q Defenc. pag. 90. li. 27.
r Pa. 91. li. 7.
s Ibid. li. 26.

by

by way of proper punishment and vengeance for sinne, these were the proper and direct cause of those agonies. These and those, these or those, these alone and not those, are childish and foolish contrarieties with any wise man saue with you; and yet all these are *cleare and firme*, because you haue the witt to denie mine assertion.

Touching your proposition, that the Reader may conceiue, how you clutter things together to holde on your accustomed carriage, he must marke, that Christes agonie had many parts and circumstances; some inward, some outward, some affections, some actions, some apprehensions; and all these had their causes efficient and adiuuant, neere or remote, sole or concurrent according to their differences. The Scriptures expressly note in that agony, which Christ had and shewed in the Garden, the inward affections of *sorrow, feare, admiration, submission, contention* of mind in Christ. *My soule* (saith he) [t] περίλυπός ἐστι, *is on euery side sorowfull* (or compassed round with sorow) *euen vnto death.* And *he began*, sayth Matthew, λυπεῖσθαι καὶ ἀδημονεῖν, *to be full of sorow, and much grieued.* For so the Apostle vseth the word ἀδημονεῖν, what sense soeuer it beare with prophane writers, whereof we shall not need to dispute. [u] *I thought it necessary to send vnto you Epaphroditus my fellow souldier and your messenger, for he was very desirous of you all,* καὶ ἀδημονῶν, *and very pensiue* (or much grieued) *because you heard he was sicke.* S. Marke sayth, Christ in the Garden beganne [x] ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι καὶ ἀδημονεῖν, *to be afrayd, or astonied; and full of heauinesse or griefe.* θάμβος signifieth *feare and admiration*, which so fixeth the minde for the time, that a man neither speaketh nor vseth the vigor of his senses. As for submission of mind, Christes [y] *falling flat with his face* [z] *on the ground*, when he powred foorth his prayers to God, sufficiently sheweth as much inward humiliation of the soule in Gods presence, as this outward gesture of his bodie declared or required. His ardent zeale in prayer, and vehement contention of minde S. Luke noteth, when he sayth: *An* [a] *Angell appeared to him to strengthen him* (with a message from God, *Christ then* γενόμενος ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ ἐκτενέστερον προσήυχετο, *falling into an agonie, prayed more earnestly* (or feruently) *and his sweat was like drops of blond trickling downe to the ground.*

The parts of Christs agony.

[t] Matth. 26.

[u] Phil. 2. v. 26.

[x] Mar. 16. v. 33

[y] Matth. 26.

[z] Mark. 14.

[a] Luc. 22.

Of this agonie you haue often spoken, and here you spend no small time about it, but I scant beleeue you know what an agonie meaneth, much lesse what was the true cause of this agonie. Though an agonie be sometimes *abusiuely taken for feare*, yet properly it is affirmed [b] ὅτι τὸ εἰς ἀγῶνα μέλλοντος κρατύνειν, *of him that is readie to descend into any combate*, or conflict with another; as Orion a most ancient Grecian obserueth. Damascene confesseth, that φοβούμενοι ἀποτυγχάνειν τῆς πράξεως ἀγωνιῶμεν, standing in (doubt or) *feare to misse of that we vndertake, we are agonized.* Galene the chiefe of Physicians, and well skilled in the perturbations and commotions of the bodie, that come from the bloud or spirits, noteth of what affections an agonie is compounded; [c] *Feare*, sayth he, *doth presently driue the bloud and spirits inward towards their fountaine, and contracteth them together by cooling the vttermost parts of the bodie; and anger doth* (as suddenly) *heat them, diffund and send them foorth:* τὸ ἀγωνιᾶν ὀνομαζόμενον ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἐστὶ κεκραμένον συνθέτου, *and that which* (in Greeke) *is called an agonie, is compounded of them both, and hath inequall motions*, according to the predominant affection. Aristotle a great Philosopher in the knowledge of naturall things, not only sheweth, that there may be an agonie without feare, as when we attempt things honest and commendable, though difficult, [d] περὶ ὧν ἀγωνιῶσι μὲν φοβούμενοι, *for which men* (striue and) *are agonized without feare*; but also that sweating in an agonie commeth rather from indignation and zeale, than from feare. [e] *An agonie, sayth he, is not the passing of the* (naturall) *heat from the higher parts of the bodie vnto the lower, as in feare, but it is rather an increase of heat, as in anger and indignation. And he that is in an agonie, is not troubled with feare or colde, but with expectation of the euent.* Wherein Theophrastus not much behinde him, agreeth with him: [f] ἡ ἀγωνία ἡ μετάστασις θερμότητος, ἀλλ' αὔξησις, καθάπερ ὁ θυμός. *An agonie is not the remouing of the naturall heat, but the increasing thereof, as in anger. And heat doth drie the outmost parts of the bodie.*

What an agonie is.

[b] *Etymologicon ex Orione.*

[c] *Galenus de causis Symptomatum li. 2.*

[d] *Arist. Rhetoricorum li. 1. cap. 9.*

[e] *Idem Problemat. sect. 2. quæst. 26.*

[f] *Theophrastus de Sudoribus quæst. 12.*

I speake not this to bind Christes sweate in the Garden wholy to naturall causes,

but to shew that neither Diuinitie, Philosophy, nor Physicke doe permit that feare or sorow, which coole the blood, and quench the spirits, should be the cause of this bloudie sweate, but that rather as the Euangelist expresseth, it came from strength and contention of zeale, whiles Christ most feruently prayed for that, which he was very desirous, and in present expectation to obtaine. An Angell appeared *from heauen* [g] *ἐνισχύων αὐτὸν, strengthning him* (saith the Scripture) no question with a message from God. For Angels otherwise were not in this case to entermeddle. And then Christ [h] *entring into an Agonie*, (that is, into a vehement contention of mind to preuaile against that, which resisted or hindred him) *he prayed more feruently*. From this feruencie of zeale and contention of minde came that bloudie sweate, which the Euangelist mentioneth; which whether we make to be according to Nature, or aboue Nature, it could not proceede from feare or sorrow, as some men imagine. For feare doth driue the bloud inward and coole it, and so can not thinne it, and expell it by the outmost parts and pores of the Body. The Physitian that wrote the Booke *de vtilitate Respirationis* amongst Galens works, saith. [i] *Contingit Poros ex multo aut feruido spiritu vsq; adeo dilatari, vt etiam exeat sanguis per eos, fiatq; sudor sanguineus. It sometimes happeneth, that abundant or feruent spirits doe so dilate the pores of the bodie, that bloud passeth by them, and so the sweate may be bloudie.* If we leane not to the course of Nature for the cause of Christs bloudie sweate, then Hilaries Rule is very sound. [k] *It is no Infirmitie, which power did aboue the custome of Nature. No man then may dare impute Christs sweate to weakenesse, because it is against Nature to sweat bloud.* Beda followeth him in the [l] same words: Rupertus in larger. [m] *This is vnwonted, this is aboue nature, the flesh whole, the skinne not cut, for bloude to runne out of all the body, and to fall on the earth as it were sweate.* Lyra receaueth the same. According to the Iudgement of diuers [n] *this was supernaturally done, that bloud should come foorth in steede of sweate; that so Christ euen then might begin to shed his bloud for our saluation.* Then neither in Diuine nor humane learning is there any necessitie, that the feare of your hell paines should be the cause of this sweate, which *Augustine*, *Prosper* and *Bernard* ascribe vnto Christs wil and power for a mysticall signification, as I haue shewed in my [o] Sermons.

Thus see we by the words of the holy Ghost, that in the Garden Christs Soule was affected with feare, and afflicted with sorrow; his prayer prooueth his submission, and intention of minde, after comfort sent him from heauen by an Angell; and his bloudie sweate, if we attribute it to nature, must come from zeale; if we referre it to Christs power aboue Nature, might haue many causes to vs vnknowne in particular, though we can ghesse at the generall. Of all these circumstances, actions, and affections, there can no one direct cause be designed in speciall, except in large termes we will say, the worke of our Redemption was the cause of them all; but neither pains, nor suffrings can precisely be determined to be the proper ground of them all, since after comfort from heauen, he fell to most feruent prayer, and therein to his bloudie sweat: much lesse can you conclude, that hell paines were the right and true cause thereof. So that I haue more reason to reiect your maior proposition as apparently false, than you haue right to pronounce it firme, because you can denie mine assertion by flinging off all the Fathers, as vnworthy to haue their iudgements regarded, outfacing the Scriptures with phrases and figures to bring them to your bent. But in the kinds of paines which Christ suffered in the Garden, we doubt as much as in the causes of his agonie. You must therefore declare, what maner of paines you meane in your proposition, before we shall fully vnderstand you.

[p] *You meane it seemeth, that Christ suffered paines in his soule, by reason of the strength and zeale of his holy affections: and that those were the proper and maine causes of that his most wofull and miraculous agonie and complaint. Therefore not only extraordinarie paines inflicted vpon him by way of proper punishment, as my proposition intendeth.*] You seeke nothing but by confusion to couer and colour your absurd and false doctrines, and that maketh you huddle and heape things together without all distinction or exposition.

Christes

g Luc.22.43.

h vers.44.

i Li. de vtilitate Respirationis Galen. attribut. tom.7.

k Hilarius de Trinitate. li 10.

l Beda in Luc. cap.22.

m Rupertus de victoria verbi Dei.li.12.ca. 21.

n Lyra in Luc. ca.22.

o Serm. pag. 38.& 39.

p Defenc.pag. 91.li.16.

Chriſtes agonie in the Garden was before any paines inflicted on his bodie or ſoule, other than feare or ſorrow, which were painfull affections riſing from diuers occaſions and cauſes, as we ſhall afterward ſee. His complaint on the Croſſe was in the midſt and extreameſt of his paines now inherent, and afflicting both ſoule and body. You couple Chriſtes agonie in the Garden with his complaint on the Croſſe, and yoke them together as proceeding both from one direct and particular cauſe, which breedeth more doubt in my anſwer, that ſhould containe both in one, than trueth in your argument, that obiecteth both at once. That the Reader may therefore perceiue whereof we reaſon, and ſo the better obſerue the difference betwixt our aſſertions, let me admoniſh him, that as *euill* to mans *ſenſe* or *reaſon*, dependeth on time either *paſt*, *preſent*, or *to come*; ſo the impreſsion, that is thereby made in the ſoule of man is either *Sorrow*, *paine*, *or feare*. Not that theſe wordes are not ſometimes confounded, and their cauſes conioined, as ſorow and feare haue paine in them, that is a ſenſe of euill paſt or approching, as well in others as in our ſelues; and the continuance of paine may be feared, euen whiles the preſent greeuance is ſuffered; but that we can expreſſe no truth, nor admitt no ſpeach of theſe things yf we keepe not their names diſtinguiſhed, as their impreſsions and paſsions are. ſomtimes we make but two, as *timor and dolor*, *feare and griefe*; and then we compriſe the third, which is ſorrow for any good thing paſt, or loſt in us or others, vnder *griefe*; which is the offence of mind, that euill either preſent in ſenſe, or freſh in memory bringeth with it. SORROVV then I call the grieuous remembrance of our owne euils ſuffered, or of their euils paſt or approching, whom we loue. FEARE is the doubt & diſlike of future euill to our ſelues or others; as alſo the declining of imminent euill, and ſhrinking at the ſight thereof. Both theſe are painfull affections and impreſsions of euill, which according to their degrees and cauſes do often ſo farre oppreſſe and burden the ſoule in this life, that they ſpeedily part the ſoule from the bodie: and both conſiſt in the apprehenſion and eſtimation, that the ſoule maketh of euill foreſeene or ſuffered. for ſome men feare that, which others doe not, and ſome regard not that, which others exceedingly grieue at. and ſo feare and ſorrow require not onlie the cogitation and cognition, but the iudgement & cenſure of the ſoule; which PAINE doth not. For paine dependeth neither on the action, nor imagination of the ſoule, but is an *abſolute* ſenſe of *preſent and inherent euill*, that naturally offendeth the ſoule. for example, in the paines of the bodie, the ſoule naturally feeleth all offence riſing within the bodie, or violently offred vnto the bodie, though ſhe knewe not whence, or how that paine commeth. Therefore I make paine as it is diſtinct from *feare and ſorrow*, and riſeth from neither of them, to be a naturall and abſolute paſsion and ſenſe of euill preſent and inherent in ſoule or bodie. [q] *feare hath painfulneſſe*, ſaith Saint Iohn; *and ſorrow* not only [r] *ſwalloweth vp men, but* [ſ] *cauſeth death*, as Paule writeth, and experience teacheth; yea [t] *hope differred afflicteth the ſoule*, ſaieth Salomon. So that all our affections may haue griefe in them, loue and ioy not excepted, when they are diſappointed: and ſorrow & feare may be mitigated, but not ſeparated from griefe and diſlike; yet in neither of them is the euill preſent & inherent, nor the ſenſe and feeling thereof abſolute or meerely paſsiue, but according as the mind conceaueth and eſteemeth of the cauſes and obiects thereof, ſo the griefe of feare and ſorow increaſeth or decreaſeth.

Euill paſt, preſent, or to come, worketh ſorow, paine, and feare in the ſoule of man.

Sorrow.

Feare.

Paine.

[q] 1. Iohn 4.
[r] 2. Cor. 2.
[ſ] 2. Cor. 7.
[t] Prou. 13.

Now touching Chriſtes agonie in the Garden, the Scripture auoucheth, that feare and ſorrow poſſeſſed and grieued his mind, but that an abſolute or inherent paine was inflicted on Chriſtes ſoule by the immediat hand of god, either in the Garden, or on the Croſſe, this is a late and lewde deuice of yours, it hath no ground nor proofe in the Scriptures. And yf by paines you meane this abſolute kind of torment impreſſed on Chriſtes ſoule by Gods owne hand, as you would haue it; I vtterly denie that any ſuch paines preſently felt were parts or cauſes of Chriſts agonie in the Garden, and ſo your propoſition, that you fained to be firme, hath not one true word in it.

[u] *Let vs trie your proofes for it, and mine againſt it.*] you meane no ſuch matter as you pretend. For firſt you tooke hold of Chriſts feare and ſorrow, which were painefull affections;

[u] Defenc. pag. 91. li. 27.

affections; and when you haue thereby gotten the name of paine into Chriſtes agonie, you ſlide from his affections, were they neuer ſo painefull, and ſhuffle in your abſolute torments of Chriſtes ſoule from the immediat hand of god, vnder the name of proper *puniſhment and vengeance for ſinne*, to be the true cauſes of his agonie. yf you thinck I miſtake you, looke back to your iuſtified reaſon ſo lately iuſtled in, and to the fathers, which you brought to confirme the ſame, and ſee whether I wrong you or no. your aſſumption and illation there, were theſe. *Chriſt* [x] *ſuccoureth vs in the feeling of the terrors of god, and releaſeth vs of the ſorrowes vnmeaſureable that riſe thereof. therefore Chriſt himſelfe had experience of them.* Terrors are feares of thinges vnwoonted, which make vs tremble, and ſorrowes are expreſly named by you; both which were affections in Chriſt, as they are in vs. you cited out of Cyrill, that [y] *vnleſſe Chriſt had feared and ſorrowed* (at his paſsion,) *wee had not beene quit from feare and ſorrow*; and out of Ambroſe, that Chriſt [z] *in his agonie with the ſorrow of his ſoule* (did) *extinguiſh the ſorow of our ſoules.* As alſo, that he caried about him *our feares and our affections.* [a] *minus mihi contulerat, niſi meum ſuſcepiſſet affectum.* Chriſt *had done leſſe for me, if he had not admitted* MINE AFFECTIONS. Now when the affections of feare and ſorow are confeſſed in Chriſtes agonie, you reiect that as abſurd, and will heare of no paines, but of the torments of the damned from Gods immediat hand on the ſoule of Chriſt; which though you neither do nor can prooue, yet you hope with prating and wrangling to ſeeme to ſay ſomewhat.

[x] Defenc. pag. 88. li. 2.

[y] Ibid. li. 11.

[z] li. 38.

[a] Defenc. pag. 48. li. 17.

[b] *Before we come to proofs, we muſt know, that this your Reſolution, as you call it, is firſt moſt vaine; alſo directly contrary to your ſelfe; and then altogether vntrue, and preſumed by wide coniecture, as God willing I will preſently ſhew.*] Performe but one of theſe challenges to be true, and take all the reſt as granted, for your ſmall paines therein beſtowed: but your dreames are ſo violent, that when you ſticke in the mire, you thinke you flie in the aire. You will ſhew vs your owne erroneous and preſumptuous follie; and other ſhew of any matter worth the medling with, you do make none.

[b] Defenc. pag. 89. li. 28.

[c] *Firſt I heartily intreat the Chriſtian Reader to marke well and to conſider how your L. doth contriue three notable equiuocations in theſe few words; Chriſt ſuffered in his ſoule the wrath of God: which you ſeeme to grant, but in trueth you doe not. And if we adde alſo the paines of hel, then he oppoſeth a fourth fallacy againſt vs. And theſe three or foure are the only pillars of his doctrine.*] I make no pillars of my doctrine, but the manifeſt words of the Holy Ghoſt teaching vs by the Scriptures the price and maner of our redemption; which leſt any man ſhould thinke I diuert, and wreſt to my priuate or ſecret conceits, as you doe, I ſhew the ancient and true Church of Chriſt did ſo beleeue them and expound them before me. The pillars of your doctrine are phraſes, follies, and falſities, which if you did not hide with generall and ambiguous words, the conſiderate Reader without intreatie would ſoone marke your myſteries: but becauſe you are ſo kinde as heartily to pray the Reader to marke how you play the man, I deſire him likewiſe to obſerue, how ſhamefully you come ſhort of your great brags, and euen betray your cauſe to him that well conſidereth it.

[c] Defenc. pag. 91. li. 32.

[d] *For the three former, your firſt equiuocation is in the word, Suffered: and about it wee deale in this place.* [e] *Now your next equiuocation is in this, He ſuffered in ſoule. Your next, in Gods wrath. Both which I haue plainly ſhewed before. As alſo your fourth fallacie, which may be called Fallacia accidentis.*] To the three laſt notable equiuocations, as he calleth them, here is all that this Defenſor ſpeaketh in this place, where he would haue thee, Chriſtian Reader, ſo conſiderately to marke ſome maruellous matters. And thus ſhalt thou often be troubled with his vaine tatling, when thou moſt expecteſt either his proofs or his promiſes. He ſendeth thee backe to peruſe his former pages, where thou ſhalt finde as little to the purpoſe, as here thou doeſt, though words he wanted not to couer his conceits. If there be any thing in thoſe pages proued by him, which I haue not in the ſame places confuted, I am content to hazzard the perill of thy cenſure. Howbeit, I thinke thou mayeſt perceiue by my carriage, that I deſire to auoid and preuent all ambiguities, as much as in me lieth. I ſpeake as plainly as my ſimple abilitie

[d] Defenc. pag. 91. li. 37.

[e] Et pag. 92. li. 19.

abilitie will suffer me; I distinguish thinges as euidently, as either the matter permitteth, or the trewth requireth. And therefore he, that in all his defence hath yet vttered not one distinct and cleere sentence touching his cause, but clowded and cloaked with *proper and meere*, and such like shifts, and shadowes neuer expounded by himselfe, and knowen to no man, but himselfe, hath small reason, (though as much in this as in the rest) to say that fallacies are the Pillars of my doctrine. But if thou beleeue Pedlers praising their owne wares; then maiest thou credit this booke-maker craking of his cleere and Sunne-shine proofes, which he himselfe neither expresseth, nor vnderstandeth. The equiuocation of the word SVFFERING which in this place his mastership will deale withall, will giue thee a tast, what thou shalt looke for in the rest.

[f] *The common and ordinarie phrase vnderstandeth herein, Christes feeling of paines inflicted on him by way of* PROPER *punishment and satisfaction for sinne, which he vndertooke for vs. Onely this in the ordinarie and vsuall manner of speach is signified by Christes suffering, or his passion: and so we alwaies vnderstand by it.*] This is one of your enlightned and purified expositions, which is as faire and bright, as the darknes of Egypt. Doe men vsually & ordinarily describe Christs pasion to be nothing els, but the *feeling of paines inflicted on him by way of proper punishment?* who vseth these wordes by way of *proper punishment*, besides your selfe and your adherents, who vnder that colour would secretly conuey the paines of the damned into the soule of Christ? for what is the proper punishment of sinne? that which all sinners not Redeemed by Christ must endure, or that which all men being sinners doe endure, or that which none endured but Christ alone, because it was proper to the dignitie of his person, with that punishment, which god laied on him by the hands and mouthes of men, to satisfie the iustice of God for our sinnes, and vtterly to abolish the guilt and wages of our sinne? Proper may be either to the damned, whose sinnes are neuer pardoned; or proper to sinne in all mankinde, euer since the first man forsooke his Creator; or proper to Christes person, and not common to him with the damned. Which of all these senses do you containe in the word Proper? You spake euen now of equiuocations, and made a grieuous complaint to your Reader, that I meant to circumuent you with ambiguities; and what is this but to turne your Readers eyes aside on me, whiles you play your part with the maine worke of Christes pasion for mans Redemption? how often haue I chalenged in you this shifting with *proper and improper*, when and where pleased you? Christes sufferings in all mens speeches, saue yours, were farre larger than his pasion. He suffered affliction all the time of his life, yea the whole course of his life was a continuall suffering of reproches, disdaines, dispites: besides the naturall infirmities of our flesh, as hunger, cold, wearines, weeping and such like, which in his person were all sufferings, and yet no man calleth his life his pasion: his pasion we take to be the manner of his death, and so all his sufferings from the Garden to the graue, impосed on him by the *hands, mouthes, or harts of* men betraying, forsaking, or pursuing him, were parts of his pasion. The false accusing and vniust condemning him, the mocking, reproching, and reuiling him to be wicked and forsaken of God, were parts of his pasion, and yet these were no inherent nor sensible paines, of which you would seeme to speake, when you exclude his affections of feare and griefe of minde, as no parts of his pasion.

[f] Defenc. pag. 92. li. 1.

[g] *You cunningly take another rare sense of this word, as it signifieth the affections of the mind in Christ wholy bent to holines, and obedience of god.*] you are a learned Squire, that doe not vnderstand, the soule suffereth as well by her affections, as by her senses; and that in Christ the harts and tongues of the Iewes concurred to his pasion, as well as their hands. The affections and perturbations of the soule are vsually and properly called by the Greeke fathers πάθη, and by the Latine, *passiones, passions* or sufferings of the minde. The Apostles applie the word παθήματα, SVFFERINGS, both in Christ and in vs, as euenly, and as often to feare, sorowes, rebukes, reproches, losses, and such like griefs of minde, as to stripes and other violences profered to the body.

[g] Defenc. pag. 91. li. 6.

Manifest

[b] Heb.10.v.32 Manifeſt proofes thereof are euery where occurrent in the Scriptures. [b] *Remember the former dayes* (ſayth the Apoſtle to the Hebrewes) *wherein you ſuſtained* πολλὴν ἄθλησιν παθημάτων, *a great conflict of ſufferings; partly whiles ye were made a ſpectacle with reproches and troubles, partly whiles you did communicate with them that were ſo vſed.* καὶ γὰρ τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου συνεπαθήσατε, *for you had a ioynt feeling of my bands, and receiued with ioy the ſpoiling of your goods.* Yet had they [i] *not as yet reſiſted vnto bloud by ſtriuing againſt ſinne.* So Peter: [k] *Wherein you communicate* τοῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθήμασι, *with the ſufferings of Chriſt, reioyce, that in the reuelation of his glorie you may be glad and ioyfull. If you be reproched for the name of Chriſt, bleſſed are you, and the ſpirit of glorie reſteth on you.* And againe: [l] *This is thanks with God, if a man for conſcience to God endure ſorrowes,* πάσχων, *ſuffering vniuſtly.* Pauls afflictions, which he calleth his infirmities, (euen as he ſayth: [m] *Chriſt was crucified through infirmitie*) are reckened in many places by himſelfe, amongſt which are [n] *Reproch, infamy, want, ſorow, feare of* [o] *danger,* [p] *care, affection and* [q] *zeale* for others [r] *weakened* or [s] *offended*; whereby it may be ſeene, what was meant by the words of Chriſt touching Pauls ſufferings, [t] *I will ſhew him how many* (or how great) *things he ſhall ſuffer for my name*; and by his owne, I reioyce [u] ἐν τοῖς παθήμασί μου, *in my ſufferings for you.* Yea not only feare and ſorow of minde, which are the painfull affections of our nature, but euen corporall affections, though naturall, were ſufferings in Chriſt. Damaſcene writing of the naturall and innocent, yet painfull paſſions and ſufferings, which Chriſt tooke vnto him, ſayth: [x] φυσικὰ δὲ καὶ ἀναμάρτητα πάθη εἰσὶ, *naturall and innocent paſſions* (or ſufferings) *are thoſe whatſoeuer, which entred into mans life by the condemnation of the firſt tranſgreſſion; as hunger, thirſt, wearineſſe, labour, weeping, vexation, declination of death, feare, agonie, and ſuch like, which are naturally in all men. Theſe all Chriſt tooke vnto him, that he might ſanctifie all.*

[i] Hebr. 12.

[k] 1.Pet. 4.

[l] 1.Pet.2.

[m] 2.Cor 13.

[n] 2.Cor.6.

[o] & 11.

[p] Acts 9.

[q] Coloſſ.1.

[x] Damaſcen. orthodoxæ fidei.li.3.ca.20.

And how can it be otherwiſe, ſince the ſoule feeleth paine and griefe, as well by her vnderſtanding and will, as by her ſenſes, and that in other mens dangers and troubles, where loue and pittie preuaile with vs, no leſſe then in our owne. [y] *what is feare and ſorrow* (ſayth Auſten) *but the will diſſenting from thoſe things which diſpleaſe vs? and generally according to the varietie of things which are deſired or ſhunned, as the will is pleaſed or offended, ſo is it changed and turned into theſe or thoſe affections.* Then as nature teacheth vs to feare our owne dangers foreſeene by ſenſe or vnderſtanding, and to ſorrow for our preſent miſeries or loſſes; ſo loue teacheth vs to do the like in other mens harmes either preſent or approching, whoſe perſons the more we embrace, their perils and ouerthrowes the more we lament. Now he *that is* [z] *affected, ſuffereth,* ſayth Auſten. Neither are the violences offered to the bodie called paines, but becauſe the ſoule by nature diſliketh them, howſoeuer by faith ſhe may be content to endure them for Gods cauſe; and ſo the impreſſions of feare and ſorrow, in that they are painfull, they are ſufferings of the ſoule, though charitie perſwade them in other mens troubles, or neceſsitie impoſe them in our owne caſes, or pietie raiſe them in reſpect of God. [a] *A broken heart and contrite ſpirit*, is it not a ſuffering, becauſe it is *a ſacrifice vnto God?* [b] *Worke your ſaluation,* ſayth the Apoſtle, *with feare and trembling.* Are theſe no ſufferings, becauſe they tend to ſaluation? [c] *Bleſſed are you when men reproch you and purſue you, and ſpeake all euill againſt you falſly for my ſake. Reioice and be glad, for great is your reward in heauen; ſo purſued they the Prophets before you.* This is a great bleſſednes, and yet a great ſuffering of minde, to be reuiled and ſlandered; and therefore holineſſe in Chriſt, as in the Saints, did not exclude, but rather commend and aduance Chriſtes ſufferings.

[y] *De ciuitate Dei. li.14.ca.6.*

[z] *De ciuitate Dei. li.12. ca.16.*

[a] Pſal. 51.

[b] Philip.2.

[c] Matth.5.

[d] Defenc.pag. 92.li.12. [e] Matth.11. *All Chriſtes ſufferings were righteous and holy.* [d] *Speake plainly I beſeech you, and deceiue vs not. Call not this his ſoules ſuffering, but his ſoules holines and righteouſnes.*] I call that SVFFERING in Chriſt, which was painefull and grieuous vnto him; though withall it were righteous and holy. [e] *Bleſſed are they that ſuffer perſecution for Righteouſnes.* Shall it be no perſecution, or no ſuffering, by reaſon the cauſe is righteous and holy, for which the godly do ſuffer, and their patience and ſubmiſsion to god in their troubles are dueties of holines? all ſufferings in Chriſt were moſt righteous and holy, for in them he ſhewed not only voluntarie patience

ence, and obedience, but innocence alſo. Doth this make his ſtripes, woundes, or death to be no ſufferings becauſe he [b] *Suffered the iuſt for the vniuſt?* Deceaue not your ſelfe, and I ſee no man els, that goeth about to beguile you. I ſpeake not of thoſe workes of piety and charitie, which Chriſt performed to God and man with ioy and delight; I ſpeake of thoſe infirmities, temptations, and affections, which were grieuous and painfull vnto him, though the ſuffering and enduring thereof were moſt religious and righteous in him. And you, that ſeuer his holineſſe and righteouſneſſe from his ſufferings, as if he were defiled and accurſed with them, lewdlie abuſe both the word of God, and faith of Chriſt, which containe no ſuch thing.

[b] 1. Pet 3.

[c] *Chriſtes exact and perfect keeping of Gods iuſt law, and his ſufferings, are two parts of Chriſtes mediation greatly differing, and ought not both in trueth be called his paſſion or ſatisfaction for ſinne.*] His paſsion I call the things ſuffered at or about the time of his death; becauſe not the inſtant of breathing out his ſoule, but the whole order and maner of comming to his death after his laſt ſupper, is by the Scriptures incloſed in the name of his death, and by all ſober and aduiſed writers called his Paſsion or ſuffering of death. His whole life beſides was full of ſufferings, and euen thoſe naturall infirmities of hunger, thirſt, wearineſſe, and ſuch like, were voluntarie ſufferings in him, becauſe he had power enough in himſelfe to repreſſe or exclude thoſe puniſhments inflicted for ſinne on our nature; and conſequently the infirmities and affections of minde, that were grieuous, were likewiſe voluntarie ſufferings in him, and pertained to the humilitie and obedience, to which he ſubmitted himſelfe for the fuller ſatisfaction of our ſinnes, as well by his life as death. That our whole life is a ſuffering for our ſinne in Adam, S. Auſten exactly noteth: [d] *Non enim in illum non eſt vindicatum; aut frustra dixerat Deus, morte morieris: aut aliquid patimur in iſta vita, niſi ex illa morte, quam meruimus primo peccato. Neither did God not reuenge Adam, nor ſayd in vaine: Thou ſhalt die the death; neither do we ſuffer any thing in this life, but from that death which we deſerued by the firſt ſinne.* And making an example of hunger, ſayth; [e] *Iſta fames, naturalis quidam morbus eſt, quia natura nobis facta eſt pœna ex vindicta. Primo hominis quod erat pœna, natura nobis eſt. This hunger* (of the bodie) *is a diſeaſe of nature, becauſe the puniſhment inflicted* (on Adam) *to reuenge* (his ſin) *is our nature. That which was puniſhment to the firſt man, is become nature to vs.* Chriſt then in partaking our nature, did partake with our puniſhment, and his ſubmitting himſelfe to that, what was it but a continuall ſuffering of our puniſhment, by feeling our naturall infirmities both of ſoule and bodie, though ſtill without ſinne, and all naturall neceſsitie, as in vs; that his obedience might be the more euident and acceptable vnto God. So that it is no equiuocation in me, to call feare and ſorrow of minde in Chriſt, ſufferings for ſinne, notwithſtanding they were innocent and obedient in him, and ſo parts of his humane holineſſe and righteouſneſſe directly tending to ſatisfaction for our ſinfull diſobedience. The full price and payment whereof was death, the cloſe of mans life, which as it was the laſt, ſo was it the greateſt and weightieſt part of his obedience, and recompence to Gods Iuſtice for our ſinnes: but it is an idle vagation in you, when you can neither refute nor reſiſt the trueth, to make an appeale againſt ambiguities, when you your ſelfe can neither proue, nor dare plainly expreſſe, that you intend.

[c] Defenc. pag. 92. li. 10.

[d] *Auguſt. in Pſal. 37.*

[e] *Auguſt. ibid.*

[f] *Sir I hope you will not thinke to beat downe all afore you with nothing but cunning, yet vaine deceit, countenanced out with cruell and hatefull words.*] You lacke an Oſtler to bring you to bed, you haue trauelled ſore, as a man may ſee by your foming at mouth. If I ſay any thing, that I doe not particularize and prooue to be the receiued and publike doctrine of Chriſtes Church agreeing with the Scriptures for many hundred yeeres, before your deuice of hell paines in Chriſtes ſoule was heard of amongſt Chriſtians, let me loſe in Gods name both my labour and my credit with the Reader: but if you, that ſtand iangling about *proper puniſhment* and *meere vengeance for ſinne*, and will not one word further, crie out in your paſsions, as ſicke men do in their dreames, that you are ouerborne with cunning and countenance, they are not all wiſe men, that haue parts in playes, nor all true men, that talke of loſing by the high wayes.

[f] Defenc. pag. 92. li. 21.

[g] *Further*

[g] Defenc. pag. 92. li. 24. [g] *Further you are in this your Reſolution directly contrary to your ſelfe, as before I haue briefly yet ſufficiently ſhewed.*] So ſaith he, that neither agreeth with the trewth, nor with himſelfe. Ignorance in you is no præiudice to me, much leſſe malitious follie, that pronounce before you vnderſtand; and take nothing right, though it be neuer ſo plainly deliuered. In the place where you chalenged my contrarietie, I put in a full diſcharge thereof, and here you repeat the very ſame, though you would ſeeme freſhly to find out ſome ſolemne matter.

[h] Defenc. pag. 92. li. 26. [h] *Againe you cenſure your ſelfe verie ſharply, for your reſoluteneſſe in this cauſe* (where you ſay) *It is curioſitie to examine, preſumption to determine, impoſſibilitie to conclude certainly, what was the true cauſe thereof.*] To affirme euerie thing and confirme nothing, is growen now ſuch a trade with you, that you haue neither care, nor conſcience what you ſay. Could you *certainly conclude*, what was the true cauſe of Chriſts agonie, you were free from this cenſure; but in that you bring nothing beſides your owne conceits no way grounded or ſupported by any euidence of the ſacred Scriptures, my ſpeech is verified in you, that ſince it is impoſsible out of the Scriptures to *conclude any certaine* (that is particuler and præciſe) cauſe of this agonie, which hath ſo many parts and ſecrets not reuealed vnto vs; it is preſumption in you to determine, that the preſent ſuffering of hell paines from the immediate hand of god, was the cauſe thereof; and to call it in queſtion, argueth itching curioſitie to ſearch for that, which is concealed from vs. Why then doe I conclude [i] reſolutely, *that the cauſe of Chriſtes agonie could not proceed, but from his ſubmiſſion to God, or compaſſion to men or both?* | Doe I conclude any CERTAINE or preciſe cauſe in particuler, that make ſo manie *diuerſities* of generall cauſes, *that might be*, as *ſubmiſſion to God*, or *compaſſion on men, or both?* They ſay bruite beaſtes doe bewray themſelues to want all reaſon, by want of numbering. Take heede leaſt if you ſee no diſtance betwixt THREE generall heads or occaſions of Chriſtes feares and ſorrowes, and ONE certaine and preciſe cauſe thereof, men thincke there lieth ſomewhat els in you vnder a mans skinne. For what els ſhould I ſay to the groſſenes of his conceits, that hath not learned to vnderſtand the difference betwixt *three* generall diſiunctiues, and one ſpeciall and *certaine* affirmatiue? My reſolutenes if your Braines were not buzzed with more pride then skill, is againſt your paines of the damned to be ſuffered in the Soule of Chriſt, ſince neither damnation nor confuſion could take hold of him; but they that will not willfully blind themſelues, as you doe, with your preſumptuous fanſies, muſt beleeue, that pietie to god, and charitie to men, or both led Chriſt to theſe feares and ſorowes, which the Scriptures mention in his agonie; though wee cannot preciſely pronounce, what particular reſpects mooued eche affection in him.

The preciſe and particular cauſe of Chriſtes agonie is not reuealed, though the generall occaſions may be coniectured.

[i] Defenc. pag. 91. li 12.

[k] Defenc. pag. 92. li. 29. [k] *Thirdly where you make but two cauſes, ſubmiſſion to God, and compaſſion to men, els where but one, religious feare; but before you verie preciſely made ſix: if you agree no better with your ſelfe, I haue ſmall hope you will agree with vs.*] To looke for learning, wiſdome, or ſobrietie from him that hath none, is to looke in vaine. Some would ſeeme rich by often looking on that little, which is left, when all is ſpent: and you would ſeeme learned by often telling vs one tale, though it containe nothing but lies and toies. That I make but one cauſe, to witte *Religious feare*, in the 23 Page of my Sermons, looke there who liſt, he ſhall find you a fabler. In the fift cauſe that might be of Chriſts agonie, which was the deprecation of Gods wrath, I yeelded to ſome mens ſpeeches ſo farre, (for quietnes ſake,) that it might be ſaid, Chriſt [l] *feared*, that is, [l] *ſhunned* euerlaſting death: and that the ſight of gods wrath [m] *tempered and made ready for the ſinnes of men*, which the Scripture calleth a cupp, [n] *might for a time ſomewhat aſtoniſh the humane nature of Chriſt*; yet ſo, that the ſight of our ſinnes, and the wages thereof [o] *impreſſed nothing* (that is no feare) *in the ſoule of Chriſt, but a religious feare to ſorow for the one, and pray againſt the other.* Here are expreſly named *religious feare*, *ſorow and* (zealous) *praier*; occaſioned by the ſight of the cuppe of Gods wrath prepared for our ſinnes. How then doth this exclude the reſt of the cauſes, which are there precedent or conſequent? or how come you to caſt away Chriſtes *ſorow* for ſinne, and praier

[l] Serm. pag. 22 li. 25.
[m] Serm. pag. 21. li. 19.
[n] Pa. 22. li 35.
[o] Pa. 23. li. 2.

praier against the desert of our euill deedes, (whereof the first rose from the submissi-on, that Christ made vnto Gods wrath prouoked, and the second from the compassi-on, that Christ had towards men endangered) and to leaue but one, where I name three? Are you so well skilled in the Scriptures, that you doe not know, a Religious feare of God compriseth the whole seruice of God; and therefore might much more containe the holines of Christs affections, when he submitted himselfe to the will and hand of God for our sakes? What rudenes then, or rashnes, or both is this, when I note diuers partes or effects of one thing, or vse diuers words to describe one and the same matter, for you to quote out contrarieties by Arithmetick, because the wordes be different, and neuer to weigh the sense in which they accord?

So trifle you with the two generall causes, as if they could not containe the six speciall that, I say, might be of Christs agonie, when yet those six are but remembrances of some respects, that Christ might haue in his feare and sorow; and those two comprehend all six as parts, or consequents of Christs submission to God and compassion on men. Neither doe I pretend or professe, that euery of these six was the whole and entire cause of his agony; (It is your dottage so to dreame, and no piece of my mind.) These six, and many moe reasons and occasions Christe might haue at that time to feare and sorow, wherin I doe not determine, which was the full and true cause of that agonie; but how many respects might lead him to feare and sorrow at that present, which I doe not conclude as certaine, but propose as possible, and farre more probable, then your reall paines of the damned supposed at that instant actually to torment the soule of Christ. Leaue therefore your *one, two, and six*, to Tilers to tell their pinnes, or Wittalls to number their Geese; and shew that either I determine any precise or particuler cause of Christs agonie, thereby to deserue mine owne censure, as you doe; or that those six, which I mention, may not be referred to those two generalls, which I note, that so at least you may make me disagree with my selfe.

[p] *Last of all this your resolution, making Christs piety and pitie to be the onely proper and maine cause of all his wofull passion, is vtterly false and vntrew, hauing no ground but meere conjectures.*] Your memorie is as brickle, as your reason is feeble. Those six causes of Christes agonie, and not *of all his wofull passion*, as you lightly leape you know not whither, I did no otherwise propose, then that they [q] *might be, & euery one of them more likely, and more godly, then your deuice of hell paines.* As for the onlie cause of that agonie, I medled with no such matter, my words are euident to the contrarie: [r] *Others at their leasures may thinke on more, which I shalbe content to heare*; but that *piety*, or *charity*, or *both must be the Rootes of* Christs feare and sorow, and not infidelitie and distrust of Gods fauour towards his person or function, nor the Reall and inherent sense of Hell paines common to him with the damned as you doe peremptorilie, but pestilently dreame; in that I said I was resolute, and so I yet remaine. And you shall sooner proue your selfe to be the man in the Moone, then Christes soule to haue beene tormented with any reall paines inflicted on him by the immediate hand of God, which position of yours hath impietie for the ground, and follie for the proofe; howsoeuer you thinck to face it out with your insolent verbositie.

[p] Defene pag. 92.li.32.

[q] Serm. pag. 17.li.28. 29.

[r] Ibid.li.30.

[s] *Your first cause is submission to the maiestie of God-sitting in iudgment, when Christ was thus astonished and agonized therewith:*] I pray thee Christian Reader to remember in all these causes, what was my purpose and promise euen now specified, not to conclude these as necessarie and entire causes of Christes agonie, but to shew them *possible*, and *more likely* and *Godlie*, then his Pagent of Hell paines inflicted on the soule of Christ. The reason, that led me to set downe this as one of the causes, *that* MIGHT BE of Christes agonie, (for so I alwaies meane, though perhaps in course of speach I alwaies adde not so much,) were the wordes of our Sauiour. [t] *Now is the Iudgment of this worlde, now shall the Prince of this world be cast out. And I, if I were lifte vp from the earth, will draw all men vnto me. This said hee signifiyng what death he should die.* The iudgment, which here our Sauiour noteth, was not at that instant, when he spake these words, but at an houre to come, when Satan the Prince *of this worlde* should be

[s] Defene pag. 92.li.37.

The first cause concurring to Christs agonie.

[t] Iohn 12.

iudged

[a] Iohn 16. [a] *iudged*, that is *erected and cast out* from [x] accusing the Saints, and the [x] *salnation of God*
[x] Reuel. 12. and *power of his Christ established in heauen.* So much the words of Christ imported, when he said, *Now shall the Prince of this world be cast out*; and not, now alreadie is he cast out. This Iudgment then was *Redemptorie*, not *condemnatoric*, wherein the sonne of God in our flesh was admitted to make satisfaction for the sinnes of all, that should beleeue in him; and to pay the price that should appease the iustice of God prouoked by our misdeeds, and so to reconcile vs to the fauour of God by the bloud of his
[y] Reuel. 12. Crosse, that there might be no more place for Satan *to accuse vs* any longer [y] *night and day before God* as otherwise he did. The issue of this iudgment Christ before expressed, when he said, and *I, if I were exalted* (to the Crosse) *will draw all men vnto me*;
[z] Marke 14. And after, when rising from his feruent praier, he said; [z] *Behold the sonne of man is deliuered into the hands of sinners.* As also to the Iewes, that came to apprehend him.
[a] Luke 22. [a] *This is your verie hower and the power of darkenes*; as likewise to Peter, when *he* [b] *drew*
[b] Iohn 18. his sword, and smote the *high Priests seruant, and cutt of his right eare*; *put vp thy sword into thy sheath*, [b] *shall I not drinke of the cup* (saith Christ) *which the Father hath giuen*
[c] 1. Pet. 2. *me?* The fruit of this Iudgment is euerie where specified in the Scriptures. [c] *Christ bare our sinnes in his bodie on the Tree, by whose stripes ye were healed, that being deliuered from sinne, wee should liue to righteousnes.* What need you then so curiously question, *Against whom or in what cause sate God in iudgment now when Christ was thus astonished, and agonized?* God sate in iudgment to receaue satisfaction for the sinnes of his elect at the hands of his owne Sonne by his humilitie and obedience vnto death.

[d] Defenc. pag. 93. li. 3. [d] *Of necessitie it must be one of these three wayes. First, Gods maiestie and great iustice*
[e] li. 16. *now at this time might sit in iudgment against vs, and so consequently, yea chiefly against*
[f] Pa. 94. li. 40. *Christ himselfe as our Ransomepaier & Suertie in our steed.* [e] *Secondly, God might be considered now as iudging Satan the Prince of this world.* [f] *Thirdly, Gods maiestie & iustice may be considered sitting in iudgment meerely against sinfull men.*] You be copious where you neede not, and careless, where most cause is you should be circumspect, to make an idle shew of small skill, you bring here a TRIPLE iudgment of God; First, against vs and Christ our suertie; Secondly, against Satan; Thirdly, against sinnefull men, which were either elect or reprobate: as though one and the same iudgment of God for mans Redemption did not concerne all three: to witt, Christ as the Redeemer, Satan as the accuser, the Elect as the ransomed, leauing the reprobate in their sinnes through their vnbeliefe vnto the dreadfull day of vengeance. In that the Redeemer was by this iudgment receaued and allowed to make satisfaction for the sinnes of his elect, Satan was excluded from all place and power to accuse them for sinne, or to raigne ouer them by sinne, and the purgation of their sinnes, which should beleeue in Christ, being made by the Person of the Sauiour, they were reconciled to God by the death of Christ and discharged from the wrath to come; the anger of god remaining on such, as by faith obeied not the sonne of God. Saue therfore your fruitless paines in the rest, and shew why the beholding of Gods power and iustice now sitting in iudgment to redeeme the world, and to receaue recompence from the person of Christ for the sinnes of men, might not breed a religious feare and trembling in the humane nature of Christ.

Gods iudgement for our redemption concerneth Christ, men, and Satan.

[g] Defenc. pag. 93. li. [g] *If you meane that thus Christ with submission beholding his Father in iudgement at this time was cast into this agonie, it is the verie trewth, and the same which we maintaine.*] You take this for a shew to build your fansies on, but as your maner is you abuse trewthes to serue your turnes. Let it stand for good, that Christ now beheld his Father sitting in iudgment to require recompence for the sinnes of the faithfull; what followeth? that God awarded the selfe same vengeance against the person of Christ, that we had deserued, and should haue suffered, if we had not beene redeemed? This is a false, hereticall, and blasphemous conclusion no way coherent to the premisses, and no way consonant to the Scriptures. For then finall destruction, desperation, confusion and euerlasting damnation of soule and bodie to hell fire, which without question were the wages of our sinnes, as we may see by their example, that are not clensed

Christ might beholde the power of his Fathers wrath against sinne, and yet not feare the vengeance due to the wicked.

cleansed from sinne by the bloud of Christ, must without reseruation or remedie haue lighted on the person of Christ. If that vengeance of sinne, which was due to vs, could by no iustice be inflicted on the person of the sonne of God, no not, if he had borne the sinnes of the whole world; how then could the doubt or feare of his punishment on himselfe cast him into this agony? [you will release him of the circumstance, but tie him to the substance of the selfe same pains, which the damned endure.] When you sitt in iudgement on Christ, shew your wicked and witles conceits, as much as you list; but the father, to whom of right it appertained, sitting in iudgment to receaue satisfaction from the person of his sonne, who was most willing thereto, he did, he could by iustice determine any thing against his owne sonne, that should either derogate from the person of Christ, or abrogate the loue which God professed and pronounced so often from heauen towards him. God might haue condemned vs, that most iustly deserued it; but to adiudge the same condemnation to his owne Sonne, was simply impossible to the *Iustice, holines, trueth and loue* of God. For so the vnion of Christes person must either be dissolued, which god hath faithfully sworne, and mightily wrought, or els the second person in Trinitie must haue tasted of the same vengeance with the damned and with the Diuells, which is a blasphemie that the Diuell neuer dreampt, nor durst to broche.

[h] *This denieth not, but that Christ had reall paines inflicted from the Father, as from the most iust Iudge against vs in him, who were thus acquited by him.*] *Not denying* is a slender proofe of that which you should with most infallible certaintie conclude, before you did affirme. If Christes manhood might and did righteously and iustly feare and tremble at the glorie, power and maiestie of God sitting now in iudgement to proportion the price that should be payed for mans ransome, how doth that inferre, the reall paines of the damned were inflicted on the soule of Christ at that instant, except in maddemens conceits, which respect more their pangs than their proofs, and preferre their willes before the wisdome of Gods spirit, or witnesse of mans reason. *All iudgement against sinne*, you will say, *tendeth vnto condemnation.*] No iudgement against the Sonne of God could proceed vnto damnation for what or whose sinnes soeuer. And therefore to me, and to all that obserue the words of the Holy Ghost, it is a cleerer case than the Sunne-shining at noone day, that *we are reconciled to God by the death of his Sonne, and healed by his stripes, who bare our sinnes in his bodie on the tree*, and whose *bloud was shed for many for remission of sinnes*. Your infliction of hell paines on the soule of Christ is no such trifle, that it may be lightly taken vp for your pleasure, or humorously surmised vpon your vaine coniectures; you must euidently and ineuitablely prooue it, before any wise or sober Christian will or should beleeue it. *Christes feare and agonie*, you thinke, *could haue no other cause.*] Of all others this can neuer be concluded to haue beene the cause, since there is no witnesse nor word thereof in all the Scriptures. That euerlasting damnation was due to our sinnes, we haue no doubt, but that any such iudgement could be decreed or executed against the Sonne of God, or against any part of his person, we lesse doubt. Wherefore it is most manifest to all that list not to mixe their desperate deuices with Gods eternall trueth, that no such iudgement could be giuen against the person of Christ, as we should haue suffered, or as the damned feele; but the [i] *chastisement of our peace was layd vpon him, and* [k] *though he were the Sonne, yet by the things which he suffered, he learned obedience.* [*It is no iudgement*, you will say, *where nothing is condemned.*] In the finall iudgement of God against the wicked, both their sinnes and their persons shall be condemned; that is, their persons shalbe euerlastingly reiected and adiudged to perpetuall torments of bodie and soule in hell fire for their sinnes, which God iustly hateth and punisheth. In the [l] *iudgement*, which *beginneth at the house of God*, sinne is condemned in their flesh, as it was in Christes, but their persons are beloued in Christ, and so cleansed from sinne by him that sanctifieth himselfe for their sakes, and whose bloud cleanseth them from all their sinnes. The paterne of which iudgement was precedent in Christ their head, to *whose* [m] *image* the whole bodie must be *conformed*, that [n] *suffering with him*, they may

[h] Defenc pag. 95. li. 8.
[i] Esa. 53.
[k] Heb. 5.
[l] 1. Pet. 4.
[m] Rom. 8.
[n] 2. Tim. 2.

[o] 1.Pet.4. *raigne with him,* and being [o] *condemned as touching men in the fleſh, they may liue as touching God in the ſpirit.* There muſt be the ſame minde in vs, that was in Chriſt, euen as there is the ſame condemnation in our fleſh that was in his. For in Chriſt and all his members, ſinne was condemned in the fleſh, that their ſpirits might liue to God, and their bodies be raiſed againe to be partakers of the ſame bliſſe with their ſpirits. The Scriptures therefore doe not appoint the iudgement of hell or of the damned vnto Chriſt and his members, but only the *deſtruction* of their fleſh ioyned with the *ſaluation* of their ſpirits.

What need had Chriſt (you will aske) *to feare this iudgement?*] As Chriſt had leſſe need to feare the iudgement ſeat of God, than all his members, ſo had he more will, care and power to giue God his due, than all the reſt of his brethren. And therefore approching to God for ſinners and with ſinne, as he vndertooke their perſons and cauſe, that is, to preſent them to God, and to profer ſatisfaction for their ſinnes; ſo he taught vs all our duties, which is, to approch the throne of Maieſtie with all reuerence and feare, when we beholde his paſsing glorie, and our exceeding infirmitie, and in faith of his goodneſſe, and feare of his greatneſſe, to tremble and ſhake before him. This Chriſtian ſubmiſsion which God requireth of all men, Chriſt did moſt of all performe, when he preſented vs and our cauſe to God; and therefore proſtrate flat on the earth, he humbled himſelfe with greater feare and trembling (but without diſtruſt or doubt of Gods fauour) than euer man before or ſince did. This feare and trembling with all ſubmiſsion and deuotion yeelded by the humane nature of Chriſt to the diuine Maieſtie of God, you no way like; but in a ſelfe conceit will haue it to be the feare of deſperate and damned perſons, and Chriſtes ſoule to be actually tormented with the ſame paines that are the ſharpeſt in hell: and all this you gather vpon none other ground, but for that Chriſt exceedingly feared and ſorrowed in the Garden. But if no man guided by Gods ſpirit may heare the words, doe the works, or receiue the meſſengers of God, but with feare and trembling, as a ſeruice and duetie belonging to the Creatour from the weakeneſſe of the creature; how much more might the humane nature of Chriſt now offering vs all, that were ſinfull, to the preſence of God with infinite deſire and moſt ardent prayer to make recompence in his owne perſon for our offences; and ſo through his loue and fauour with God, to reconcile vs to God; how much more I ſay might Chriſt in our cauſe and in our names ſhew all poſsible feare and trembling to ſo great Maieſtie ſo mightily diſpleaſed with vs? And therefore in either reſpect both of his owne religious humilitie, and our ſinfull infirmity, he might performe this ſeruice and ſubmiſsion vnto the throne of Gods heauenly preſence.

[p] Defenc.pag. 93.li.32. [p] *Your teſtimonies touching men ſinfull, make nothing to the purpoſe at all: for theſe could not by reaſon of their ſinnes endure the verie preſence of Gods Maieſtie, being in any meaſure reuealed vnto them: but Chriſt in himſelfe being free from all ſinne, could be in no ſuch caſe.*] Your exceptions are more friuolous, and no way fit your fanſies: for what if conſcience of ſinne breed an amazed feare in men, when the glorious preſence of God is in any meaſure reuealed vnto them, doth that exclude the religious affection & ſubmiſsion of feare and trembling, which mans weakeneſſe in this life oweth to the diuine Maieſty? [q] *Him will I reſpect* (ſaith God) *that is poore in ſpirit, and trembleth at my words.* Not only Gods glory reuealed, but his word denounced requireth ſubmiſsion and reuerent trembling. [r] *Worke your ſaluation* (ſayth the Apoſtle) *with feare and trembling*; not meaning men ſhould alwayes be amazed, or that God ſtill reuealed his glorious preſence, but that our infirmitie remembred, and his Maieſtie conſidered, we ſhould do all things commanded by him with feare and trembling. Of the Corinthians Paul teſtifieth, that they receiued Tite [s] *with feare and trembling.* Such reuerence the faithfull yeeld to the words and works of God, that they tremble at the preſence of his meſſengers. And leſt you ſhould thinke, that only conſcience of ſinne, and the brightneſſe of Gods preſence impreſſe this affection, the Apoſtle requireth ſeruants to obey their [t] *carnall maſters with feare and trembling*: and witneſſeth of himſelfe, when

[q] Eſa.66.

[r] Phil.2.

[s] 2.Cor.7.

[t] Epheſ.6.

when he preached the Gospell to the Corinthians, *he* [u] *was amongst them in feare and much trembling.* So that not onely guilt of sinne maketh men to feare and flie the sight of God, as in Adam, when he first transgressed; and in Peter, before he was called (whose words you abuse, to elude the rest, which is brought against you) but in all our actions, dueties and affections we are willed by the holy Ghost, to haue a religious and reuerent respect with feare & trembling to the *word, will and presence of God.* [x] *Let vs haue grace, thereby to serue and please God with reuerence and feare.* Where we are taught, that not sinne, but grace maketh men to serue and please God with *reuerence and feare*, which before are called *feare and trembling*, during the time of our conuersing heere on earth. Though then Christ did neither flie, nor feare the presence of God for any conscience of sinne, yet his humane nature consisting of our flesh, and compassed as yet with our infirmitie, knew well what religious and reuerent submission with feare and trembling was due from the creature to the creator; and specially, when he presented vs that were sinfull to the throne of Grace: for whom he humbled himselfe vnder the mightie hand of God, to abolish our pride, and approched Gods presence with vnspeakable care and sorow, feare and trembling, to recompence our heauie dulnesse and carelesse neglect both of Gods anger and our owne danger. Which Christ obserued in his owne Disciples, that otherwise deerely loued him, and were often called on by him to watch and pray, and yet were they in their deepest sleepe, when he was in his greatest agonie.

[u] 1.Cor.2.

[x] Heb.12.

[y] *No better is that of the Angels (meere creatures) vailing their faces at the glorious presence of God the Creator of all: but Christ the Mediator was not a meere creature, but alwayes personally vnited with greater power than the Angels were; and alwayes sustained by it.*] As if the manhood of Christ did not hunger and thirst, waxed wearie, and wept, though it were alwayes vnited to his Godhead. The greater his power, by which he might haue refused and repelled all infirmitie, the greater his humilitie and obedience, that would subiect himselfe of his owne good will to these afflictions and affections of mans weakenesse. By suffering of death, as likewise in all our infirmities, he made himselfe [z] *lower than the Angels*; yet what doth that hinder, but the manhood of Christ, which was made of a woman, and therefore a creature, though personally ioyned with the Creator by the great goodnesse and grace of God, might in the dayes of his flesh most willingly submit it selfe with religious feare and trembling, since that either shewed the thankefulnesse of the creature to the creatour for so great honour and fauour, as to be receiued into the coniunction and communion of the Godhead, or declared his loue and likenesse to vs, that in our cause would lay downe his power and right for the time, and be like affected with vs, that so he might commend vs vnto God? You can be content, that *the* [a] *Godhead should purposely hide it selfe as it were, and withdraw his wonted comfort, that the manhood of Christ might be subiect* to the paines of the damned, which you call *full punishment for vs*; but you can not heare, that the Godhead should guide the manhood of Christ to humble it selfe in our cause with a most religious and reuerent feare and trembling, to giue God his due, and thereby to teach all his members to doe the like. But if the Apostle speake most truely, that *the* [b] *spirit it selfe maketh requests for vs with sighs which cannot be expressed*; why should not the manhood of Christ much more performe the part that is proper to his office, to *pray for transgressours*, with all affection and submission belonging to God either from our nature, or from our condition? In sinne Christ might not communicate with vs; but since sorow for sinne, and most humble submission to the power of God displeased with sinne, are rather in Christes person recompences for sinne (which we could not make) than infections of sinne; why should you by pretence of Christes power make those religious offices impossible to him, whom notwithstanding you will haue amazed and confounded in all the powers and parts of soule and bodie with the terrour and feare of your hell paines? Is your zeale so great for Christes power, that you will not haue him trouble himselfe with any religious submission of minde to the throne of Gods glorie, by his example to teach vs to tremble at the

[z] Heb.2.

[a] Defenc.pag. 94.li.5.

[b] Rom.8.v.26

greatnesse thereof; and yet you spare not to load him with vnspeakable terrours and feares of Gods indignation, and his owne confusion? Such deuotion doth well beseeme your hellish inuentions, but it no way sorteth with Christian religion.

[a] Defenc pag. 93. li. 11. [a] *If Austen and others sentences* (in the 350. and 34. Pages of your Sermons) *be thus vnderstood, that the complaint on the Crosse, was not Christs in respect of himselfe, but in respect of his Church, for whom then and there he answered before God comming now to execute Iudgement for their sinne, so are they well, and rightly vnderstoode: otherwise there is no truth in them, namely as you seeme to vse them.*] Your twisting Christs Agonie in the Garden and his complaint on the Crosse in one thread, that the one may seeme the cause of the other; sheweth your humorous conceit preferring your rash apprehension before the Iudgement of all the auncient Fathers. I seuer them, because in the first Christ shewed feare and sorow; in the second on the Crosse, he suffered reall and actuall paine of Body and Soule, which of his Agonie you cannot prooue, though you presume it neuer so proudly in spite of all the Fathers cited by me, of whom you pronounce with as much disdaine as a crauling Creature can, *there is no truth in them*, if they be not of your mind. But leaue this pride, that puffeth you vp with such vanitie, and pricketh you forward to so much falsitie; Athanasius, Cyprian, Hilarie, Ierom, Epiphanius, Ambrose, Augustine, Leo, and the rest shall goe with all wise men for religious and aduised Interpreters, when such an huff-cap, as you are, shall be thought fitter to learne, then to teach. Of their expositions, when we come to that circumstance of Christes passion, God willing we will say more; in the meane time I might not bury your brauing them, (*that there is no truth in them*) least with my silence I should smooth your insolence.

[d] Defenc. pag. 93. li. 26. [d] *In respect as God proceeded against Satan and for this cause, that Christ should be cast into these dreadfull feares, sorrowes and bloudy agonies, what man of Iudgement will Imagine? what colour of likelihood is there in it?*] That Satan was presently cast out from hindering mans saluation, and should in the ende be troden vnder foote; that Christ obtained by his prayer for vs: but what spoyle he should make in the Church of Christ by heresie, iniquitie and Tyrannie, when our Sauiour beheld, who could not be ignorant thereof, why should not that moue the manhood of Christ both greeuously to sorrow for the weakenesse and dulnesse, falles and offences of his members, as also with most vehement and inflamed zeale, euen vnto the sweating of bloud, to pray against the power and rage of Satan, to haue it cut short and fully subiected, as all other enemies, vnder his and our feete? And who of any sense will thinke it strange, that Christ approching the brunt of his passion should

[e] Luke. 22. performe that to all, which he professed to Peter and the rest. [e] *Behold Satan hath desired you to winnow you as wheate, but I haue prayed for thee, that thy faith faile not:* because he was the first that should haue most neede? Christ was able without prayer, if we respect his diuine power, to vphold Peter and all the rest against the

[f] Iohn 17. worst, that Satan could doe vnto them; [f] *Whiles I was with them in the world, I kept them in thy name, those that thou gauest me, haue I kept, and none of them is lost:* But this was the time of his submission and humiliation euen vnto death, and therefore foreseeing himselfe and all his members by Gods iust iudgement to be so farre deliuered into Satans hands, that they should be sifted with all manner of tentations and trials; as he most humbly submitted himselfe, and his members thereto, so he most affectionately and with greater vehemencie, then euer man did or could pray, desired the feebleneese and folly of his elect to be forgiuen them, and the old and cruell serpents head to be bruized, and conquered, that he might haue no power, but to bite their heeles. These I say, and many moe occasions and reasons might leade our Sauiour to that prayer so full of compassion and affection to vs, that euen feruencie might open the pores of his body, and straine forth his bloud, to shew that he bent all the powers of Body and Soule in making his prayers vnto God.

As for ioy and triumph, which this conquest ouer Satan did and doth bring, I make no doubt thereof; but we now speake of the prayer, wherewith Christ obtained

ned it, and of the triall, wherein both head and members were to be conformed, and consummate with affliction, and that for the time was as sharp, as the fruite thereof in the end would be sweete; that not onely Christ was first *to* [g] *suffer those things*, (which the Scriptures mention) *and so to enter into his glory, but* [h] *as many, as will liue godly in Christ Iesus, shall suffer persecution.* For this is the iudgement of God beginning at his owne house, and euen at his owne Sonne, [i] *We must through many afflictions enter into the kingdome of God.* In speaking against these things you shew as much iudgement, as you doe in the rest of your conceits, which haue your bare word for their best warrant, and your vnlearned humour for their chiefest helpe.

g Luke. 24.
h 2. Timoth. 3.
i Acts. 14.

[k] *Thirdly, if you meane* (that God sate in Iudgement) *here against the sinnes of the elect, Christ knew the eternall and sure decree of God, which had turned the cup of vengeance alreadie from them vpon himselfe, as being their Suertie: so that this commeth to our assertion.*] Christ knew, that the second person in Trinitie by whom his manhoode was now assumed, had before all worlds consented to beare the burden or punishment of our sinnes in his Body, and by *himselfe to make the purgation of them*, and that the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost had eternally decreed this to be the meane and merite of mans Redemption; but as for *the Cup of vengeance* to be *turned on himselfe*, if thereby you intended the vengeance due to our sinnes, and inflicted on the damned, which is your designe throughout your Defence, then neither had God made any such decree, neither did Christ know any such conuersion of the Cup from vs vpon himselfe: he rather knew the contrary. To Iames and Iohn the Sonnes of Zebedee, that asked to sit, the one at his right hand, the other at his left, he answered; [l] *Can yee drinke of the Cup that I shall drinke of?* and they saying, they could, he replied; *Ye shall drinke indeede of the cup, that I shall drinke of.* If Christ had the Cup of vengeance common to him with the desperate and damned, then Iames and Iohn, and consequently all his Disciples and members dranke of the same Cup, for they all dranke of his cup. And Paul missed much of his reckning, when he said; [m] *I counted all things losse, and doe iudge them to be dong, that I may know the fellowship of Christs afflictions, and be made conformable to his death.* Can you perswade any man of common sense, that Paul was so desirous to suffer the death of the Soule, and the paines of the damned, that he iudged all things vile in comparison thereof? for so he was affected to the fellowship of Christs sufferings, which was an other manner of Cup, then you conceiue, or else Paul erred very grossely in his Account.

k Defenc. pag. 94. li.

Christ and his members must drinke of one and the same Cuppe.

l Marke. 10.

m Phil. 3.

[n] *Touching the Reprobates doe you thinke, that Christ here so vehemently wished them better, whom he knew God hated: or that for pittie of them he fell into this Agonie and sorowfull prayers?* Such a Iester besides your selfe, a man shall hardly iump with all. Of Christs Agonie in the Garden as there were sundry parts, so there were sundry causes. You take euery particular by the Pole, and examine that, as if it were offered to be the sole and entire cause of the whole Agonie. But leaue this wide wandering, and litle vnderstanding, and trie whether Christ were not so much affected to his owne Nation, that he greatly sorowed for their reiection. [o *Christ saith a litle before he would not so much as pray for them.*] He would not pray to crosse Gods Counsell towards the whole Nation, but onely for such as should beleeue in him: yet he pitied them, and praied pardon euen for those, that put him to death: [p] *Father forgiue them, for they know not what to doe.*

n Defenc. pag. 94. li. 16.
o Ibid. li. 19.
p Luke. 23.

[q] *It is certaine Christ rather would haue greatly reioyced to see the due execution of Gods most holy and deserued Iustice, which is a speciall part of his high glory.*] Your certainties are like Spiders webs, euery touch will teare them. If Christ of your certaine knowledge would haue so greatly reioyced to see the destruction of the Iewes, how came it to passe, that beholding Ierusalem he wept for it? If the remembrance of their desolation moued him to teares, would the present sight of their destruction haue bred in him such great ioy, as you talke of? Haue you so vtterly forgotten,

q Defenc pag 94. li. 20.

what he saith of himselfe at this time of his appearance in his humilitie? [f] *I came not to Iudge the world, but to saue the world.* There is a time when he shall come to Iudge the quicke and the dead; but now [f] *God sent not his Sonne to condemne the world, but that the world through him might be saued.* [g] *A bruized Reede* (saith the Prophet) *shall he not breake, and smoking flaxe shall he not quench.* So farre was he at this time from doing or delighting in any violence, how certaine soeuer you make your selfe of his ioyfulnesse to see destruction executed on that Nation. The words of Dauid that [a] *the Righteous shall reioyce when he seeth the vengeance,* licence no man to desire vengeance, but to expect Gods time, whose will we pray may be done; and concerne those enemies onely, that with implacable malice seeke the vtter ruine of the godly. In which case the deliuerance of the faithfull being ioyned with vengeance on the wicked, God will haue his mercies towards vs magnified, though it be mixed with the destruction of the wicked. Otherwise Christ hath commanded vs to [x] *loue our enemies, to blesse them which curse vs, to pray for them, which persecute vs,* so that we *may be the children of our Father which is in heauen.* But you haue found a Foxe, or a ferne brake, because it was said, *Let this Cup passe from me, and not from them.* What if I answere you with Ierom? Christ said not, [y] *Let the cup passe from me, but let this cuppe passe, that is, of the people of the Iewes, which can haue no excuse of ignorance, if they kill me, since they haue the Law and the Prophets, which daily foretell of me. This Christ requesteth not, as fearing to suffer, but in mercie towards the former People, that he might not drinke the Cuppe offered by them.* And with Ambrose? [z] *Therefore Christ said, take this cuppe from me: not because the Sonne of God feared death, but for that he would not haue them (though euill) to perish; least his Passion should be pernicious (to them,) which should be healthfull to all.* And with Origen? [a] *For those then, whom he would not haue perish by his Passion, he said; Father, if it be possible let this cuppe passe from me, that both the world might be saued, and the Iewes not perish in his Passion.* And with [b] Bede who exactly followeth Ieroms words? You will reply, there is no truth in them; [c] but the more you vse such answeres, the more pride and lesse wit you shew, to thinke that all men are absurd besides your selfe, when you can scant speake one word touching your new found faith, without a sensible absurditie.

[f] Iohn. 12.
[f] Iohn 3.
[g] Esa. 42.
[a] Psal. 58.
[x] Matth. 5.
[y] Ierom. in Mat. Cap. 26.
[z] Ambros. lib. 10 in Luc. ca 22 de tristitia & oratione Christi
[a] Origen. in Matth. tract. 35.
[b] Beda in 26. ca. Matthæi.

[c] Defenc. pag. 94. li. 31. The second cause concurring to Christs agonie.

[c] *Your next supposed cause, compassion towards men, containeth three seuerall causes here: First, for the reiection of the Iewes: Secondly, for the dispersion of his Church: Thirdly, his zealous griefe generally for the sins of the world. All these I grant were alwaies in Christ, and caused no doubt alwaies heauines in him: yet no more then a godly & heauenly mind could and would cheerfully digest and beare.* It is well that of your selfe at last you see these six causes may be reuoked and referred to the two generall roots, whence I said Christs agonie might proceed; and so no reason, but a meere desire to cauill, did lead you to demonstrate my disagreements by *one, two, and six*; which vpon your better aduise your selfe can reconcile within the space of a leafe. For as these three are contained in Christes compassion towards men, or rather did proceed from the affection of his loue to man, so the rest are as easily reduced to Christs submission yelded in pietie vnto God, or to the same profession of charitie towards man, or to both. Touching these three, you grant, *they were alwaies in Christ and caused no doubt alwaies an heauines in him*; but moderate, such as *a godly minde might cheerefully digest.* First then, how come you so sodainly to fling of your former Resolution made not fifteene lines before, that *certainly Christ would haue greatly reioyced to see the execution of Gods deserued iustice* on the Iewes? would Christ both certainly and greatly haue reioiced to see the destruction of that people and citie, and yet the foresight therof *caused no doubt alwayes heauines in him?* These are not your contrarieties, but concordances; wherein you rightly agree with your selfe, that neuer vse in your assertions to make one piece agree with an other. How much Christ might grieue at those things, we shall presently examine; but that he grieued more at this time now in the garden for these respects, then at any other time before, you doe not grant, because you see no reason for it. Of Christs affections neither I can yeeld nor you may aske the reason; they were voluntarie,

tarie, and rose within him, when his will gaue place vnto them. He saw Ierusalem often, and knew of her desolation from the beginning. Why wept he then but once ouer her? why did he not the like for other Cities, wherein the Iewes dwelt, can you tell? he was often tempted by the Pharisees, and still saw the hardnes of their harts. Why did he then but once (that the Scripture reporteth) behold them with [d] *anger and griefe* for their obstinacie? his passion he alwaies remembred, and often foretold; why then was he troubled with the thought thereof, but once that we read? Athanasius giueth this answere. [e] *Now is my soule troubled, this now was, when he himselfe would.* Damascene [f] insisteth on the same words, and maketh the rule generall, that [g] *naturall* (affections and infirmities) *in Christ neuer preuented his will, because nothing in him was forced, but all voluntarie.* [g] θέλων καὶ ἐπείνασε, θέλων ἐδίψησε, &c. *he hungred, when he would; he thirsted when he would; he feared when he would; and died when he would.* Saint Austen obserueth the same. [h] *Turbaris tu nolens, Turbatus est Christus, quia voluit. Thou art troubled against thy will; Christ was troubled, because he would. He hungred, it is true, but because he would; he slept, it is true, but because he would; he sorrowed, it is true, but because he would; he died, it is true, but because he would. In illius potestate erat sic vel sic affici, vel non affici. it was in his power to be so or so affected, or not affected.* The reason which he giueth, is sound; and the Scripture, on which he buildeth, is plaine. [i] *Quis enim eum posset nisi se ipse turbare; vbi summa potestas est, secundum voluntatis nutum turbatur infirmitas. Who could trouble him besides himselfe? where soueraigne power is, there infirmitie is troubled according to the guiding of the will.* And so the Scripture noteth. [k] *he groned in spirite,* καὶ ἐτάραξεν ἑαυτὸν, *and troubled* (or affected) *him selfe.*

[d] Mar. 3.
[e] Athanasius de incarnat. Christi.
[f] Damasc. Orthodoxæ fidei. li. 3. ca. 23.
[g] Idem li. 3. ca. 20.
[h] Aug. Tr. in Iohan tract. 49.
[i] Ibidem.
[k] Iohn 11.

If this Rule be true, which hath the grounds of faith, and the words of the holie Ghost for a foundation, then your assertion is false, and against the faith, that *these were alwaies in Christ, and alwaies caused an heauinesse in him.* For you imply a continuall necessitie of sorrow and griefe in the Soule of Christ, where the Scriptures and Fathers teach vs, that nothing could impresse griefe or sorrow on him, but when he himselfe would. And that Iesus sometimes reioyced, and [l] *exulted in Spirit*, giuing thankes to his Father *for hiding* (the mysteries of his kingdome) *from the wise and prudent, and reuealing them to seelie ones*, the Scripture is euident. You therefore, as your manner is, graunt that which is false, and deny that which is true. For what if Christ often, though not alwaies, sorrowed for these three aforesaid, is that any proofe, that his Passion approching, where he saw the Iewes should call for the vengeance of his bloud to be *on them, and their children*; and was now by most earnest & ardent prayer to obtaine remission of sinnes, direction of his spirit, and protection from Satan for his whole Church, (the Time and place now chiefely requiring it,) he should not with greater sorrow behold the one, and with more feruent zeale intreat the other? *But* [m] *I strangely deceiue my selfe* you say, *if I thinke that any or all of these did so farre exceede in him, as to procure his most dreadfull and bloudy Agony.*] When I heare you speake some truth, or see you vnderstand any thing right, I will more regard your word, then now I doe. That these things might be the causes thereof, shall plainly appeare to the sober and aduised Reader, when we come to the discussing of them; Howbeit I doe not say, that euery one of these sixe was the whole cause of his Agonie; as you childishly carpe; or that these sixe were the sole causes of his Agonie; but these respects were such, as might most exceedingly grieue, and most inwardly affect the Soule of Christ, making now way by prayer to procure the course of mans Redemption to be actually and effectually decreed and pronounced at his instance; which he would after perfect with patience. Neither are there greater workes in mans redemption, then these that were now in hand, with which if you thinke it not likely, nor possible, the Soule of our Sauiour should be mightily affected, your erroneous Imagination is farre stranger then my position of pietie and possibilitie. for as if you aske me, what the Angell that came from heauen, said to Christ in the Garden, I must openly professe, I take vpon me no such knowledge, but leaue Gods secrets to himselfe and his Sonne; so what occa-

[l] Luc. 10. v. 21.
[m] Defens. pa. 94. li. 37.

sions

ſions beſides theſe might at that inſtant affect the Soule of Chriſt, I dare not determine, though you be ſo deſperate, that you nothing doubt, Chriſt then felt in Soule from the immediate hand of God the ſelfe ſame paines, which the damned doe in hell; Notwithſtanding the Scriptures inſinuate no ſuch ſuſpition, much leſſe auouch any ſuch Doctrine for mans redemption.

[a] Defenc pag. 95 li.1. [a] *For the Reiection of the Iewes what reaſon bring you. Chriſt wept ouer their Cittie: ergo, now at his Paſſion he was driuen into his dreadfull Agonie for this cauſe.*] You muſt make your owne match, or elſe you will quickly marre all. Where I profeſſed it *impoſſible certainly to conclude the true cauſe of Chriſts Agonie*, your wiſedome taketh a part of my words, and clappeth on a Concluſion to them of your owne ſtamping, and then you ſay the Argument is nought: and ſo nimble you be at nothing, that where I repeate ſixe cauſes, that might be concurrent therein, you will haue me inferre, that euery one of them was the whole and ſole cauſe thereof. But your maſterſhip is to warme to be wiſe, and to ſelfe-willed to be ſound, you doe not ſo much as ſee, or care, why I tooke this in for one of the cauſes, that might meete in this Agonie. The reuerent [o] regard I had to the Iudgements of *Ambroſe*, *Ierom*, *Auguſtine*, and *Bede*, who obſerued this before me as one of the cauſes, that might be of Chriſts ſorrow in the Garden, made me number this amongſt the reſt, howſoeuer you ſpurne them away like foote-bals, and thinke with a wilde gallop to winne the Goale. But ſoft Sir, firſt their opinions lie in your way, which wiſe men will reſpect before your emptie wordes, and laſie likelihoods, that haue no ſalt in them, beſides the ſharpneſſe of your humour. Secondly, my reaſons to my purpoſe are auaileable enough, though you miſhape them with a ſenſeleſſe error of your own, as if euerie of theſe ſix were the ſingle and ſole cauſe of this agonie. There can no one particular cauſe be aſsigned of Chriſtes feare, ſorrow, and zeale in the Garden; but ſince himſelfe is a witneſſe, that his Soule was περίλυπος on euery ſide preſſed with ſorrow, my proofes which you cannot auoide, inferre, that amongſt others this might be one cauſe of his ſorrow. And ſo much thoſe Fathers profeſſe, as I haue formerly ſhewed; and you cannot decline them but with impudent flurting at them, that [p] *this verily cannot ſtand with any reaſon.* But of our Reaſons let the Reader Iudge. Chriſt wept at the ſight of Ieruſalem, when he remembred her deſolation by the hands of the Romanes. What griefe then was it to him in all reaſon, to foreſee the reiection of that people from the fauour of God by their raſh and wicked deſire to haue his bloud on them and their children, at the time of his arraignment before Pilate? If Moſes and Paul ſo vehemently grieued at the fall of their bretheren according to the fleſh, that for their ſakes the one wiſhed to be wiped out of the Booke of God, the other moſt ſacredly proteſted the great heauineſſe and continuall anguiſh, that he felt in hart for them; how much more then did it grieue the Sauiour of the world, who farre exceeded both the other in compaſſion and mercie, to ſee himſelfe, that came to bleſſe them, and ſaue them, to be the ruine and ſtone of offence, that ſhould ſtumble them, and their children, ſtriking them with perpetuall blindneſſe, and bruizing them with euerlaſting perdition, through their vnbeliefe. To this what anſwere you?

[o] Sermo. pag. 19. li.4.

[p] Defenc. pag. 95. li. 15.

[q] Defenc. pag. 95. li. 28. [q] *It prooueth that Chriſt ſurely had very great pittie and commiſeration of them, but nothing elſe in the world.*] I profeſſed to prooue no more. Why then ſhould not this be one of the cauſes, that mooued Chriſt to ſorrow in the Garden, where he confeſſed his Soule was on euery ſide heauie? [r] *Chriſt might haue farre greater pittie of them, then Moſes or Paul had, and yet he was able to carrie his affection farre more patiently and quietly then they were able.*] Doth any man beſides you ſay, that Chriſt was impatient in his Agonie, but that as he was fully able to reſtraine all violence and vehemence of affection in himſelfe, when he would; ſo was he likewiſe able to ſhew the inward touch and motion of mercie towards that people, by what ſignes he would, and by farre greater then Moſes and Paul were able, and yet without all diſtemper or impatience, as you interpret his Agonie to be. [s] *Alſo Chriſt knew exactly*

[r] Ibid. li. 30.

[s] Ibid. li. 34.

exactly Gods counſell and purpoſe for their reiection, which thoſe holy men were not ſo particularly ſure of. Wherefore Christ might better ſtay the vehemencie and breaking out of this affection, which in ſuch a caſe muſt needes tend againſt the knowen will of God.] Moſes and Paul were ſure enough of that, which they were ſorie for, though the euidence of their knowledge was not comparable to Chriſts in any thing. And I pray you what letteth, but the clearer Chriſts knowledge was of the horrible vengeance of God, that ſhould light on the Iewes for their wicked deſpiſing and murdering of him, the greater might his ſorrow be for them, ſo long as he ſorowed not, that God would be righteous, but that they would be both impious in the fact, and incredulous in the Goſpell of repentance, and ſo prouoke the Iuſtice of God to that extreame reuenge. Neither is that any way to impugne Gods knowen will, to be ſorie that men will be ſo mad, as to heape vp vengeance on their owne heads: God rather alloweth that affection in vs here on earth, where we are not compaſſed or confirmed with glorie, as our Sauiour then was not with his, that *as* [t] *he doth not puniſh with his hart* (or willingly,) ſo we ſhould not wiſh, or before hand reioyce at the deſtruction of our enemies, whom we ſhould loue, and for whom we ſhould pray, euen when they perſecute vs, as he taught vs by his owne example in praying, [u] *Father forgiue them, they know not what they doe*; and inſpired Steuen with the ſame minde to ſay at the time, when they ſtoned him, [x] *Lord lay not this ſinne to their charge*. So that your exceptions are rather preiudiciall to your owne poſitions, then to mine, which are no way weakned with theſe pretences, but rather ſtrengthned.

[t] Lament. 3.

[u] Luke. 22.

[x] Acts. 7.

[y] *Chriſts expreſſe compaſſion towards the Iewes* (Luk. 19. Matth. 24.) *a litle before he prepared him to his paſſion, plainly ſheweth that now in the Garden and ſo ſtill forward, he gaue him ſelfe wholy to other thoughts and matters, namely ſuch as concerned his great worke in hand.*] Out of your learning you allow Chriſts compaſsion towards the walles and *buildings of the temple, and the ſtones of the cittie*, for he ſheweth in both places, which you cite, *that a* [z] [a] *ſtone ſhall not be left vppon a ſtone*, either in the [z] Temple or [a] Citty, which concerned the Iewes temporall ſtate and ſafety; but touching the reiection of that whole nation for theſe fifteene hundred yeares (as we find to this day) from the knowledge and grace of God, whereby their ſoules might be ſaued, which Chriſt moſt clearely foreſaw would befall them for their putting him to death ſo barbarouſly, tumultuouſly, and contemptuouſly, that in the higth of your skill, you count not a matter worthy Chriſts cogitation or compaſsion. Such chipps you hew to helpe vp the building of your new made hell, that the Sauiour of the world vpon your word muſt be mindfull of the walles and houſes in which the Iewes dwelt, and forgetfull of their Saluation, of whom, and for whom he was borne, and to whom he was firſt ſent, if they would haue receaued him: as if the ſonne of God knew not how to proportion his ſorow for them according to the dangers, that were imminent ouer them. But in all wiſe mens eies, if he ſo much pittied the ruine of their citie and deſolation of their Land, that he wept for it, what ſorow and griefe ſhall we think he inwardly tooke to ſee the perpetuall deſtruction of ſo many thouſands, and all their poſterities ſo many hundred yeares through their owne madnes in thirſting for his bloud? and why ſhould this be excluded from the greate worke of mans Redemption, which he had then in hand, when he was in his agonie, ſince not only the future paines were foreſeene by him, but all things incident and conſequent were plainly to him foreknowen; Amongſt which was the vtter abandoning of Gods former people for their infidelitie to the doctrine, and for their crueltie to the perſon of their and our Lord and Sauiour.

[y] Defenc pag. 95. li. 16.

[z] Matth. 24. 2.

[a] Luc. 19 44.

Chriſt ſorrowed that his death ſhould be the ruine of the Iewes.

[b] *A litle before when he throughly intended and expreſſed his affection touching that matter, yet thereby he fell into no ſuch agonie, but onelie wept and mourned for them.*] Chriſt knew his times and places for all his affections and actions farre better then ſuch a gueſt, as you are, could direct him. His affections before men he did moderate with all ſobrietie and grauitie, they neuer ſaw in his face nor heard from his mouth an vndecent geſture or ſpeech. For his vehement and moſt feruent affections, (which yet proceeded from no kind of impatience nor diſtemper of mind, as you imagine, but from

[b] Defenc. pag. 95. li. 7.

from the fire and flame of his most sacred humilitie, and zeale to God, and loue and pietie to man) he chose the time neerest his passion, and the place secret not only from others, but euen, from his owne Disciples. Had the people openly seene him in
[c] Mar. 3. v. 21. these feares praiers and sweats they would haue iudged him either [c] *madd*, or [d] *possessed*
[d] Iohn 7. with a diuell, as they did, when no signes of a troubled mind appeared. Christ therefore in his heauenly wisedome would haue no witnesses of his most feruent affections, as it seemeth by the course of the Scriptures, but God and his elect Angels, in so-much that he willed the rest of his disciples to sitt where he appointed them, and tooke Peter, Iames, and Iohn, that had seen his glorie in the mountaine, and went on-ward with them to his purposed place, but left them *a stones cast of*, when he went to his passionate praiers: where for the darknesse of the night they could distinguish nothing; besides their incredible heauinesse to sleepe whiles their master was in his greatest agonie, which prooueth they neither heard, nor saw what befell him. How childishly then do you reason; Christ, when he spake of the destruction of the citie, fell not into an agonie before the people: therefore the griefe of their reiection could be no part of the sorow, which he assumed in the Garden. As this is most friuolous, so the rest is most captious. For what if his sorow for the Iewes were not the cause of his bloudie sweate; or of that part of his piaier, *Father if it be possible, let this cup passe from me?* Is that a reason, this was not respected by Christ at that time, because he had diuers other assaults and seas of sorow, touching himselfe, and others, as well as touching the Iewes? what hobling is this, to aske one entire cause for so many different affections and actions, as Christ shewed in his agonie; where the Scriptures note not only feare and sorow on euery side, but extreame humilitie, and ardent zeale with such feruencie of spirit in praier, that the sweat brake from him like droppes of bloud? who, that sought trueth, or reade but the words of the Euangelists, would thus cauill with matters of such moment? Christ was in these passions and praiers by
[e] Matth. 26. the space of an houre (for so himselfe said to Peter, [e] *What could ye not watch with me one houre* and he praied ἐκτενέστερον *more intentiuely* or *more feruently* after he was strengthned by an Angell, then before. Shall we thinke he said nothing all that while in his praiers, but only these words *O my father if it be possible, let this cupe passe from me?* This he repeated thrise, as the Scripture obserueth, but his praiers were longer, and extended to other things, except we thinke Christ was an houre repeating three lines. Besides the Scriptures note a change in his praiers. For after the Angel from heauen
[f] Luc. 22. appeared to him, and strengthened him, [f] παρώξυσε ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ, *then entering into an agonie, he praied more earnestly*, than before, so that *his sweat trickled downe to the ground like droppes of bloud*. You say there must be one entire cause of all these passions. So you say, but which way doe you, or can you goe about to prooue it, saue by the liquor of your owne lips, which is weaker then water to glew these things together.

The different affections in Christes agony had different causes.

[g] Defenc. pag. 95 li. 21. [g] *The worke of Christ at this time wrought by him is by a proper and peculiar name iustly called his passion, not his compassion. Which I would haue you to note.*] A man may soon note the worthinesse of your arguments, that when neither by truth nor reason you can preuaile you fall to collude with the names of *passion and compassion*. As if Christes passion did not sometimes import the whole historie of his death and sufferings, wherein are confessions, reprehensions, predictions, praiers and promises of Christ, as well as paines endured. And did it note noe more but paines, are not the passions and affections of feare and sorow, as painfull many times to the soule, as the stripes and wounds of the bodie? Such trifles you take for triple engins, when your conceits must be concluded; all other mens arguments *haue no shape of any reason with you*; so deepely you are in loue with your selfe and your owne inuentions, be they neuer so ill-fauoured or mishapen.

[h] Defenc. pag. 96. li. 2. [h] *Lastly those holy men (it seemeth) hauing their thoughts wholly defixed on their vehement pittie towards the Iewes, earnestly and constantly wished that the cuppe of Gods eternall wrath might come vpon themselues, that the Iewes who deserued it, might scape. But Christ in his passion contrariewise desired that cuppe, which he tasted to be to bitter, and to violent*

for

for him, might passe away from himselfe.] If your suppositions of Moses and Paule were graunted you, which yet are no way true, they make the stronger against you, though you dissemble the sight thereof. For if pittie towards the Iewes so farre preuailed with those two being the seruants of Christ, that they yeelded their soules to eternall torments, as you imagine, to saue their Brethren; how great reason then hath it, that the Messias himselfe, in whom was the fullnesse of all mercie, might be mooued with such inward compassion for that whole nation, that he most earnestly and frequently praied in the Garden to haue *this cuppe* (that is, this maner of death, whereby the Iewes should perish) *to passe from him*, as *Origen*, *Ierom*, *Ambrose and Bede* expound those wordes: and though your hellish humour be so hoat, and so haughtie, that you pronounce of euerie thing, *there is no semblance of reason in this*; yet the considerate Reader will find in those mens iudgments, whom I haue named and produced, more sap and pith then in your hell paines. For seeing the affection of mercy hath beene so mightie in men, that they were more then perplexed with this griefe, what bring you but babling to shew that Christ might not feruently pray, if so it pleased God, not to make his death the meane of their vtter ouerthrowe; and when he saw their pertinacie and infidelitie to be such, that his praier did not preuaile for them, to be troubled and agonized in mind for their wofull and willfull destruction? *Christ praid for himselfe, not for them.*] But these learned Fathers tell you, he praied not against his owne death simply, but respecting them, by whose hands it should come, and whose eternall ruine it should be. Your cup of hell paines, which you dreame Christ then *tasted to be too bitter and too violent for him*, is a false and fond conceit of yours, hauing neither trueth, sense, nor likelihood in it, and yet forsooth both Scriptures and fathers must giue place to your deuices, and semblances. This I speake, if your assertion of Moses and Paul were admitted; howbeit indeed you are not able to proue one word of all that you affirme in this case. You take certaine verie obscure and much questioned words of Moses and Paul for your ground-worke, and at your pleasure without all proofe you build thereon a whole world of falshood and confusion. Out of which, and the like darke and doubtfull places because the most of your hellish doctrine is drawen, I thinke it needfull to let the Reader see, how far and what those wordes inferre, which you so much striue to abuse.

Moses prayer for the people examined.

When the children of Israel had made them a Calfe of golde, and feasted and plaied before it, as the God that brought them out of Egypt, the Lord was wroth and said to Moses; [i] *I haue seene this people, and beholde it is a stifnecked people*; [k] *let me alone, that I may destroy them, and put out their name from vnder heauen, and I will make of thee a mightie nation, and greater than they be.* For this sinne, when Moses prayed that the whole nation might not be destroyed, he sayd to God; [l] *This people hath sinned a great sinne.* [m] *And now if thou wilt take away their sinne: and if not, wipe me out of the Booke which thou hast written.* To whom God answered; [n] *Whosoeuer hath sinned against me, I will put him out of my booke.* The first thing here to be considered is, what God threatened to the people, and promised to Moses; the next, what Moses did, or could desire for them. God did not threaten presently to execute damnation on all the people, there were many thousand children amongst them, that knew not what idolatrie meant, but he would temporally destroy that whole nation, and raise Moses to a greater number than they were. Neither may we thinke, that God then would make a new number of predestinate, and assure the kingdome of heauen to all Moses offspring without reiecting of any one of them, but that he would giue the land of Canaan, whereof he spake to their fathers, vnto Moses and his posteritie. Against this, Moses pleadeth two things vnto God; HIS GLORIE, lest the Egyptians should blaspheme, and say, [o] *he brought them out in malice to slay them in the mountaines, and to consume them from the face of the earth: and* HIS PROMISE, when he [p] sware by himselfe to Abraham, Isaac and Iacob, *to multiplie their seed as the starres of heauen, and to giue them all the land* (*of* Canaan) *to inherit for euer.* So that Moses intreateth God to regard his owne glorie and trueth, and not in that sort to reuenge the peoples sinnes, by

[i] Deuter. 9. v. 13.
[k] 14.
[l] Exod. 32. v. 31.
[m] 32.
[n] Vers. 33.
[o] Exod. 32. v. 12.
[p] Vers. 13.

by rooting them and their seed from the earth. And touching Gods offer vnto him, he so farre preferred his care of Gods glorie and mercie towards the Israelites, before his owne *dignitie, safetie*, and *posteritie*, that he desired God, if the people were destroied from the earth, to rase out him also and his posteritie, that he might not see the ruine of his nation, and heare the reproch of Gods name. Moses doth not meddle in this place with Gods eternall and secret predestination, which he knew was immutable, and wherof the Egyptians neither had, neither could haue any knowledge; and therefore so to conceiue Moses words, as if God should euerlastingly damne him, if he presently damned the people, is a construction full of presumption and impietie. Moses did not say, So thou wilt spare them, condemne me; but if thou wilt not forbeare them, destroy me (and mine) also. Wherein you may make Moses so madde, (which God forbid) that he would goe to the diuell for companie; but you can not shew by his words, that he desired his euerlasting damnation might be their eternall saluation. Moses was too well learned in Gods mysteries, to thinke that he could be the Sauiour of that people, or that his soule was a meet price for their redemption; he refuseth all his personall honour, which was great in Gods sight, his present life, and future hope for all his offspring in the land of Promise, rather than he would see the destruction of that whole multitude committed to his charge. This I take to be the true meaning of Moses words, and the booke there, of which he speaketh, to be Gods setled decree, to haue him (during their abode in the desert) to be the leader and directour of his people, and his seed after him to inherit with the rest of the Israelites.

[q] Rom. 9. v. 3.

Pauls wish for the Iewes considered.

The words of Paul, [q] *I did* (or could) *wish my selfe separated from Christ for my brethren according to the flesh*, somewhat differ from the words of Moses, and may receiue euen by Grammar a double sense; the first actuall and absolute, the second potentiall or conditionall. It is euident to euery man but meanly acquainted with the Greeke tongue, that the verbe ηὐχόμην is the præterimperfect tense Indicatiue, and regularlie signifieth, *I did wish*, in times past; and since neither ἄν is added to it, nor εἰ before or after it in the same sentence, there is no necessitie to make it Potentiall, as if he had sayd, *I could, or would wish*. Since then the wordes naturally serue the first sense, *I did wish my selfe seuered from Christ for my brethren* the Iewes, and many learned and ancient Interpreters and Expositors haue so rendred both the words and the meaning of the Apostle in that place; I do not see what necessarie argument can thence be framed, to support any of those more than strange conceits, which here you would establish. The Syriacke translation sayth; [r] *Meissalle hauith, Wishing I was.* The Commentaries vnder Ieroms name; [t] *Optabam aliquando, cùm persequerer Christum, non modo optarem. I did so wish, when I persecuted Christ, I would not now so wish.* So Ambrose; [s] *Optabam ait, non opto. I did wish it, sayth Paul, I doe not presently wish.* So Primasius; [u] *Optabam aliquando, non nunc optarem. I did wish it somtimes, I would not now wish it.* And Sedulius; [u] *Optabam, inquit, non opto. I did, I doe not wish it.* Against this exposition can nothing be brought, that is not easily answered. Paul taketh Christ and the Holie Ghost as witnesses to his owne conscience, that *his heauinesse was great, and the griefe of his heart continuall* for his brethren the Iewes, in regard of the good which he wished them in Christ, and his desire to haue them saued. And how farre this zeale and affection for his people did carie him before to runne headlong against Christ, and to do his vttermost to be a cast-away from Christ for their sakes, themselues did discerne by his sharpe and eager persute of Christes Church. He therefore euer was, and yet is a zealous well-willer to his owne Nation, though he were now called to be the Teacher of the Gentils.

The time was when he so wished.

[r] *Syriaca translat.*

[t] *Hieron. in cap. 9. ad Rom.*

[s] *Ambros. in cap. 9. ad Rom.*

[u] *In cap. 9. ad Rom.*

Those that referre this speech to the time when Paul wrote to the Romans, must first haue leaue to supply the text with a Potentiall particle in Greeke called ἄν, and then to adde certaine conditions vnto εἰ, which is *if*, & must be vnderstood correspondent vnto ἄν to make the difference betwixt the Indicatiue and Optatiue Moods. For when a man sayth he *could* or *would wish* this or that, he meaneth, *If* there were not some

If Paul spake of the time when he wrote, his wordes were conditionall.

some stoppes to hinder his desire. And so the Apostles words, if they be Potentiall, they import some necessarie respects, that stayed him from actuall wishing so much. They then which would haue the Apostle to speake Optatiuely; *I could wish my selfe to be seuered from Christ for my brethren*; doe vnderstand; so as it were *pleasing* to God, *possible* for me, and *profitable* to them. For no man of any sense or iudgement doth hence conclude as this Defender doth, that it was posible; Paul was too great a Diuine to thinke, that Gods eternall counsell and election could be changed for any mans priuate desires or wishes; but he declared, as they suppose, how willing he was to renounce all the *honour*, *hope*, and *happinesse*, that Christ had called him vnto, so it might be for Gods glorie, and their good that were his kinsmen after the flesh. What is meant by separation from Christ, and whether Paul wished an euerlasting deprivation of all blisse or no, the best Interpreters do not agree. Nicolaus Hemmingius a learned professor of true religion, commenting vpon Pauls Epistles, sayth: * *What shall we say of this affection in Paul? Hoc primum teneamus principium, quòd nihil voluerit absurdi, nihil impij, nihil contra salutem animæ suæ, nihil contra dilectionem Christi, spiritu enim Christi agebatur Paulus. Hoc stabilito principio, necesse est hanc separationem a Christo non intelligendam esse de internâ separatione à Christo & æternâ; sed de externâ tantum & temporali, quâ cupit perire in carne, vt saluentur alij in spiritu. Let vs holde this for a maine principle, that Paul wished no absurd, no wicked thing, nothing against the saluation of his owne soule, nor against the loue of Christ: for Paul was* (in this) *guided with the spirit of Christ. This foundation lying fast, we must necessarily vnderstand this separation from Christ* (which Paul wished) *not of any internall or eternall separation from Christ, but only of an externall and temporall, whereby he wisheth to perish in the flesh, that others might be saued in the spirit.* This is another of Ieroms Expositions in his questions to Algasia: † *Wee shall finde the same affection in Moses and Paul towards the flocke committed vnto them. A good shepheard layeth downe his life for his sheepe, which is all one with this* (of Paul) *I wished to be separate from Christ; and with that* (of Moses) *Wipe mee out of the booke which thou hast written. And withall see how great the Apostles loue was to Christ, that he desired to die for Christ, and to perish alone, so all sorts of men might beleeue in him. Perire autem non in perpetuum sed impræsentiarum. Perish Paul would not euerlastingly, but for this present life. He would therefore perish in the flesh, that others might be saued in the spirit; and lose his owne blood to preserue their soules.* Haymo likewise; ‡ *Hoc loquebatur de occisione corporis sui, cùm nullo modo optaret mentis affectu separari a Christo. This* (Paul) *spake of the killing of his bodie, when by no meanes he wished the affection of his minde to be seuered from Christ.*

* *Hemmingius in ca. 9. ep. ad Rom.*

† *Hieron. ad Algasiam. quæst. 9.*

‡ *Haymo in 9. ca. ad Rom.*

Photius and Oecumenius in their Greeke Scholies haue another interpretation, which § Budeus a man of no small iudgement in the Greeke tongue doth follow: ‖ οὐ φησὶν ἀνάθεμα γενέσθαι, τουτέστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ χωρισθῆναι (τοῦτο γὰρ ἀπόκλητόν ἐστιν) ἀλλ' ἀνάθεμα εἶναι, τουτέστι κεχωρισμένος ἔτι εἶναι, χριστοῦ πρὸ χειρῶν ἀποστολῆς. *Paul doth not say, he would be made a separate from Christ, that is, now to be diuided from Christ,* (that were *most detestable*) *but* (he could wish) *to haue beene* (still) *a separate from Christ, that is, as yet to haue continued an alien, and not to that present time to haue cleaued vnto Christ. In effect Paul sayth, I would haue wished mine owne selfe not yet to haue come to Christ, but to this day to haue remained separate from him, if this might haue holpen your entrance and faith in Christ.* This in effect Benedictus Aretius a learned Expositor of our time, doth embrace: Paul ¶ *desireth himselfe for* (his kinsmen) *the Iewes to be anathema from Christ, that is, for a time to be a stranger from Christ, that in the meane while his nation might haue place in Christ, and himselfe at last be saued* (with them.) The words *may likewise be taken for an imperfect speech, as though he had sayd; I could wish this, if it were lawfull for me* (salua pietate) *by the rules of pietie; I would doe it for Christes glory, who could not want meanes to restore me againe from this* (anathema or) *curse.*

§ *In Comment. linguæ Græcæ. fol. 700.*

‖ *Photius apud Oecumenium in 9. cap. epist. ad Rom.*

How the Grecians expound Pauls words.

¶ *Aretius in 9. cap. epist. ad Romanos.*

Chrysostoms exposition best pleaseth Peter Martyr and Zanchius, as if Paul had beene content for Christs glory and the Saluation of the Iewes, not to haue beene seuered from the loue and fauour of Christ, but if it were possible thereby to do

them good, from the blisse and happinesse, that Christ would bestow on him. Howbeit they both make it simply impossible, and that euen to Pauls knowledge, that this should, or could be. [d] *Neque mirari debemus Paulum hoc optasse, cum non posset fieri, (illum enim dubium non est ad prædestinatos pertinuisse) voluntas enim nostra sæpe rapitur ad ea quæ fieri non possunt.* Neither ought we to maruaile, (saith Peter Martyr) *that Paul wished that which could not be: (for he no doubt was of the number of the Elect) since our will is often caried to things impossible.* [e] *In the word Anathema,* (separated from Christ) *I consider* (saith Zanchius) *two very diuerse and distinct things, to witte, separation from the loue* (and fauour) *of Christ, and priuation from the fruite of Christs loue, which fruite is blessednesse it selfe, or a blessed and euerlasting life in heauen with Christ. That Paul wished to be seuered from Christ, meaning, from the loue and fauour of Christ, and to become execrable vnto Christ for the safetie of his bretheren, Dari nullo modo potest, aut debet, this in no wise may, or ought to be graunted. For this is repugnant to that, which he said before in the ende of the eight Chapter, yea to the Principall cause, which led him to his desire. The ground whereof was not so much his affection to his bretheren, as his loue chiefly to Christ.* And comparing Moses words and wish with Pauls, he saith. [f] *I doe not doubt, but as Paul did no way desire to be seuered from Christ, that is, from his communion and fauour: so Moses by no meanes did aske, that God would rather strike him out of the number of his friends, then destroy the people. Neque enim hoc potuit salua pietate expetere, aut petere, for neither could he desire, nor aske this with any pietie; but as Paul wished him selfe alone rather, if it were possible, to be depriued of eternall happinesse, then all the Israelites to be reiected from grace, and thereby the name of Christ and glory of God to be endangered* by blasphemous minds and mouthes. [g] *Neither is it any impediment, which is opposed touching the immutabilitie of Gods election and his Iustice, against which Moses seemeth to tend, when he desireth that God would destroy him being an innocent, and ordained to saluation. For Moses Prayer is to be vnderstoode with this Condition, if it be possible, and yet he knew, it was not possible.*

[d] *Peter Martyr in 9. cap. Epist. ad Romanos.*

[e] *Zanchius de tribus Elohim. li. 5. cap. 3. quæstio. 2.*

[f] *Ibidem.*

[g] *Ibidem.*

This exposition may not simply be receiued.

There is a fift Exposition of this place, which thinketh that Paul led with a feruent loue and zeale to haue the Iewes partakers of Christ, did not remember or respect either the Counsell or Iustice of God to be immutable, which yet are, but brake forth into a vehement affection, as desiring to exchange his eternall damnation for their Saluation. These leaue out all manner of Conditions, not because there were not many, and must be many, before the wish can be religious and pleasing to God, but for that the Apostle wholy defixed on his care for the Iewes, did not in that Passion consider the rest. But by their leaues, that are the leaders to this exposition, well this may be conceaued of some short and suddaine motion rising from mans infirmitie; but this can neuer be imagined of the Apostle aduisedly and iudicially writing to the Romans, and weighing all his words with the wisedome of Gods spirit, which if they take from the Apostle in that part of this Epistle, where he calleth Christ and the holy Ghost to witnesse, that he speaketh the truth, I see not why they may not derogate all Authoritie from the rest of his writings, when after so great deliberation, and vehement protestation they make him forget the chiefest grounds of Christian Religion earnestly vrged by himselfe in the selfe same Epistle, and euen in the next wordes before, written in the later ende of the eight Chapter. It is therefore a dangerous position to say, the Apostle was amazed or astonished in his writings, or so caried away with his affections, that he knew not what he wrote in those Scriptures, which are Canonicall. For it openeth a gap to all impieties and heresies, to thinke that Paul led with Christs spirit, did not remember nor respect, that Gods eternall election could not be changed, nor the chosen vessels of Christ be euerlastingly condemned for the loue and zeale, which they bare to Christ, nor any man or Angell admitted to be the Redeemer and deliuerer of the Reprobate from the iust and deserued wrath of God prouided for them. All which pestilent errors are consequent to this supposition, that the Apostles speech was absolutely without condition; and must be graunted to be possible,

sible, before his desire or wish could simply take place. It is therefore resolued euen by them who first deuised this exposition, that Pauls wish in this place was wholy impossible, as well in respect of God, who would not change his eternall counsels and decrees; as of the Apostle, who being a chosen vessell could not perish; and likewise of the Iewes, whose deserued destruction so often denounced by our Sauiour, as where he said, [h] *The kingdome of God shall be taken from you*, and to Ierusalem, [i] *They shall not leaue in thee a stone vpon a stone, because thou knewest not the day of thy visitation*, and many such threats; could not be auerted. Only this Defender to shew his discretion, out of these darke places, which admit many senses, collecteth that to be possible; which by the verdict of the holy Scriptures and of all Interpreters new and old is auouched to be simply impossible; and thence he maketh his notable obseruations, which indeede are nothing else but grosse and palpable errors.

[h] Matth. 21.
[i] Luke 19.

[k] *From thence I obserue foure notable points. First, That if God omnipotent, and onely soueraigne Lord will, he may inflict damnation and the paines of hell vpon meere men, not for themselues, but for others, nor for their owne sinnes, but for the imputed sinnes of other men: much rather then might he doe this to Christ, whom God sent indeede and ordained for that purpose. Flatly contrarie to your Assertion.*] To make your Obseruation the nearer to the patterne, which you follow, you must say, that God, if he will, may inflict eternall damnation (for temporall damnation to hell the Scripture knoweth none,) *on his elect*, (so were Moses and Paul;) for their loue to Christ and their bretheren, for that was the cause of their wish. And then you haue made a worthy Corollarie, that indeede contrarieth my Assertion, and not mine onely, but also the expresse words of the holy Ghost, the maine grounds of the Christian Faith, and the resolution of all writers first and last, that haue spoken of these places. To Moses Petition Gods answere was, that he would not wipe an Innocent out of his booke, but, [l] *Whosoeuer hath sinned against me*, said God, *I will put him out of my booke*. So that God himselfe did not onely refuse Moses Prayer in that part, but declared it to be repugnant to his Iustice to condemne the guiltlesse with the guiltie. The Apostle, the next words before these, by which you would make it possible that he might perish for others, professed; that [m] *neither death, nor life, nor Angels, nor things present, nor things to come, nor heigth, nor deapth, nor any other creature was able to separate him from the loue of God in Christ*. And therefore generally demandeth, [n] *Who shall separate vs from the loue of Christ?* No creature is able, as he exactly auoucheth; and as for the Creator, [o] *It is God that iustifieth*, (and therefore cannot be contrarie to himselfe) [p] *who shall condemne*, where God in Christ doth acquite? [*God* you thinke *may change his mind.*] His eternall counsell decreed, reuealed, and assured in Christ, God neither will correct, because he is wise, and before all worlds foresaw all that might mooue him to the contrarie, neither can alter, because he is truth, and so can neither repent, nor change, as men doe. The [q] *Gifts and calling of God are without repentance*. [r] *The foundation of God standeth sure, and hath this seale, the Lord knoweth who are his*. [s] *With him is no varying nor turning*; And therefore our Sauiour excepteth it as a thing not possible, that the elect should perish, when he saith; that *false Prophets and great wonders in the later daies should deceaue*, [t] *If that were possible, the very Elect*.

[k] Defenc. pag. 96. li. 25.

Note.

Foure notable errors falsely grounded on the facts of Moses & Paul where of this is the first.

[l] Exod. 32. verse 33.
[m] Rom. 8. v. 38.
[n] Ibid. v. 35.
[o] Verse. 33.
[p] Verse. 34.
[q] Rom. 11.
[r] 2. Tim. 2.
[s] Iames. 1.
[t] Matth. 24.

By his power, you will say, God may doe it, though he will not.] Gods power was most absolute ouer all creatures to dispose them at his pleasure, before he determined and setled his will in Christ Iesus, what to doe with them; since which the holy Ghost teacheth vs in plaine words, *it is impossible that God should lie*, hauing made his promise to all his elect in Christ, and bound it with an *Othe*; not because he is become weaker then he was, but because he hath fastned his counsell, and reuealed his truth in his Sonne, which he neither will, nor can change; not for want of power, but because of his truth, which is constant and immutable. [u] *God willing* (saith the Apostle) *more abundantly to shew the stablenesse of his counsell, bound himselfe with an othe, that by two immutable things* (his promise and his othe) *wherein it*

[u] Heb. 6. v. 17. 18.

is impossible that God should lie, we might haue strong comfort. So that howsoeuer you in your irreligious sophistrie doe say, *God Omnipotent may inflict damnation vpon men for others*, If you meane vpon his Elect, such as Moses and Paul were, whose examples and words you would seeme to follow, you defend an open and exact *Impossibilitie* and *heresie*; speaking of damnation as the Scriptures doe, and as you doe in this place, where you say, those *holy men* (Moses and Paul) [z] *Earnestly and constantly wished Gods eternall wrath might come vpon themselues, that the Iewes might scape it.* Will you flie from the elect to the reprobate, and say that God may inflict damnation on them for other mens sinnes? Then are you cleane gone from your examples of Moses and Paul, for they were no reprobates; and as farre from all regard of Gods Iustice, who eternally condemneth no man but for sinne permanent and inherent, as in all the reprobate? For though God doe saue without merite for his mercies sake, yet he condemneth no man eternally but for sinne; and that either committed, or inherited. [y] *Be it farre from thee* (saith Abraham to God) *to slay the righteous with the wicked, and that the righteous should be euen as the wicked, be it farre from thee. Shall not the Iudge of the world doe iudgement?*

Note.
[z] Defenc. pag. 96. li. 5.
[y] Genes. 18.

If it be simply impossible for Gods elect to perish, as our Sauiour witnesseth, what hainous and horrible falsitie and impietie is it to say, The Sonne of God might be damned for sinners? And though you shift sides and say, [x] *Much rather then may God doe this to Christ*, yet if you hold either to your former examples, whence you deduce this; or to your words in this very sentence, whence you draw this comparison, you must say, *much rather then may God inflict damnation and his eternall wrath on Christ*; which whether it may not rightly be called one of your hellish mysteries, I leaue to all Christian men to iudge. Such wicked obseruations when you make from so weake and false foundations, the Reader may soone see, what a notable Diuine you are, and how likely to teach the truth, that pretend Gods power against his will for the vtter ruine of all Religion. *Christ you say was ordained for that purpose.*] What to be damned for others, or rather to beare the chastisment of our peace, that we might be healed with his stripes? The Prophet Esay saith *he was wounded for our transgressions, and bruized for our iniquities.* But you are the first supplanter of all Patriarkes and Prophets, that say Christ was damned for our sinnes. You will come in with your temporall and substantiall damnation, to which you subiect the Soule of Christ: But Sir if you beleeue and teach the same truth, which the holy Ghost doth in the word of God; Why swarue you so much from the words and grounds of the Sacred Scriptures? Why doth nothing please you in mans Redemption but hell and damnation inflicted on Christ, where you neuer learned any such lesson out of the Prophets or Apostles? And here your abused and vnaduised examples, which you pretend for this purpose, import no such thing, but rather the cleane contrarie. For if it were not possible for Moses and Paul euerlastingly to perish, because they were elected in Christ; how infinitely more impossible was it, that Christ should perish, in whom all are elected? And how Christ could perish but either by the dissolution of his person, or else by the ioynt condemnation of the second person in the most glorious Trinitie to the fire of hell, I doe not see; since these are such blasphemies, as hell neuer hatched the like.

Christ was not ordained to be damned for vs.
[x] Defenc pag. 96. li. 29.

[w] *That which there you mention, is the ordinarie and common rule: The Soule that sinneth it shall die: but in Christ this was extraordinarie and singular that the iust died for the vniust.*] The wordes which I cited, are sufficient to reprooue the first of your foure notable obseruations as starke false. For there God *sweareth* by himselfe, that the [b] *Soule which sinneth that shall die:* and consequently, *the Sonne shall not beare the iniquitie of the Father, neither shall the Father beare the iniquitie of the Sonne*; much lesse shall Moses and Paul beare the iniquitie of the whole people, as you dreame they might. And so much Gods answere to Moses importeth; [a] *whosoeuer hath sinned against me, I will wipe him*, (and none other) *out of my Booke.* As for Christ, since he was God as well as man, his person could not be tied to the Lawes and Rules appointed

[w] Defenc. pag. 96. li. 31.
[b] Ezech. 18.
[a] Exod. 32.

pointed for men, but what he himſelfe would admit in his owne perſon, to that by willing obedience he ſubmitted himſelfe; namely in his Manhood to die the death of the Croſſe for our ſinnes according to the Scriptures, but not to be damned for vs, nor to die the death of the Soule mentioned in the Scriptures; to whoſe Doctrine we muſt ſtand, and not to your deuices, when we ſpeake of Gods iudgements againſt ſinne, or of the purgation of our Soules. Wherefore that God himſelfe by his owne body would be the Price of our Redemption, was indeed a thing proper and ſingular to the perſon of Chriſt, wherein neither Moſes nor Paul could be partakers with him, or examples of him: and therefore your fitting their prayers to his Paſſion, to make your hel paines thereby poſsible, is a thing far fet, & no way pertinent to this purpoſe.

[c] *I take it plaine enough that theſe ſinned not in their deſire, and I ſuppoſe you take it ſo too, in that you allegadge them, and ground your Reaſons of compariſon vpon them.*] They ſinned not, becauſe their deſires were conditionall & ſubmitted to Gods good pleaſure with reſeruation of their dueties; otherwiſe if they thought that poſsible, which they deſired, as you doe, by their deſtruction, (who were the choſen veſſels of mercie) to excuſe the reprobate from damnation deſerued by obſtinacie and infidelitie, they not only erred from the truth, but ſinned in praying to haue their wils take place before and againſt the will of God. But Moſes in loue to Gods glory, and care for his charge, deſired to be partaker of ſuch temporall vengeance, as ſhould befall the whole people of God; and Pauls words, that are potentiall, muſt be conditionall; otherwiſe he needed not to haue ſaid, *I could wiſh*, but *I doe wiſh*. The which becauſe he doth not, but onely ſhew his deſire, were it *poſſible and pleaſing to God*, therefore he may be well excuſed from ſinne, though you condemne this in him, and that in Moſes as a [d] *Diſtemper*. Touching my alleadging their griefe for Gods people, I doe not vſe to venture on ſuch deſperate concluſions as you doe. To my purpoſe it was ſufficient, that they both were [e] *grieued at hart with great and continuall heauineſſe* for their Nation, which are the vndoubted and vnqueſtioned words of Paul, and cauſes of Moſes Prayer: farder I did not goe, but from that care and ſorrow of theirs, I obſerued it both lawfull and likely for the Meſsias, as he was man, to be inwardly and deepely troubled in his affection with the preſent and perpetuall ruine of that people for his death by taking his bloud vpon them and their children. And this ſtandeth ſound and good, whatſoeuer become of your newe and notable collections, which ſhew your ſmall Iudgement, and leſſe truth in points of Diuinitie.

[c] Defenc. pag. 96. li. 22.

[d] Defenc. pag. 95. li. 33.

[e] Rom. 9.

[f] *Secondly, we ſee here that there may be poſſibly a death of the Soule, a curſe, and ſeparation from God, which is in it ſelfe neither ſinne, nor conioyned with ſinne neceſſarily: but meerely a ſuffering of puniſhment from God for the ſinnes of others imputed. Contrarie to you alſo pag. 73. & 310. yea generally euery where.*] You remember belike the olde rule, *Ex impoſſibili ſequitur quodlibet, from an impoſſibilitie ſuppoſed any thing will follow*: and ſeeing your ſelfe deſtitute of all proofes for your new Doctrine, you will needs make lotteries of impoſsibilities, and thence draw what you like beſt. For taking a plaine impoſsibilitie for your maine ground, you thereupon frame vs foure obſeruations as impoſsible, as the firſt ſuppoſition. And this abſurd wandring from all truth and faith you would haue the Reader *Note*, as a ſpeciall demonſtration of your diſcretion and vnderſtanding in matters of Religion. Suppoſe as you doe, that God through his omnipotent power may turne heauen into hell, and reuerſe all that he hath decreed and prouided for the different rewards of pietie and impiety, and you may ſoone prooue what falſitie you will by flying from Gods counſell and truth to his power and might: But Chriſtian religion teacheth not whatſoeuer is poſsible to Gods power, but what is ordained by his will, and reuealed by his word. Otherwiſe what hereſie can you name touching Gods works in his creation or redemption of the world, that defendeth impoſsibilities to Gods power, ſetting aſide all reſpect of his will and truth? This therefore is the high way to vphold all falſities and impieties, to oppoſe Gods power againſt his will and word, and to beleeue he hath done, whatſoeuer his almightie power is able to doe.

[f] Defenc. pag. 96. li. 34.

The ſecond error drawen from their example.

Concerning the death of the Soule, though here be no place to ſpeake largely of it; it is double by the confeſsion of all Diuines, and euen of the Scriptures themſelues. For as the places are diuerſe, where men doe abide, here and elſe where, in this life and the next; ſo the life, which the Soule enioyeth, is proportioned to the place, where ſhe continueth; God in his wiſdome and goodneſſe hauing ſo prouided, that whiles ſhe gouerneth the body here on earth, ſhe ſhould be partaker of him by the grace of his ſpirit, and hereafter in the kingdome of heauen ſhe ſhould haue the full fruition of him by the manifeſt reuelation and communion of his glorie. Likewiſe the death of the Soule preuaileth in this life by ſinne, which is the naturall depriuing, or voluntarie renouncing of all grace, and in the world to come by damnation, which is the iuſt reiecting of all the wicked from any fellowſhip with God in his glorie, and the faſtning them to euerlaſting torments in hell fire. Gods actions in either of which are moſt iuſt and holy; for he withdraweth and denieth his grace, when it is refuſed; and excludeth them from all acceſſe to his bleſſednesſe, that heere on earth deſpiſed both him and it, adiudging them to the iuſt deſert of their ſinnes in euerlaſting flames: But neither of theſe can poſsibly take hold of man without ſinne committed, or inherited. And therefore your imagining a death of the Soule without ſinne, is a ſuppoſing of things impoſsible, ſince neither Moſes Prayer nor Pauls wiſh in that ſenſe, which you follow, were poſsible, as all Diuines both new and old confeſſe.

Paul wiſhed if it were poſſible and lawfull.

[g] Paul *wiſhed* (ſaith Chyſoſtome) *to be ſeparate from Chriſt,* εἰγε δυνατὸν ἦν, *if it were poſſible.* And againe, *Therefore am I grieued* (ſaith Paul) κἂν εἰγε ἦν, *and if it were* (lawfull or poſsible) *to be ſeparated and eſtranged, not from the loue of Chriſt,* (μὴ γένοιτο, *farre be that from me* to wiſh, *becauſe he did this for loue*) *but from that fruition and glorie, I could admitt it, that my Lord ſhould not be blaſphemed.* Photius, as he is collected by Oecumenius, thus expreſſeth Pauls wiſh. [h] *Paul ſaith,* ὅτι εἰ ἦν δυνατὸν, *that if it were poſſible by my deſtruction for Chriſt to be glorified, and the Iewes to be ſaued, I would not refuſe it. I could wiſh it, ſayth he,* εἰ ἐπεχώρει, εἰ ἐνεδέχετο, *if it might be, if it were lawfull, if that choiſe were giuen me; I would preferre the glory of Chriſt, and the ſaluation of manie before mine owne.* The new writers that take Anathema for a ſeparation from Chriſt, as Chryſoſtome doth, adde the ſame conditions which he doth, confeſsing it neuer the leſſe to be ſimply impoſsible. The iudgements of Peter Martyr and Zanchius we ſaw before. Aretius repeating this expoſition amongſt others, ſaith. Or els [i] *ſeparated from Chriſt, that is euerlaſtingly damned, if that were poſſible, that with the loſſe of one ſoule the ſaluation of manie thouſands might be redeemed. The affection of thoſe that ſpeake louingly, proceedeth often to things impoſſible. For of it ſelfe neither was it poſſible, that the Apoſtle with his deſtruction ſhould redeeme the vnbeleeuing Iewes, and it had beene wicked ſo to thinke, ſince the merit of Chriſt alone is propitiatorie; neither was this lawfull for the Apoſtle to offer himſelfe to be a Redemptorie ſacrifice for the ſaluation of others; but the Apoſtles affection is to be conſidered wiſhing impoſſibilities vpon an honeſt deſire.* Piſcator in his Scholies vpon that Chapter to the Romans. [k] *I did wiſh, for, I could wiſh: Nempe ſi liceret ſalua pietate, meaning, if it were lawfull ſo to doe without breach of pietie.* Beza. [l] *This is very much to be obſerued, that Paul doth not ſay, he did ſo wiſh at any time, but he was ſo affected, that willingly he could be content to redeeme the deſtruction of his nation with his owne, nempe ſi fieri ſic potuiſſet, meaning if that might poſſibly be. And therefore it is a needeleſſe diſputation, that manie here vndertake, whether this wiſh were lawfull or vnlawfull.*

[g] *Chryſoſt. homil. 16. in ca. 9. ad Rom.*
Ibidem.
[h] *Photius apud Oecumenium ca. 15. in 9 ca. epiſt. ad Romanos.*
[i] *Aretius in ca. 9. epiſt. ad Romanos.*
[k] *Piſcatorius Scholia in ca. 9. ad Rom.*
[l] *Beze Annotationes in 9. ca. ad Rom.*

If Paul refrained thus to wiſh, becauſe it was neither lawfull, nor poſsible actually to obtaine it, how ſenſeleſſe and truethleſſe are your foure obſeruations grounded vpon the poſsibilitie and pietie of this wiſh; whereas all men of any iudgement or vnderſtanding conclude the cleane contrarie? but ſuch is your cariage that except you may croſſe the reſolutions of all men, you thinke your ſelfe no bodie. Be famous therefore in your follie, that bring impoſsibilities and impieties for the chiefe foundation of your late ſprung faith; your Reader I truſt will require ſome better proofe, before he giue you allowance in matters of ſuch moment as theſe be.

[m] *Thirdly,*

[m] *Thirdly that extraordinarily there is greater loue among meere men, then only to die bodily one for another, though vſually and ordinarily a greater cannot be found among men: which is it that Chriſt meaneth: but how much more then may the loue of Chriſt toward his elect be farre greater: contrarie to your aſſertion pag:* 107.108.] Your doctrine is all extraordinarie, that no ordinarie rules of the Scriptures can ſtand with it. Howbeit in this you chalenge Chriſt, and not mee, who ſaith: [n] *No man hath greater loue, then to lay downe his life for his friend.* That is ordinarily true, you ſay but extraordinarily falſe. Then extraordinarily by your ſuppoſition Chriſt ſometimes ſpeaketh an vntrueth, though it be not ordinarie with him ſo to doe: which honor you yeeld to the reſt of the Scriptures. For when you can not otherwiſe auoid them; thoſe, you anſweare, are the [o] *ordinarie and common rules of the Scripture*; But your doctrine conſiſteth of extraordinarie Rules, which are no where found but in your owne braine. You haue heard Chryſoſtome, Photius, and Zanchius auouch (who are the chiefe commenders of the expoſition, which you would ſeeme to follow) that Paul neither did, nor might preferre the loue of his Countriemen before his owne ſaluation, and communion with Chriſt; but that his principall reſpect in this wiſh was his loue to the glorie of Chriſt, which he more eſteemed then his owne ſoule. So that nothing did hinder Paul to preferre Gods glory before the ſafety of his owne ſoule, and yet Chriſtes rule to ſtand true, that *no man hath greater loue, then to lay downe his life for his friend.* Neither was it the death of the Soule that Paul wiſhed, ſince he would by no meanes, as theſe old and new writers obſerue, be ſeuered from the loue and fauour of Chriſt, but from the ioy and honour that is laid vp for the ſaints of God. Peter Martyr is of the ſame opinion with them. [p] *Neither doth Paul in this place ſay, he wiſhed to be ſeparated from the loue of God, (nullo enim modo voluiſſet ab illo amando deſiſtere: for by no meanes would Paul haue ceaſed from louing God) only he wiſheth to be excluded from the bleſſednesſe and fruition of God. And this euerie one of vs ought to be willing vnto, euen leſſe to regard his owne (eternall) happineſſe then the glorie of God.* Now he that ſtill loueth god, and is beloued of him, by no meanes can ſuffer the death or curſe of the ſoule mentioned in the Scriptures. [q] *if any man loue not the Lord Ieſus Chriſt, let him be Anathema maran-Atha*, that is accurſed in the higheſt degree. then could not the ſame curſe befall him, that loued Chriſt dearer then his owne ſoule; but the words of our Sauiour muſt needes be verified in him, [r] *he that looſeth his ſoule for my ſake, ſhall find* (or ſaue) *it.*

[m] Defenc. pag. 97. li. 1.

The Defender ſayth the Scriptures are ordinarily true, that is, ſometimes falſe.

[n] Iohn 15.

[o] Defenc. pag. 96. li. 32.

[p] Pet. Martyr in ca. 9. epiſt. ad Romanos.

[q] 1. Cor. 16.

[r] Matth. 10.

So that neither of your ſuppoſitions are true, either that Paul preferred the loue of men before the ſafety of his owne ſoule, or that for their ſakes he was content to die the death of the ſoule mentioned in the Scriptures, which is a ſeparation as well from the loue and trueth of God, as from the glorie and felicitie of God. And your compariſon, for which you intend all this, and wherewith you would croſſe my aſſertion, is moſt vntrue, that Chriſtes loue to his elect led him to die the death of the ſoule, or to forgoe the fauour and fellowſhip of God for their ſakes. For the coniunction of Chriſts manhoode to his Godhead, being perſonall, was farre greater and nearer then the knitting of Paul or Moſes vnto God; and if that vnion were broken, all the workes and ſufferings of Chriſts manhoode were no way able to bring vs to God. Wherefore it were a thing extreamly impious in the manhood of Chriſt, and no leſſe dangerous to our ſaluation, for him to be content to be vtterly ſeuered from the vnion and communion of the diuine nature, with which he was perſonally ioined; and though your imagination of Moſes and Paul be falſe enough, and altogether impoſsible, yet to dreame the like of Chriſt, is the higth of all impietie. Neither doth that diminiſh his loue to vs, ſince there was no need thereof for vs, his other ſuffrings being ſufficient in the iuſt and exact iudgement of God; and the loue, that led the ſecond perſon in Trinitie to lay aſide for the time the full and perfect fruition of his glorie, and equalitie with God his Father, and in our fleſh to emptie and humble himſelfe, not only to the infirmities of our nature, and miſeries of our life, but euen to the ſhame and paine of our death on the Croſſe, farre exceeded all the loues, that men or Angels could ſhew vnto vs. For there is more diſtance betweene the glorie and Maieſty

Chriſt could not be content to be ſeparated from God for vs.

Maieſty of God, and the ſenſe and ſhame of our miſerie and mortality, then betwixt the ſaluation or damnation of men or Angels. Wherefore Chriſts loue to vs may not be diminiſhed, or made inferiour to the loue of creatures, though he were not damned for our ſakes, ſince that inuitablely and irreuocablely would haue faſtned vs to a greater condemnation, and no way ſaued vs; whereas now his vnſpeakable fellowſhip with God hath recalled vs all from the damnation due to vs, to be partakers of the loue and grace, that eternally and infinitely he poſſeſſed with God.

[f] Defenc. pag. 97. li. 6. [f] *Fourthly, we ſee here theſe holy men, without feeling any paines inflicted by Gods wrath, but only through an earneſt and mighty compaſſion of loue had their minds drawen ſo wholy to thinke on this ſpeciall thing aboue their reach, that during the time they turne not themſelues to any other cogitation.* [t] li. 17. [t] *This you acknowledge may be in men, and yet you will not ſcoffe at them as caſt into a Traunce by it, nor reproche them with infernall confuſion. How much leſſe ought you ſo to deale with Chriſt.*] Your fourth obſeruation is like the reſt, that is, voide of all reaſon and trueth. For though you take vpon you to be bold with Moſes and his praier, which yet you cannot ſhew [u] li. 14. *was directly againſt his owne ſaluation*, as you auouch; what proofe haue you that Paul aduiſedly and conſiderately writing to the Romans, was amazed, and had no remembrance that Gods election was immutable, and certainly reſerued for him and the reſt of Gods choſen in the heauens? will you tell vs, that the Scriptures were written by men amazed, and forgetting the firſt principles of religion euen in their writings? you may do wel to make that your fift obſeruation rightly matching your doctrine & deuotion: but I weene few wiſe men wil allow this or that audacious enterpriſe in you. I did in thoſe words of mine which you bring, deſcribe what aſtoniſhment by nature was; to wit, feare & admiration ſo mixed, that for the time both ſenſe & ſpeach are ſuddenly interrupted, whiles the ſoule moſt earneſtly beholding, or declining that, which ſhe conceaueth not or endureth not, neglecteth the ſenſe or ſpeach of her bodie, as regarding or attending greater things, that preſently or fearefully oppreſſe her. What is this to Moſes or Paul? if they were aſtoniſhed with feare, then neither could they ſpeake, nor write; how els they ſhould be caried beſides themſelues, I doe not ſee, nor you doe not ſay. Moſes had often acceſſe to god, and ſo feared not to ſpeake, or pray vnto him; and at the firſt kindling of Gods wrath againſt the people, for making the Golden Calfe, Moſes carefully and mindfully propoſed in his [x] Exod. 32. verſ. 11. praiers to God both the reproch, which the [y] 12. Ægyptians would breath forth againſt gods holie name, and the [z] 13. oath made by God to Abraham Iſaac and Iacob, to giue their ſeed the land of Canaan for an euerlaſting inheritance. And the Scripture ſaieth that vppon that praier, before Moſes went downe from the mount, [a] Exod. 32. verſ. 14. *The Lord changed his mind from the euill, which he threatned to doe vnto his people.* Leſſe cauſe then had Moſes afterward to be amazed, hauing alreadie diuerted and pacified the brunt of Gods anger againſt the multitude, and praying now for the quite aboliſhing of this ſinne, out of Gods remembrance, and the continuance of his fauour, and preſence to goe before his people. Auguſtine thinketh Moſes was well aduiſed in his praier, and knew Gods mercy to be ſuch, that he would rather ſpare the wicked, then deſtroy the godly; of which goodneſſe in God Abraham preſumed, when he made requeſt for Sodom. [b] *Auguſt. in Pſal. 77.* [b] *God* (ſayth Auſten) *ſo ſpared that nation, that he kindled not his whole wrath vtterly to roote them out, and make an end of them, which appeareth plainly in Gods ſpeach, and Moſes praier for their ſinnes; where God ſaid, I will raſe them* (from the earth) *and make thee a great people. But Moſes interpoſeth himſelfe, paratior deleri pro ipſis, quam ipſos, readier to be cut off, than they ſhould, ſciens apud miſericordem ſe id agere, qui quoniam nullo modo deleret ipſum, etiam illis ipſis parceret propter ipſum, knowing he ſhould preuaile with him that was mercifull, who would by no meanes deſtroy him, but rather ſpare them for his ſake.* So that Moſes by the iudgement of S. Auguſtine was not amazed in his prayer, as you falſly preſume, but remembred himſelfe well enough, and put his life into Gods hands, as more willing to be ſlaine, than the whole multitude ſhould, and knowing that God would rather ſpare them in mercie, who were treſpaſſers, than ſlay him, that was innocent.

The fourth errour pretended from the former examples.

For

For Paul you haue leſſe reaſon, ſince he doth not actually wiſh it, but ſayeth, *hee could wiſh it*, if it were lawfull and poſsible; meaning, he could be content to put bodie and ſoule into Gods hands, to doe therewith what pleaſed him, ſo the trueth of Christ might be receiued and acknowledged of the Iewes. His maner of ſpeech, which muſt be conditionall, except you grant it to reſpect the time paſt, proueth that he was well aduiſed in referring all to Gods will, and reſeruing as well Gods counſell, as his word reuealed, without touch or impeach. And therefore that the Apoſtle ſo writing was amazed, I ſee no ground, beſides the gulfe of your owne inuentions. I am farre therefore from ſcoffing at them, as if they were in a traunce, in whom I ſee no ſuch amazedneſſe, as you imagine; much leſſe may you take vpon you for your pleaſure, to put the ſonne of God into the ſame diſtemper, as you call it, with others; ſince both his wordes and deedes recorded by the Euangeliſts, declare him to haue beene not onlie full of grace and trueth, but mindfull of the leaſt circumſtance, that pertained to his paſsion, and of purpoſe to direct his ſayings and doings to all thoſe iſſues, which the Scriptures foreſpake of his ſufferings.

[*Specially you ſhould acknowledge that his maruelous perplexity might well be a meanes, that his ſuddaine wiſhes againſt his owne conſtant purpoſe and Gods will were yet no ſinnes.*] That Chriſt might be ſomewhat aſtoniſhed in the Garden, I doe not deme, becauſe that was an affection incident to our nature, and ſpecially for that the Scripture appli-eth the wordes, ἤρξατο ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι, [d] *he began to be afraid and aſtoniſhed*, vnto him; but that this aſtoniſhment continued all the time of his paſsion, or of his praiers in the Garden, and that it proceeded from the ſenſe of hell paines inflicted on him, theſe are your voluntarie fanſies voide of all foundation in the word of God, and wholly depending on your priuate conceits. For were it an aſtoniſhment, as it was ſuddaine ſo it muſt be ſhort; and though for the time it might ſuſpend ſenſe and memorie, yet when Chriſt began to pray, he reſumed not only the power of ſpeach, which in a maze men want, but of vnderſtanding alſo, ſince praier without faith is a ſinnefull temptation of God, and faith requireth as well knowledge, what we aske, as perſwaſion of Gods goodneſſe, that he will graunt our deſires. So that both the turning of Chriſts tongue to ſpeake, and the directing of his hart in praier, doe prooue ſufficiently, that Chriſt ſpeedily recouered both ſenſe & memorie, if we grant, he was on the ſuddaine ſomewhat aſtoniſhed; the cauſe whereof you boldly conceaue to be what you liſt, as your maner is without any care to make proofe thereof. But as your obſeruations were moſt abſurd and falſe, ſo are your collections, that Chriſt *by his paines* (then felt and feared) *had* [e] *infinitly more cauſe to be in his mind amazed*, then either Moſes or Paul; ſince the Scriptures mention *no paines then felt* of him in *his mind*, beſides the affections of feare and ſorow, which though they be painfull to mans nature, yet differre they farre from the paines of the damned, to which you ſeeke in this place to faſten the ſoule of Chriſt.

[f] *As for the Fathers which you cite, if they meane as they ſeeme to doe, that now at his paſſion among other cauſes of ſorow there wanted not this, euen his great pittie towards his forlorne countriemen, then we ioine with them. If they meane, as you would haue them, that this was the meine and chiefe cauſe of his extreame ſorow and amazednesſe, therein I vtterly leaue them.*] You haue a long while in moſt lauiſh maner vntowardly pretended, that [g] *Certainly Chriſt would haue greatly reioiced to ſee the due execution of Gods moſt holie and deſerued iuſtice* vpon the Iewes; and now with a ſuddaine retraite you ioine with Ambroſe, Ierom, Auguſtine and Bede, that this among other cauſes of ſorow wanted not in the Garden. Then as here you be more ſoberlie minded then before, or he at leaſt that made this collection for you; ſo this often croſsing your ſelfe, argueth that either you haue not yet recouered your witts, to vnderſtand what you write, or that your helpers being in diuers places, and not ſeeing the one what the other wrote, you haue vnhandſomely patched their notes together without marking, wherein they contradicted each other. But this we take to be the neareſt the trueth, ſince I doe not vrge this cauſe to exclude all others, which by any due circumſtance of the Scrip-

tures

[c] Defenc pag. 97. li. 20.

[d] Mar. 14.

[e] Defenc. pag. 97. li. 23.

[f] Defenc. pag. 97. li. 26.

[g] Defenc. pag. 94. li. 20.

tures might concurre to greeue him in the Garden; onely I noted that those learned and auncient fathers coniecturing the causes of Christs sorrow at that instant, neuer drempt of your hell paines, which you haue lately coyned out of the hollownesse of your owne hart; but obserued other causes, that might afflict his mind, which you in your Treatise reiected with great skorne, howsoeuer some of your friends haue since drawen you to be otherwise minded. As for your *leaning* them, it is little to the purpose, they will remaine wise and godly expositors, when such a blind guide as you are, will be lightly regarded withall your fantasticall Nouelties.

[b] Defenc. pag. 97. li. 31.

[b] *Howbeit this here note in thē, that these Fathers auouch Christ feared not his* (bodily) *death or passion: for thereof only they speake here questionles. You contrariwise say that Christ feared (bodily) death, for thereof also you discourse, and had more cause as you thinke so to doe then any of his members.*] First then they *questionlesse* gainsay your new plot of mans redemption by the paines of hell. For they speak of the death, which Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures, which if they tooke to be only bodily, as you graunt; they knew nothing neither of the death of the Soule, nor of the second death of the damned, which you auouch Christ must suffer, before he could redeeme vs; and so they, or you are cleane besides the Christian faith. Againe, they doe not simply say, he feared not death, for then should they crosse other fathers (and euen themselues) affirming, that Christ had a naturall feare of death, but the feare thereof was not the cause of this Agonie, that is, he feared it not so much, as to be thus afflicted at the remembrance of it. Otherwise Ambrose himselfe saith. [i] *Debuit ergo Dolorem suscipere, vt vinceret tristitiam, non excluderet, & nos disceremus in Christo, quemadmodum futuræ mortis mestitiam vinceremus. Christ was therefore to admit sorrow, that he might conquere it, not exclude it, and we in Christ might learne to ouercome the feare of death approching.* So Cyrill. [k] *Quando formidasse mortem videtur, vt homo dicebat: Pater transeat à me Calix iste. When Christ seemed to feare death, as a Man he said, Father let this Cup passe from me. For though as a man he abhorred death, yet as a man he refused not to performe the will of his Father, and of himselfe, being the word* (or Sonne) *of God. Morti ergo, quam vt homo formidabat, seipsum pro nobis vt Deus tradidit. To death then, which as a man he feared, he deliuered himselfe for vs as God.* And Athanasius. [l] *As by Death Christ abolished Death,* καὶ ἀνθρωπίνως πάντα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, *and all humane miseries by suffering them as a man, so by vsuall feare he tooke away our feare, and made Men no longer to feare death.* And Damascene. [m] *As a Man* (Christ) *would haue the Cup to passe.* ταῦτα τῆς φυσικῆς δειλίας τὰ ῥήματα. *These wrrds proceeded from a naturall feare.* And Theophylact. [n] τῇ γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως τὸ δειλιᾷν θάνατον. *It is incident to the nature of man to feare death, for death entered besides* (or against) *Nature, and therefore nature flieth death.* [o] *The common feare of mans nature Christ cured,* ἐν ἑαυτῷ διαπαύσας ταύτην *consuming* (or dispersing) *it in himselfe, and making it obedient to the will of God.* This your ignorance apprehendeth as a contradiction in them, but were you quietly minded, or better acquainted with their positions, and reasons, you would soone see, that these may stand together, that Christ might haue a naturall feare of death incident to man, and yet that feare not to be the whole cause of this agonie.

[i] *Ambros. in Luc. li. 10. de tristitia & dolore Christi.*

[k] *Cyril. Thesauri li. 10. ca. 3.*

[l] *Athana. Oratio 4. contra Aria.*

[m] *Damascen. orthodoxæ fidei li. 3. ca. 18.*

[n] *Theophyl. in 26. ca Matthæi.*

[o] *Idem. in Luc. cap. 22.*

[p] Defenc. pag. 97. li. 37. *The third cause concurring to Christs agonie.*

[p] *Thirdly, touching his regard of his Church generally the same answere serueth, as it is giuen to the last point before.*] You meane that among other causes of his sorrow this wanted not, which is as much as I auouched. And the more dearely he loued his Disciples that followed him, and the whole Church, that should after beleeue in him, the more inwardly he might sorrow for their infirmities, and earnestly pray for their safeties, being no way ignorant of satans eger and watchfull malice against them. Since then after his resurrection and ascension he should in glory *appeare to the face of God* for them, what let was there, but he might now in the daies of his flesh, approching to his passion for their deliuerance, in most humble and ardent manner mediate aswell for their redemption as preseruation; and in this loue & zeale towards them, for whom he gaue himselfe, powre out both abundant teares, and bloudie sweats to shew the height of his desire and care to prouide and purchase their protection

tection and saluation? His supplications for vs were a necessarie part of our reconciliation to God, as well as his sufferings for vs; and the Prophet expressing the one, adioyneth the other as no lesse requisite then the former, in saying; [q] *he bare the sinne of many, and prayed for the Trespassers.* And no doubt he chose this place and time before his apprehension with inflamed and vehement affection of prayer to direct the course, and strengthen the force of all his sufferings, that receauing comfort and courage from aboue, he might wade through the worke of our redemption with greater assurance and confidence in the eyes of all his enemies, to whom he would shew neither feare nor sorrow, but silent and constant patience.

[q] Esa. 53.

[r] *If you vrge that these Fathers are so resolute for these causes, as their words pretend, then you your selfe abuse them more than euer I did or meane to doe, where you say, it is curiositie to examine, presumption to determine, impossibilitie to conclude, (as these doe) what was the true cause of Christes agonie.*] A wise answere forsooth, and woorthy the vigor of your wit; to say their words are so resolute, that I condemne them more than you, when they with all moderation temper their speech, and by the generalitie or diuersitie of occasions, that might engender feare to Christ in the Garden, shew they meane nothing lesse than to conclude any direct or particular cause of that agonie. Ambroses words are; [s] *Nec illud distat a vero. Neither is that dissonant from the trueth.* And againe; [t] *Et fortasse ideo tristis est. And perhaps he was therefore sorowfull.* And so Augustine; [t] *Non incongruè nos dicere æstimo. I thinke we speake not without some reason.* The rest admonish in generall, that Christ sorowed not for himselfe, but for vs. Doth this conclude any speciall and certaine cause of that agonie? But when you can not otherwise decline them, you thinke it enough to shift them off with such a iest as this is. Indeed they touch your free holde somewhat neerely, when they say, Christ sorowed not for any sufferings of his owne: this you impugne for life; and if their assertion in this be true, they turne your hell paines cleane out of Christes passion. For if Christ suffered, as you dreame, the death of the damned, he had good cause to feare and grieue at that which he felt; but with one consent *Hilarie*, *Ambrose*, *Ierome*, and *Bede* reiect that as false, that Christ did (thus) feare and grieue for any sufferings of his owne. Whether therefore you or I most abuse these Fathers, let the Reader iudge. And howsoeuer your helpers haue somewhat haltered your headlong humours, not long since, as I haue formerly shewed, you flung off these Fathers in this very case as [u] *fond, absurd and voide of likelihood, reason, and sense*; which whether it be an abuse to so graue and godly writers, I leaue the Reader to censure as he seeth cause.

[r] Defenc. pag. 98. li. 1.

[s] *Ambros. in Luc. lib. 10. de tristitia & dolore Christi.*

[t] *August. in Psal. 87.*

[u] Trea. pa. 67.

[x] *Fourthly, you alleage his inward sorow and zealous griefe for the sinnes of the world to be the maine and chiefe cause of this agonie. Surely euen to rehearse these your arguments is refutation of them enough.*] Your peeuish peruerting of my reasons, and clapping a conclusion vnto them against my expresse purpose and premonition, is indeed as soone refuted as rehearsed; but referre them to that for which I bring them, and then your bragges are more than boyish. I plainly professed in my Sermons, that since the Scriptures expressed no particular cause of Christes agonie in the Garden, it was impossible certainly to conclude any direct or determinate cause thereof. What follie then is it in you to suppose, that I goe about to inferre that, which precisely I forwarned was impossible to be concluded? Of the causes, which I produced, I professed no more, but that they were consonant to the rules of pietie, and might concurre in Christes agonie, which you do grant after your nice maner by confessing these *wanted not*; and when you haue yeelded as much as I vrged, then you runne backe to your sillie shift, and say they were not the maine or chiefe causes of that agonie; your hell paines are left out, which must haue a place, as you thinke, in that perplexitie of Christs in the Garden. But sir first prooue your hell paines were then and there inflicted on Christs soule, and then you shall haue leaue to couple that to the causes of Christs agonie. Till you so doe, in vaine you denie the rest for want of this. It sufficeth me to shew religious and zealous respects of pietie and charitie, which might

[x] Defenc pag. 98. li. 6.

The fourth cause concurring to Christs agonie.

mooue

mooue Christ to those affections, and other proofe of voluntarie actions and inward affections can none be brought. And yet you may remember, sir Defensor, though you dissemble it, that when you trample so readily, but yet so rudely on my reasons, you wrong the ancient fathers, whence I collected them, more then you doe mee. Hilarie and Ambrose doe peremptorily teach, that Christs sorow in the Garden was not for himselfe, nor his owne sufferings, but for our sinnes and woundes. And though you refute me with breathing out more absurdities then sentences in this your defence, yet the sober Reader will not suffer you so soone to deface their iudgements and opinions, whom I follow. But we shall heare some doubtie dispute to mainetaine this matter.

[y] Defenc. pag. 98. li. 9.

[y] *All these are proper parts of his holinesse and righteousnesse, as I haue said, but no proper parts or causes of his bloody and most dreadfull agonie, that is of his sacrifice satisfying for sin. Onely his paines were, which then he felt and feared.*] All these were religious respects of feare and sorow, which wanted not in Christs agonie, as you grant; now whether they were painfull or no, a man would thinke should be no great doubt, but with one that hath lost both witte and sense. Saint Iohn saith, [z] *Feare hath painfullnesse.* [a] *Sunt duo tortores animæ, timor et dolor. There are two tormentors of the soule, feare and sorow,* saith Austen. And who that hath but his fiue witts, doth not feele, that feare and sorow are afflictions and vexations of the soule? Wherfore your excluding them from the sacrifice for sinne, because they are no paines, is a learned peece of worke which neuer a Morter-maker in England would stumble at besides you. Let shame, if not sense, teach you that feare and sorow are very painfull afflictions of the soule, and rather comprised then exempted in Christs sufferings by that text of Scripture, which you pretend; and therefore necessarie respects and pertinences to the sacrifice for sin.

[z] 1. Iohn 4.

[a] *August. de verbis Domini secundum Iohannem, Sermone 42.*

[b] Psal. 51.

[b] *The sacrifice of God is a troubled spirit,* saith Dauid. Why then should not the affliction of Christs spirit with feare and sorow be properly a part of his sacrifice and suffering for sin? *They were proper parts,* you say, *of his holinesse.* | And might they not also, when they grew vehement & grieuous, be parts of his sufferings? You would seeme skilfull after your vnlearned maner in the soules-suffering. Is there any suffring more proper to the soule then feare & sorow from her owne cogitations, apprehensions, & affections? | from the immediate hand of God, you thinke, is more proper. | That in some cases may be possible, though in Christes you can prooue no such thing; but that is most proper, which the soule neuer wanteth, and hath of her owne nature. And therefore so farre is it from being exempted from the sacrifice of sinne, that in vs there is none other sacrifice for sinne but repentance which is all one with godly sorow, bringing with it [c] *care, feare, desire, zeale* and such like effects of true detestation of sinne, as the Apostle describeth. Repentance for himselfe Christ could haue none, because he neuer sinned, but as our transgressions displeased the holinesse, and prouoked the wrath of God against vs; so when our Lord and Sauiour came to make full satisfaction for our sinnes, he did not onely appease the iustice of God by enduring his hand, but contented the holinesse of God by inward and infinite sorow for our sakes and sinnes, which we were not able to yeeld vnto God. To haue accepted the punishment, which Gods iustice awarded, and to haue neglected the offence and displeasure, which gods holinesse conceaued against sinne, had beene not to pacifie, but to prouoke God, in not regarding the cause which mooued him to take vengeance on sinne. It is therefore most agreeable to the rules of pietie, that the inward sorow for our sinnes, which the sonne of God impressed on his humane soule, when he prepared himselfe to make purgation of them, did no lesse affect and afflict him, then the outward paines receaued in his body; and why you should exclude this from his agonie, there is no reason, but that you are most in loue with that, which hath least proofe or likelihood to be the cause of this agonie.

[c] 2. Cor. 7. ver. 11.

Inward and infinite sorow for our sinnes must be found in Christes sacrifice for them.

This being exactly noted by *Hilarie*, *Ambrose*, *Cyrill* and other auncient and learned Fathers, I did rightly to obserue it, how lightly soeuer your insolent conceit esteemeth it. [d] *Igitur cum & tristitia de nobis est, & oratio pro nobis est, non possunt non omnia propter*

[d] *Hilarius de Trinitate. li. 10.*

propter nos gesta esse intelligi, cum omnia pro nobis quibus timebatur, orata sunt. Since then both (Christes) *sorow was concerning vs, and his praier for vs, all the rest must needes be vnderstood for our sakes, for so much as all his praiers were powred forth for vs, for whom he feared.* So Ambrose [a] *mihi compatitur, mihi tristis est, mihi dolet. Ergo pro me et in me doluit, qui pro se nihil habuit, quod doleret. Doles igitur Domine Iesu non tua, sed mea vulnera, non tuam mortem, sed meam infirmitatem. Christ is affected for me, he is heauie for me, he soroweth for me. He sorroweth then in me and for me, who had nothing in himselfe to sorrow for. Thou sorrowedst Lord Iesu, not for thine owne woundes, but for mine; not for thine owne death, but for my weakenesse.* And Cyrill: [f] *That Christ might make our praiers acceptable* (to God,) *himselfe beginneth the matter, euen opening his fathers eares to the nature of man, and making them most readie to the praiers of such, as were in any perill for his cause. Therefore in him,* καθάπερ ἐν ἀπαρχῇ δευτέρᾳ τῆς ῥίζης, *as in a second* (root or) *first fruits of mankinde, we were praying with strong cries, and not without teares, that the power of death might be abolished, and the life* (restored or) *strengthened, which was at first bestowed on our nature.* And Bede: [g] *If Christ were sorowfull to vs, that is, for our sakes, it must needs be, that he was comforted* (by the Angell) *for vs, and to our vse. For what should he aske with that agonie for himselfe, who here on earth gaue heauenly things with power?* Then neither Christes sorow in the Garden, nor his prayer with that agonie after he was comforted by the Angell, were for himselfe or his owne sufferings, much lesse for hell paines deuised and inflicted by you on the soule of Christ, but his extreame sorrow and affectionate prayer might well be for our sinnes, whose cause he vndertooke, and for our sakes, whose persons he then presented vnto God with most vehement contention of spirit, and of all the powers of soule and body.

[a] *Ambros. de fide ad Gratianum. li. 2. c. 3.*

[f] *Cyril. de recta fide ad Reginas li. 2. ca. de Sanctificatione & sacerdotio Christi.*

[g] *Beda in Luc. ca. 22.*

[h] *Neither in respect of these your supposed causes could Christ say, Saue me from this houre, nor, Let this cuppe passe from me: as in respect of his infinite paines, he might.*] The *houre* and *cuppe* which Christ speaketh of, are by himselfe referred not to any paines suffered in the Garden, as you pretend, much lesse to the paines of hell inflicted by Gods immediate hand on Christes soule, as you would haue it; but to the *time* and *maner* of his sufferings from the hands of the Iewes. Of the houre, after all his prayers ended in the Garden, and his last returne to his Disciples, he sayth: [i] *Sleepe hence forth, and take your rest,* ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα, *the houre is come, beholde the Sonne of man is giuen into the hands of sinners.* Here is that houre that Christ so much spake of, euen the time that he should be deliuered into the handes of sinners to suffer a cruell and shamefull death at their hands. And so he told them, that came to take him, [k] *This is your verie houre, and the power of darkenesse.* And this he called the Cuppe, which his father gaue him to drinke. For when Peter drew his sword to defend his Master from the hands of the Iewes, Iesus said vnto him, [l] *put vp thy sword into thy sheath: shall I not drinke of the cuppe, which my Father hath giuen me?* Peter neither did, nor coulde hinder the cuppe, which you imagine Christ dranke in the garden from the immediate hand of God, he ment plainly to resist the Iewes, that they should not apprehend Christ. That enterprise of Peter when Christ would represse, and submit himselfe to his fathers will and counsell for his death, he said as we saw before, *shall I not drinke of the cup, which my Father hath giuen me?* So that the Scriptures mention the *houre* & *cup* of Christs suffering on the Crosse from the rage of the people & malice of the rulers; of your inuisible cuppe containing the death of the damned, they say nothing.

[h] Defenc. pag. 98. li. 12.

What cup Christ dranke of.

[i] Mar. 14. v. 41

[k] Luc. 22. v. 53

[l] Ioh. 18. v. 11.

[m] *His holy and righteous affections were at all houres and seasons in him without measure holy, yet now at his death did not so expresly breake out and shew themselues, as they did at diuers times before.*] You receaue a iust reward of your error, that whiles you labour to impugne the trueth, your lucke is not to light on one true sentence to your purpose. That extreame feare and sorrow *were at all houres and seasons in him*, which yet were holy and righteous affections in Christ, is a notable vntrueth; and that they did not breake out so expresly in the garden, as at diuers times before, is another as false as the former; and but that it is no newes in you to fasten on fancies, a man would maruell to see so many falshoods couched so closely together. Christes quiet

[m] Defenc. pag. 98. li. 16.

What feare and ſorrow Chriſt was to yeeld to God when he offered the ranſome of our ſinnes.

and conſtant affections of pietie to God, and mercy to men, were alwaies in him, but theſe were not at all houres and ſeaſons painfull vnto him: comming now to make ſatisfaction for our ſinnes, as the head for the members, and the Redeemer for his priſoners, Chriſt was to yeeld vnto God as much feare of his iuſtice prouoked, and ſorrow for his holineſſe diſpleaſed by our ſinnes, as his humane nature could admit, without loſſe of thoſe gifts, or decay of thoſe graces, which the fulneſſe of the holie Ghoſt had rooted and eſtabliſhed in him. Wherefore damnation and deſperation excepted, and all dubitation excluded as well of his perſon, as of his function, hee might yeeld to God for vs, and as part of our ranſome, the loweſt degree of ſubmiſſion, and deepeſt impreſsion of feare and ſorrow, that mans nature could feele without doubting or diſtruſting the fauour and goodneſſe of God towards him or his. Wherein he did not onely religiouſly giue vnto God, that which was due vnto the holineſſe and Iuſtice of God, but he ſet vs a patterne how we ſhould approch to God, when we finde our ſelues loaden with ſinne, euen in all feare and trembling of ſo great power and maieſtie, and with inward griefe and groanes of heart for diſpleaſing ſo admirable holineſſe, that we may receaue comfort from God, when we doe not ſpare truely to acknowledge his goodneſſe, and earneſtly to lament our owne wickedneſſe. Theſe verie painefull, but yet very holy impreſsions of feare and ſorrow with teares and ſighes vnſpeakeable, Chriſt ſhewed and ſanctified in his owne perſon, as an acceptable ſacrifice to God, not for any blemiſh of his owne, who was the cleane and vndefiled lambe of God, but for our haynous and enormous ſinnes, the exceſſe whereof could neuer be matched or purged but by the infinite dignitie and humilitie of him, that owing nothing paid all, and forced to none of theſe freely offered his obedience to the honour and glorie of his father.

[a] Defenc. pag. 98. li. 21.

[a] *It ſtandeth not with his pietie, to wiſh that his ſtrong and vehement affections of holineſſe ſhould paſſe from him or be weakned in him. for my part I can ſee no ſenſe nor ſappe in theſe aſſertions.*] You ſee ſenſe and ſappe in that which hath neither trueth, proofe, nor vſe in the word of God: and in the plaine principles of pietie (ſo vnſauerie is your palate) you finde no taſte. Thoſe words, *Let this cuppe paſſe from me*, moſt men referre to the death of the croſſe, which Chriſt was after to ſuffer. Will you thence inferre, that the feare and ſorrow, which he felt in the garden before his apprehenſion, were not grieuous, becauſe they were religious? And what if Chriſt ſpake of the preſent impreſsions of feare and ſorrow, which he wiſhed to be mitigated with comfort from God, as they were within a while by the ſending of an Angell from heauen; did he therefore wiſh the holineſſe of his obedience and humilitie to be changed, becauſe he praied the burden thereof might be eaſed? [o] *Reſtore to me*, (ſaith Dauid) *the ioy of thy ſaluation*. Doth that prooue Dauid praied againſt the godlineſſe of ſorrow for ſinne, becauſe he would haue the ſharpeneſſe of it turned into ioy? no more is it conſequent, when Chriſt weakened himſelfe with exceeding ſuſception of feare and ſorrow, though both religious, that he wiſhed the holineſſe of either might ceaſe, when he would haue the painefulneſſe of either aſſwaged? A damned or deſperate feare and ſorrow you would better digeſt in the ſoule of Chriſt, though Chriſtian pietie doe deteſt it; but a vehement affection of godly feare or ſorrow you endure not, becauſe it hath no concurrence with your hell paines.

[o] Pſal. 51.

[p] Defenc. pag. 98. li. 24.

[p] *Where you aſcribe to this his deepe ſorrow of zeale for mens ſinnes, his ſweating bloud in his agonie aboue Nature after a ſtrange and maruelous manner, I dare ſay you deliuer ſtrange marualles in Diuinitie.*] Chriſt ſweating bloud, if it were naturall, I doe not aſcribe to feare or ſorrow, but rather to vehement intention of prayer, which the Euangeliſt mentioneth in that place: if it were aboue nature, as [q] *Hilarie*, *Auguſtine*, *Proſper*, *Bede*, and *Bernard* doe thinke, there can be no reaſon required of his voluntarie affections, beſides his will, the cauſe whereof is ſecret to vs, though ſome ancient writers coniecture at the ſignifications of it. But why it ſhould not be maruelous, haue you any reaſon? for admit your owne conceite were true, which as yet is no way iuſtifiable by the ſacred Scriptures, euer read you there, that any man before or beſides

[q] Sermo. 28 & 29.

ſides Chriſt had ſweate like droppes of bloud falling from him, for all their complaints, as you pretend of helliſh feare, ſorrowes, and paines? It muſt then be maruelous, which no man elſe, but onely Chriſt, did euer performe, whatſoeuer the cauſe thereof were; and in your fanſie moſt maruelous, ſince you dreame, that all the members of Chriſt ſuffer the like paines as due to mankind for ſin, and yet you can produce none of them, that euer did ſweate bloud but Chriſt alone. And where you make the paines of hell to take hold of Chriſts Soule till the time of his death, yet did he not after this, ſhew any ſuch thing but onely in the Garden. How could it then be but maruelous, that ſo violent a cauſe continuing and increaſing, as you imagine; the effect, which in your fanſie was this bloudie ſweate, ſhould ceaſe, and not appeare, but when Chriſt would? but whether of vs deliuereth ſtrangeſt maruailes in Diuinitie, you that hold, the death of the damned and the true paines of hell were here inflicted on Chriſts Soule by Gods immediate hand, and muſt likewiſe by your ſuppoſall on all Chriſtes members: or I, that teach Chriſt as our head, in the worke of our redemption, for the ſatisfaction of our ſin offered as much ſacred feare of Gods power, and inward ſorrow for our diſpleaſing the holineſſe of God, as mans nature without deſpairing or doubting was capable of; let all the faithfull iudge, and examine euery man his owne conſcience, in which of theſe twaine he is like vnto Chriſt. For they muſt be conformed to his ſufferings, before they ſhall be partakers of his glorie. If then none ſhall raigne with Chriſt, but ſuch as haue ſuffered with Chriſt, which muſt be hell paines as you defend; I leaue it to each mans ſecret cogitation, that ſhall light on this queſtion, how many thouſands of good and godly men muſt giue ouer all hope of ſaluation, ſince with ſighs and ſorrowes vnſpeakable ſtirred in them by the holy Ghoſt for their offending and diſpleaſing the goodneſſe of God, they are and ought dayly to be acquainted; but with the true paines of hell, & death of the damned in this life, few Chriſtians haue any communion. And if any through diſtruſt of Gods mercies, and aſſault of their owne ſinnes, be terrified with deſperation or dubitation, let them aſſure themſelues in either of thoſe they be moſt vnlike vnto Chriſt, whoſe faith ſtood euer faſt, and fully reſolued of Gods fauour, both towards his perſon and function; which was the purgation of our ſinnes, and the reconciliation of God with man.

Chriſts bloudie ſweate was not onely miraculous but proper to Chriſt.

[r] *The fift cauſe*, you ſay, *might be the Cup of Gods wrath tempered and made readie for the ſinnes of men: which you interpret to be eternall malediction.*] You are no good reporter of my words, in auouching that I interpret the Cup of Gods wrath tempered for the ſinnes of men, to be eternall malediction. My words are. [s] *In this Cup are all manor of plagues & puniſhments for ſinne, as well ſpirituall as corporall; eternall as temporall.* And before I came to declare, what Chriſt might behold, and by prayer decline in the mixture of this Cup; I expreſly forewarned, that [t] *diuerſe men haue diuerſly expounded thoſe words of Chriſt, (let this Cup paſſe from me;* [u] *and in this varietie of iudgements I meant to refuſe none, that any way agreed with the rules of truth.* So that I here repeate the opinions of others, and onely ſhew in what ſort and ſenſe they muſt be reſtrained and referred, before they can be concorded with the truth of the Scriptures. But let vs heare what you impugne, and how?

[r] Defenc. pag. 98. li. 28.

The fift cauſe concurring to Chriſts agonie.

[s] Sermo. pa. 21. li 22.

[t] Sermo. pa. 21. li. 27.

[u] li. 36.

[x] *You ſay Chriſt knowing what our ſinnes deſerued, might intentiuely pray to haue that Cup paſſe from him, which was prepared for vs. For vs, whom meane you? the elect or the reprobate? what malediction? the whole and abſolute paines thereof onely, or the eternitie of the continuance thereof alſo?*] Wrangling is your beſt refuge, when you know not otherwiſe how to right your ſelfe. Is this ſo hard a queſtion with you, what was the deſert and wages of our ſinnes by Gods iuſtice, had we not beene redeemed and ſaued from the wrath to come by Chriſt Ieſus? Is it ſo ſtrange Diuinitie, to ſeparate nature from grace, and iuſtice from mercie in the elect, that they may diſcerne, what they were, and ſhould haue been in them ſelues without the fauour of God in Chriſt, who freed vs, when we were ſeruants to ſinne; quickned vs, when we were dead in ſinne; and ſaued vs, when we were iuſtly wrapped in the ſame condemnation with

[x] Defenc. pag. 98. li. 30.

others for sinne? Doe not all these words, *Redemption, Remission, Reconciliation,* and *Saluation* in Christ prooue, that of our selues, and in our selues we were prisoners subiected to sinne, and condemned as enemies, to God without Christ, in whom we are freed, pardoned reconciled and saued? Your eares are very curious, that can not abide to heare what was deserued by our sinnes, and prepared for our sins, had God dealt with vs in iustice, not in mercie for his Sonnes sake. It is healthfull and needfull for vs to remember & acknowledge, what our naturall desert and condition was without Gods heauenly commiseration on vs, and election of vs in Christ his Sonne.

[y] Defene. pag. 93. li. 35. [y] *If you meane the Elect, Christ knew that he must not onely see and contemplate, but feele and suffer all the whole paines of that punishment, which our sinnes deserued, and this was prepared for himselfe our ransome payer, and not for vs.*] Christ was not onely to suffer that, which in his person should be sufficient in the righteous iudgement of God to appease his anger, and purge our sinnes, but he was farder to see and behold from what he deliuered vs, euen from the wrath to come. How should the price and force of his death be knowen vnto him, if he were ignorant what dreadfull and terrible vengeance was reserued and prepared for sinne, if he did not redeeme vs? Wherefore he was not onely to feele that, which should free vs, but exactly to view & know the rest, that was due to our sinnes, if he did not auert it. And where you proclaime with open mouth, that Christ *must feele and suffer all the whole paines, which our sinnes deserued*; it is a pestilent and euident impietie. For either you must defend, that our sinnes deserued not the losse of Gods kingdome, and the perpetuall paines of hell fire in bodie and soule; or else you must confesse, that Christ suffered the same. You spake euen now of strange maruailes in Diuinitie. These monsters be past maruailes, which you prooue onely by your selfe, and by your owne surly conceite. [*this was prepared for him, and not for vs,*] Was hell fire prepared for Christ? he was ordained to be our Sauiour by the sacrifice of himselfe on the Crosse, that by his death full of shame and paine he might redeeme the transgressions that were in the former Testament; but that hell fire or euerlasting death, which is the desert of our sinnes, was prepared for him, is a Doctrine fit for no man, but for him that hath made a shipwracke of his faith to land his fansies on shore. [Damnation you will say, was not prepared for vs, but rather Saluation:] meane you without Christ, or in Christ? in Christ, I haue no doubt but we were before all worlds appointed to be heires of Saluation, when in our selues we should deserue farre otherwise. But here shewing the meanes of mans redemption, I speake of man not yet redeemed, and therefore lying as yet in the desert and danger of damnation, if Christ did not deliuer him. In which sense the Apostle not onely saith, [z] *We were by nature the children of wrath, as well as others, but* [a] *by the offence of one,* (death came) *on all men vnto condemnation.* Which speech the auncient Fathers doe euery where follow. [b] *Qui per generationem illi condemnationi obligati sunt, per regenerationem ab eadem condemnatione soluuntur. They which by birth are obliged* (or fast tied) *to that condemnation, are by regeneration deliuered from that condemnation.* And so [c] *merito namque peccati vniuersa massa damnata est. By the desert of sinne the whole masse* (of mankind) *was condemned.* If the Christian faith permit vs to say, that we were condemned before we were redeemed, since we could not be redeemed but from condemnation, how much more lawfull is it for me to say that euerlasting death was deserued by vs, and prepared for vs without Christ; since the reward of sinne was first prouided for the diuell and his angels before man fell through his inticements, and was neuer since vnprepared?

[z] Ephes. 2.
[a] Rom. 5.
[b] *August. Epistola.* 89.
[c] *Idem. Epistola.* 105.

[d] Defenc. pag. 99. li. 1. [d] *The truth is, he could not by any meanes pray against that, or decline that, onely vnlesse he were for the time in some astonishment and perturbation of his senses, which by the infiniteneſse of that paine he well might be, yea he could not but be, as is afore shewed to haue hapned in Moses and Paul.*] There is as much truth in this, as in the rest of your deuices. Here are errors as thicke as hops, shuffled in vpon your bare word, the proofe whereof you bring after at leasure about latter Lammas. 1. That Christ felt *infinite paines* of hell, which you before named *all the whole paines, which our sinnes deserued.*

2. That

2. *That by the infiniteneſſe of that paine he could not but be in ſome aſtoniſhment, and perturbation of his ſenſes*; which though here you mitigate with (ſome) yet afterward you ſtraine it aboue the extreameſt degree of aſtoniſhment that might be. Your words are. [c] *Therefore no marualle though this aſtoniſhment* (in Chriſt) *were farre greater, then is to be ſeene in any man, that euer was or ſhall be.* Wherein you keepe the Sauiour of the world as long, and as often, as pleaſeth your ſelfe. 3. That *againſt* theſe paines *he could not by any meanes pray, onely vnleſſe he were thus aſtoniſhed:* 4. That Paul in his Epiſtle to the Romanes expreſsing his affection for the Iewes, was likewiſe aſtoniſhed and amazed, as not knowing what he ſaid. [f] *This is the very point of our Defence: affirme this, and you affirme with vs all that we hold and profeſſe.*] When I am out of my wits, I may chaunce to hold theſe conceits with you, otherwiſe ſo long as God giueth me grace to be ſoberly minded and well aduiſed, I will ſee other manner of warrant for all theſe weafes and ſtraies then you yet ſhew, before I affirme them or profeſſe them.

[c] Defenc. pag. 128. li 26.

[f] Defenc. pag. 99 li. 8.

[g] *Otherwiſe if you meane, that Chriſt praied intentiuely to haue the whole and intire cup of eternall malediction and death paſſe from him, which both the elect deſerue and the reprobate ſuſtaine, that as it is paſſing ſtrange doctrine, ſo is it ſimply impoſſible. For he could not intentiuely pray againſt that, nor feare that, which he perfitly knew concerned him not at all, and by no meanes could euer poſſibly come neare him.*] I premoniſhed the Reader, that I would there repeate the diuers iudgements of diuers men, and ſo farre admitte them, as they might accord with the Chriſtian faith. To this opinion of ſome men that Chriſt was in his agonie ſtroken with a feare of eternall death, and ſo might pray againſt it; I gaue two expoſitions, how thoſe words might be tolerated in Chriſtian Religion without apparent impietie. The one, that [h] *Chriſt had no neede to pray for himſelfe,* (againſt that cuppe of eternall death) but ONLIE FOR VS, *who then ſuffered with him & in him.* The other, that if we would conioine Chriſts perſon with ours, feare muſt there be taken for a *ſhunning* and declining of that cup, which he [i] *religiouſly diſliked.* For [k] *touching himſelfe, albeit the innocencie of his cauſe, the holineſſe of his life, the merite of his obedience, the abundance of his ſpirite, the loue of his father, and vnity of his perſon did moſt ſufficiently guard him from all danger and doubt of eternall death: yet to ſhew the perfection of his humility, he would not ſuffer his humane nature to require it on right but proſtrate on the earth beſought his father, that cuppe might paſſe from him, and was heard in that he ſhunned or auoided.* I repeate the ſelfe ſame words, which then I vſed, to lett the Reader ſee that I ſhift not hands, nor change not mindes as there is no cauſe I ſhould; but that this Broker neglecting my manifeſt limitations to other mens opinions, and euident ſpeache, as alſo ſuppreſsing my purpoſe, would haue the world beleeue that I graunt Chriſt doubted and feared eternall death to come on his owne perſon. Which in the maze that you put him in, ſir defenſor, might well be, ſince you auouch hee knew not what he praied, or els he ſinned in praying againſt the reſolute and knowen will of God; but by my poſitions it is impoſsible, that any diſtruſtfull feare of hell, or eternall death ſhould fall on the ſoule of Chriſt for the reaſons there ſhortly, but ſufficiently collected by me. And this is your idle courſe throughout your Booke, to catch at a word and neuer to regard what goeth before or after, be it neuer ſo plaine and perſpicuous to recall your miſconſtruing my ſpeach. Omitte then your wanton rouing, or malitious ſwaruing from my meaning and ſaying, and refute either of theſe limitations, if you can.

[g] Defenc pag. 99. li. 9.

[h] Sermo. pag. 23. li. 21.

[i] Ibid. pag. 24. li. 10.

[k] Ibid. pag. 23. li. 29.

And firſt leaſt any man thinke, I limite other mens words without iuſt cauſe, I ment herein the words of the Catechiſme, which you would faine pull into your packe, as alſo of ſome other writers, whoſe ſayings ſo long as they might be ſalued with any good conſtruction, I thought not fitte to repell as intolerable in Chriſts Church. The Catechiſme ſaieth. [l] *Chriſtum non communi modo morte in hominum conſpectu mulctatum, ſed et aeternæ mortis horrore perfuſum fuiſſe, horribiles formidines atq; acerbiſſimos animi dolores pro nobis perpeſſum et perfunctum eſſe. Peccatoribus enim, quorum hic quaſi perſonam Chriſtus ſuſtinuit, non præſentis modo, ſed & futuræ etiam aeternæque mortis dolores atque cruciatus debentur.* Chriſt not onely died our common death in the ſight

[l] Nowels Catechiſme Greeke and Latine pag. 281.

of men, but was also perfused (The Translator of the Catechisme into Greeke allowed as well as the Latin saith, ἠγωνιασε agonized) *with the horror of eternall death, & suffered and felt for vs horrible feares, and most bitter sorowes of mind. For to sinners, whose person in some sort Christ here sustained, were due the sorowes and torments not of this present death onely, but also of future and eternall death.* Of the paines of the damned really inflicted in the garden on Christs soule by the immediate hand of God, and of Christs extreame astonishment for the present Torments therof, the writer of the Catechisme knew nothing; (these deuices of yours are later then the making of that Booke;) but he speaketh of Christes fearing the infinite wrath of God against our sinnes, which he apprehended in the Garden, and in respect thereof fell into this horrible feare. These wordes of the Catechisme, if we referre to the feare Christ had for his members then ioined in one bodie with him, whose cause he vndertooke with more desire and care then his owne, since he emptied and loaded himselfe to purchase their aduancement and ease; they might be receaued and approoued as sufferable in the Christian faith: but if we so tooke them, as if Christ had any doubt or distrustfull feare of his owne saluation, they were not agreeable to the trueth. Your selfe sir wrangler speake against this later sense of the wordes, as much as I doe. For you say, [m] *It is passing strange doctrine, and simply impossible, that Christ should feare the cup of eternall malediction, which he perfectly knew concerned him not at all, and by no meanes could euer possibly come neere him.* But the Catechisme saith *Christ was perfused* (or perplexed) *with the horror of eternall death.* And as our head knit with vs into one and the same body, he might tremble at eternall death hanging ouer our heads, and most dreadfully persuing our sinnes in vs, if he made not satisfaction for vs. You would shift the word *eternall* out of the text, and tell vs a tale of the substance thereof, which you will imagine how Christ shall suffer by a new deuice of yours, though the Catechisme speake nothing thereof: but if you expound the Catechisme, and not correct it, or confute it, you must shew vs how Christ might feele or feare EVERLASTING OR FVTVRE DEATH due to sinners. For those are the words of the Catechisme; who not content to say EVERLASTING, addeth thereto FVTVRE death, which of force must follow after this present death separating the soule from the bodie, except you haue the skill in Grammar to make future goe before present. How Christ in coniunction with vs, and compassion on vs, might feare euerlasting death for vs, as imminent ouer vs, and yet speake in his owne name, I will in place conuenient more largely declare, when I come to Christes complaint on the crosse; till which time I pray the Reader to haue patience, least I should be forced often to prooue and repeat one and the same thing.

[m] Defenc. pag. 99. li. 11. & 12.

Touching the other limitation, that Christ might feare, that is, warily and religiously shunne the cuppe of eternall malediction, and intentiuely pray against it, as well in respect of himselfe as of vs: you blunder out a proposition which in Christes cause is not so true as you take it to be. [n] *He could not* (you say) *intentiuely pray against that, which he perfectly knew could by no meanes come neere him.* By this rule Christ should pray for nothing touching himselfe: for Christ perfectly knew all that God had most certainly decreed towards him; and chiefly Gods resolute and reuealed counsels for his glory. What need then was there Christ should pray for any such thing, since he perfectly knew what should come to passe, and by the power of his person was fully able to dispose of heauen and hell, life and death both present and eternall. His owne words are: [o] *Whatsoeuer things the Father doth, the same things doth the Sonne also: for likewise as the Father raiseth vp the dead, and quickeneth them, so the Sonne quickeneth whom he will. The Father iudgeth no man, but hath committed all iudgement to the Sonne; that all men should honour the Sonne, as they honour the Father; and hath giuen him power also to execute iudgement, in that he is the Sonne of man.* Christ perfectly knew, that [p] *he should be giuen for a light of the Gentils.* Did he not therefore aske it according to Dauids propheſie; [q] *Aske of me, and I will giue thee the Gentils for thine inheritance?* Christ neither had, nor could haue any doubt of his glorification. Did he not therefore pray: [r] *Now Father glorifie me with thine owne selfe, with the glory which*

Christs manhood praied for that with all humility which his person by right might haue chalenged.

[n] Pa. 99. li. 13.

[o] Iohn 5.

[p] Esa. 42. & 49

[q] Psal. 2.

[r] Iohn 17.

which I had with thee before the world was? Was not Christ most assured, that he should *deuide the spoiles of the mightie*, and be a [r] *death vnto death, and a destruction vnto hell?* and yet Dauid applieth these prayers vnto him; [s] *Deliuer my soule from the sword, my desolate (soule) from the power of the dogge. Saue me from the lions mouth, and heare mee from the hornes of the vnicorne.* Though therefore by the right of his power he might haue sayd in all things, as he did in some, [x] *I will, be thou cleane*; and againe, [y] *Father I will, that they which thou hast giuen me, be with me euen where I am, that they may behold my glory*; yet to demonstrate the wonderfull vertue of his obedience and humilitie, he suffered his humane nature humbly to pray for that, which his person could of it selfe performe, and in all things referred himselfe to his Fathers will, though he also sayd to his Father; *All thine are mine, and I am glorified in them, and all things that the Father hath, are mine.* Then might Christ in the Garden pray, that the cuppe of eternall malediction deserued by our sinnes might passe from him and his, though he submitted himselfe and his members to drinke of the cuppe of Gods wrath so much as should please his heauenly Father; which he was assured in regard of his prayer should be no more than he and his should well endure.

[r] Esa.53. [s] Hose.13. [t] Psal.22. [x] Matth.8. [y] Iohn 17.

[z] *All this is nothing else in effect then your first cause, his submission to Gods maiestie sitting in iudgement. wherefore you might haue lessened your number, and so your answer to this might haue beene the same, which is made to your foremost.*] Your conceite is not so currant, that I should pare my number for your pleasure. Christ himselfe saith, [a] *On these two Commandements, (thou shalt loue the Lord thy God, with all thine heart, with all thy soule, and with all thy minde; and thy neighbour as thy selfe) hangeth the whole Law and the Prophets.* Were therefore then the tenne Commandements, which God gaue to Moses, superfluous, because they might be reuoked to two generall contents? speciall parts and duties are profitablie deliuered, so long as they be any way distinguished, notwithstanding they may be comprised in fewer, but more generall branches. The worke of our Redemption was the summe of all that Christ *did, said, or suffered* heere on earth. shall we therefore reiect the rest of the Gospell, because the substance thereof may be expressed in a word or twaine? [these you will say, *are not distinct in matter but in wordes.*] Who told you so? The trembling at Gods glorie, when it was reuealed to mans infirmitie; the honouring of his sanctitie with godly sorrow, which was despised with our iniquitie, the mitigating of his anger with humble and earnest praier, which was prouoked with our contempts, were they not three different effects euen in Christ himselfe, and so might stirre vp three religious affections of feare, sorrow and prayer? Why then should they be confounded in Christ, whose humane nature might yeeld all three to God, as well in respect of pietie to God, and of charitie to men, as in regard of his office for the satisfaction of our sinnes? for he might not approch the presence of God as a Priest with our person and cause, who were sinnefull, though he were innocent and holy, to make intercession and sacrifice for our sinnes, but he must giue God his due glorie, haue compassion on our miserie, and mediate for our safetie. As therefore I see no cause to exclude these affections and actions from the satisfaction for sin, so I see greater reason to include them in the sacrifice for sin, except we make Christ a Priest onely by his SVFFERINGS & leaue him neither any honor of OFFERING nor right of PRAYING for vs in the purgation of our sins, which were a strange kind of Priesthood, & no way answerable to the Leuiticall in that, wherin the apostle compareth them. For in the Law the Priest was to present the sacrifice to God, and to pray for the trespasser; which if you thinke needlesse in the true sacrifice, that should propitiate the sinnes of the world, you must correct the Apostle, that maketh the Law a figure of the Gospell, though the person of the Priest, and the price of the sacrifice farre excell all that was vnder the Law.

[z] Defene. pag. 99 li. 16. [a] Matth.22.

Feare & sorow necessarie in the sacrifice for sinne.

[b] *Furthermore, you knit in within this, foure other seuerall causes of Christes agonie, as you recken them pa. 27. First, his taking of our infirmities in his flesh to cure them. Secondly, his breaking the knot betwixt bodily death and hell, which none but hee was able to doe. Thirdly,*

[b] Defenc. pag. 99. li. 20.

Thirdly, Gods anger which might be executed on his bodie, but was mitigated by him. Fourthly, the desire he had to continue the feeling and enioying of Gods presence with his bodie.] As there is no one thing in the Scriptures, that receiueth and hath more diuers opinions of it, than Christes agonie in the Garden; so I proposed as many as had any coherence with trueth, and left the Reader to make his choise, which he liked best. Howbeit, I did not pag. 27. recken foure seuerall causes of Christes agonie, as you mistake, but of the *feare which Christ had and shewed of* (his bodily) *death*. His agony had other parts and affections besides *feare and astonishment*, as *sorow, zeale, submissiue and intentiue prayer, and a bloudie sweat*: the obiects and ends whereof might be as different as the things themselues. For example; Christes feare in the Garden might haue many respects and causes as well as his sorow. He might feare the glory of God now sitting in iudgement to receiue recompense for the sinnes of his elect. For as Christ himselfe, who best knew it, confirmeth it by saying, [d] *Now* (at hand) *is the iudgement of this world, now shall the Prince of this world be cast out*: so wee must not thinke so mightie and weightie matters, as the *iudgement of the world, and the casting out of Satan* the accuser of his brethren, and the admitting the Redeemer to present himselfe here on earth for our cause to the face of God in iudgement, were decreed and setled by God without some reuelation of his glorie and maiestie meet for those persons and purposes. For this is a rule which may euery where be obserued in the Scriptures, that when God is described as a Iudge, he is sayd to sit in a Throne, and all the host of heauen to stand before him, to resemble the glory of his iudgement: as we finde in Daniel.7. vers.9,10. Esa.6. vers.1,2. 1.Kings.22. vers.19. Wherefore Dauid sayth, [e] *The Lord hath prepared his throne for iudgement*. This Michaiah and Esay the Prophets say they SAW, which whether it were by sight, as Steuen [f] *looked stedfastly into heauen, and* (with his eyes) *saw the glory of God, and Iesus standing at the right hand of God*; or in spirit, as Ezechiel waking, and [g] *sitting in his house with the Elders of Iudah before him*, was by a *diuine vision brought to Ierusalem*, to see all the abominations there committed; I dare not determine. Christ himselfe sayth, *I saw Satan fall downe from heauen like lightning*. Which way soeuer Gods glory in iudgement was reuealed vnto Christ, and beheld of Christ in the Garden, it was able for the time of his humilitie to impresse a religious feare and trembling into his humane nature, since Christ came now by iudgement to haue the burden of our sinnes taken from vs, and layed vpon him, that he might make satisfaction for them.

[c] Serm. pag. 27.li. 23.

[d] Iohn 12. *Christes manhood might feare the glorie of Gods iudgement.*

[e] Psal.9.v.7.

[f] Act.7 v.55.

[g] Ezech.8.

Another thing that Christ might iustly, and yet religiously feare in the Garden, offering now to ransome man from the wrath of God, was the POWER *of Gods wrath*, which is fully infinite, and so farre exceedeth the strength and reach of mans nature, that our earthly infirmitie, to which Christ submitted himselfe for our sakes, can not comprehend the greatnesse thereof, nor thinke on the power thereof without feare and trembling. [h] *Who knoweth* (saith Dauid to God) *the power of thy wrath? for according to thy feare*, (that is, as thou art feared,) *so is thine anger*. Contempt and carelessenesse kindle and increase the wrath of God against vs, feare and submission asswage it. And when I name feare, I meane not a dreadfull distrust of Gods purpose towards vs, which is desperation, but a perswasion and confession of his power ouer vs, whereby we feare to displease him, and tremble before him withall submission, when we haue displeased him. This feare Christ teacheth his disciples, when he saith, *I will shew you, whom you shall feare; feare him, which after he hath killed, hath power to cast into hell; yea I say, feare him*: not meaning, they should firmely beleeue, God would euerlastingly condemne them, but that thinking on his power preuailing here and in hell, they should beware to prouoke him, and with all humilitie prostrate themselues before him, when they had offended him, to preuent his anger. [Christ (you will say) needed not thus to feare, since he was no sinner.] For himselfe he needed not, because he was innocent and obedient in all thinges to the vttermost: but since he was at this time now to beare the burthen of our sinnes in his body, and to haue the chastisement of our peace laid vpon him, he might, and did iustly feare the power of Gods wrath prouoked

He might feare the power of Gods wrath against our sinne which he was to beare.

[h] Psal.90.v.11

[i] Luc.12.

uoked with our sinnes; which though he were assured could not rage on him vnto condemnation, yet God had infinite meanes to presse and punish the humane nature of Christ aboue that it was able to beare. And therefore except Christ would contemne the wrath of his father, which were impious, he was withall possible feare and trembling to deprecate his fathers anger against our sinnes, knowing that God would at his most ardent and most suppliant praier both pardon vs, and proportion that paine according to the weakenesse of our flesh which he bare about him, that neither his obedience, nor patience should be ouerwhelmed nor endangered, but onely prooued and tried, that in all things Christ might shew himselfe a patterne of perfection, as well by patience in affliction, as by innocencie of life. And this feare the more vehement in Christ, the more pleasing to God, since it proceeded neither from infidelitie nor distrust, but from pietie confessing the greatnesse and iustnesse of Gods anger against our wickednesse and vnwoorthinesse, and from charitie putting his holy and harmelesse person in the gappe betweene vs and God, least the wrathfull displeasure of God lighting on vs should vtterly consume vs.

Christ might feare the sting of death as horrible to mans nature.

A third cause concurring with the rest of Christes feares in the Garden, against which he praied, might be the naturall abhorring of death, which his manhood then had and shewed in priuate, because he neither despised that punishment of God laide vpon our sinne; which indeed is and ought to be displeasant to mans nature; in that it was inflicted on vs for disobedience; neither would he suffer his soule or flesh to struggle and striue with death (as ours doe when sense and life beginnes to faile) in the eies of his persecutors, to whom by the present and quiet breathing out of his soule in their sight, he would declare himselfe to be the disposer and ruler of death; and so more then a man, though as a man hee were content to die for our sakes. And this kinde of feare verie learned and well redde Diuines agree might be the cause of Christes prayer in the garden, to haue *the Cuppe passe from him*; not that he was then amazed, and in that astonishment praied against the knowen will of God, as you imagine, and on that foundation build your conceit of hell paines to be then suffered in the soule of Christ, which you thinke excluded both reason and memorie from Christ: but that he therein accorded with his fathers will, who would haue that Cuppe hatefull and horrible by nature, though faith and obedience should ouerrule the feare and sting of death in our flesh, and Gods will be preferred before the naturall dislike, which he would haue vs to feele of death. [k] *As touching Christes diuine Nature* (saith Zanchius) *there was alwaies one and the same will of the Father and the Sonne concerning his death and passion. Yea as Christ was man, he was alwaies obedient to his Father, and therefore he saide; I alwaies doe the things, which please him. What meaning then hath, Quòd deprecatur mortem & calicem, that he praieth to be freed from death, and from the Cuppe? Naturaliter, quâ homo, expauescebat, & exhorrescebat, fugiebatque mortem, Naturally as a man Christ feared, abhorred, and shunned death, & his naturall horror of death he called his will, when he said, Not my will be done, to witte, this naturall will which I haue as a man. Yet neither doth this will of Christ resist his Fathers will. for the Father would haue Christ to be like vs in all things sinne excepted, and to that end would haue him made Man. Therefore when Christ did naturally shunne and desire to escape death, he did not contradict his Fathers will, because the Father would haue this* (naturall) *horror and feare* (of death) *to be in Christ, as a punishment of our sinnes. Wherefore it is altogether false, that Christes will in this was diuers from his Fathers will. For we haue concluded, that this naturall horror of death, which Christ called his will, was not repugnant to the will of his Father, whereby he would haue Christ subiect to this horror. If in respect of the same end the Father had beene willing Christ should die, and Christ had beene vnwilling, or had neuer so little refused, then their willes had beene indeed repugnant. But in reference to the same end, that is to our saluation, Christ alwaies had the same will that his Father had. For in regard of our saluation Christs will was euer the same, and constant: but in respect of his humane Nature he neuer put off this affection, wherein he was like vs, and whereby we naturally flie death.* By the iudgement of this learned

[k] Zanchius de tribus Elohim part. 2. l. 3. cap 9.

learned writer the varietie of willes in Christ, the one naturally shunning death, as in a man like vs, the other accepting and desiring it for our saluation, was no contrarietie either in it selfe, or to the will of God; but God himselfe would haue the sting of our common and vsuall death to be grieuous vnto him, because it was the punishment of our sinne in Adam, and yet obedience to counteruaile that naturall detestation of death, when God for his glorie calleth vs to that triall, as he did his Sonne in that case.

The like limitations of Christes prayer in the Garden (*if it were possible let this cup passe from me*) other ancient writers deliuered before Zanchius, who obserue this expresse condition out of Christes prayer, That *if it were possible* to stand with Gods will and our saluation, then Christ prayed the cuppe might passe from him, and not otherwise. [1] *Christ taking vnto him* (sayth Origen) *the nature of mans flesh, retained all the properties thereof: according to which he prayed in this place, the cuppe might passe from him. It is the propertie of euery faithfull man first to be vnwilling to suffer any paine, specially that tendeth to death, because he is a man, and hath flesh; but if God so will, then to be content euen against that will of his owne, because he is faithfull. There is also another Exposition of this place, which is this: If it be possible, that all those good things may come to effect without my passion, which otherwise shall come by my death, then let this passion passe from me, that both the world may be saued, and the Iewes not perish by putting me to death.* So Bede: [m] *If death may die without my death in the flesh, let this cuppe* (sayth Christ) *passe from me, but because this will not otherwise be, thy will be done, not mine.* And Euthymius: [n] *As a man Christ sayd, If it be possible, that is, so farre as is possible. And in saying, Yet not as I will, but as thou wilt; he teacheth, that we must follow the will of God, though nature reclaime.* So that the preferring of Gods will before the desire of his owne nature, and the limiting of his prayer with this condition, *If it were possible* (not to Gods power, but to Gods purpose) to saue the world without his death, then he desired the cuppe might passe from him; prooue apparently, that Christ was not onely well aduised in that prayer, but he meant to teach vs, that neither the power of his enemies did oppresse his weakenesse, nor his owne loue leade him to a needlesse death; it was rather Gods determined and irreuocable counsell and will, that he must die, or we must perish. By which we learne not Christes inconstancie, as of a man amazed, but an excellent mysterie of Christian religion, that no sacrifice could take away sinne, but onely the death of Christ on the crosse, which he for our sakes earnestly desired, though by his thrise declining it, if we might possibly be otherwise saued, he shewed how painfull and grieuous that suffering would be vnto him. We are therefore by the one to collect, how intolerable that cuppe would be to his flesh; and by the other, to beholde his ardent loue to vs, and willing obedience to his Father: which things, if in your conceit they conclude Christ to haue beene therein amazed, I shall coniecture, that your wits are not to this houre yet well recouered; since greater pietie and charitie could not be shewed in that infirmitie, wherewith Christ was then compassed, and acerbitie of paines to come, which he did not dissemble. Now let vs heare how you impugne this.

[1] *Orig. in Math. tract. 35.*

[m] *Beda in 14. ca. Marc.*

[n] *Euthymius in Matth. cap. 26.*

The intent of Christs prayer in the garden.

[o] *The first of these (foure) maketh in my minde much for vs. For vnderstanding that Christ tooke all the infirmities and passions whereto mens nature is subiect, to the end he might cure all and euerie kinde of them in vs; then it followeth, that he wanted not the paines and immediate sufferings of paines inflicted by Gods owne hand in his soule.*] It is but your mind that maketh so much for you, your collection is otherwise as wide from reason and trueth, as any may be. For what if Christ taking our nature vnto him tooke therewith all our infirmities and affections, (which you cunningly call passions, a word indifferent to affections and sufferings) doth that inferre that he tooke vnto him the paines of the damned, because mans nature through the hardnesse of his impenitent hart is subiect after this life by Gods iust iudgement to euerlasting damnation for sinne? are your eyes so ill matches that you cannot discerne betwixt naturall affections cleauing to all men from their birth, and the reall suffering of hell paines inflicted, as you defend,

[o] Defenc. pag. 99. li. 26.

fend, by Gods immediate hand on the ſoules of the faithfull here in this life, which in deed are reſerued for the wicked in another world, & are ſomtimes feared of the godly here on earth, when the conſcience of their ſin through want of faith calleth Gods fauor in queſtion with their owne harts: firſt proue, that all the godly haue the pains of the damned inflicted here in this life on their ſoules by the immediat hand of God; (for nature is not proper nor priuate to this or that man, but common and conſtant to all men) and next, that notwithſtanding your hell paines thus ſuffered, they are in conſtant and perfect faith and aſſurance of Gods fauour and his heauenly kingdome; and then you haue ſome pretence for your purpoſe, which now is none. For touching the firſt I appeale not onely to the Scriptures, which teach no ſuch thing; but to the conſciences and experiences of all the faithfull, whether this can haue any trueth in it, that the true paines of the damned are really inflicted on all their ſoules here on earth by Gods immediate hand. And ſecondly, when they feele any feare of Gods wrath, or doubt of Gods fauour; whether that come not through the failing and ſhrincking of their faith, which, preſſed often with the number of their ſinnes, feareth leaſt God will viſite their offences with a mercieleſſe iudgement, becauſe they haue ſo greatly prouoked him. The feare of hell may iuſtly make them quake and tremble, which they acknowledge they haue worthily deſerued, and the ſame terrour doth often, though not alwaies, purſue the wicked vnto deſperation: but other torments of hell actually inflicted by Gods owne hand on the ſoules of all the faithfull, as the Scriptures deliuer none, ſo you ſhall not be able to prooue any common to all mankind, though God want not power to puniſh where and as pleaſeth him. If therefore you ſpeake of naturall affections, they were common to Chriſt with vs, but in vs exceſſiue vpon euery occaſion, which in him were moderate, till they were inflamed with piety or charitie, and then they burned more in him then in vs, by reaſon of his abundant giftes and graces farre paſsing ours. But if you talke of ſome ſecret ſpeculations priuate to your ſelfe, and ſome others of your ſort, that dreame perchaunce of hell paines both night and day according to your owne fanſies, then no words of mine, nor of any auncient father come neere thoſe deuices of yours, which are knowen to no man either by reading or feeling, but to ſuch conceiters as you are, if happely you doe not belie, or deceaue your owne hearts.

[p] *This your authors here doe fully affirme; Cyrill, Ambroſe and others, as before we haue obſerued.*] Mine authors there are eaſily redde, and if any ſuch thinge be there mentioned, or thence to be concluded, I am content you ſhall be thought to ſpeake ſome trueth, which is almoſt a maruaile in you, you wrie all things ſo abſurdly to your ſenſeleſſe fanſies. Of your fourth argument, and of theſe authors I haue largely deliuered, what I take to be true, euen in the place, where you produced them to this purpoſe. And ſo I leaue this as lately refuted, leſt I lengthen the volume to much. [p] Defenc. pag. 99. li. 37.

[q] *It is moſt vnreaſonable, which here you doe, (if you doe as you ſeeme) to vnderſtand them of meere bodilie death, and of the infirmities meerelie of his fleſh.*] Shew that they name, or intend any other death, then the death of Chriſtes body on the croſſe, or els your otherwiſe conceauing them without any words of theirs is a plaine peruerting them, to pull them to your part. Of infirmities when they ſpeake, they meane naturall, ſuch as were no derogations to faith, nor hope, nor to any other the graces of Gods ſpirite in Chriſt, and in them all Chriſt was like vnto vs, whether they were infirmities of body or ſoule. Whether feare and ſorow be infirmities *meerely of the fleſh*, is a doubt fit for your diſcuſsing; they may be ſenſitiue or intellectiue according to their obiects; and in Chriſt, ſince they were cauſed by things rather foreſeene then felt, or at leaſt by dangers and doubts weighed and conſidered by the ſpirit of Chriſte, I know no reaſon why you aſcribe them meerely to the fleſh. As for the contrarieties, which you would take hold of, that Chriſt as a man did abhorre and feare death, and yet not ſomuch as to fall into that agony or bloudy ſweate for feare of his ſufferings; with ſuch a ſlacke and ſhallow Reader, as you are, they may beare a ſhew of repugnancie; but to any man, that marketh or vnderſtandeth what is ſaid, it accordeth full well, that [q] Defenc. pag. 100. li. 1. *Feare may be intellectiue or ſenſitiue.*

Chriſt

Chriſt might haue a naturall feare of death, which is common to all the godly ; and yet no ſuch perplexed feare for any ſufferings of his , as to ſweate bloud for paine therof. And this maketh more againſt you, then you wil ſeeme to acknowledge. For if Chriſt had no ſuch afflicting feare in regard of his owne ſuffring or paſsion, but only in reſpect of vs and our danger, then certainly by the cenſure of Ambroſe, Ierom, and Bede, Chriſt ſuffered no paines of hell, nor of the damned, ſince they would bread another maner of agony, then this life could endure. And howſoeuer the view of death faſt claſped with hell, till Chriſt did breake the knotte thereof, might ſeeme terrible to Chriſtes humane conſideration; yet for ſomuch, as he was ſecured from the one by the innocency, vnity, and dignity of his perſon, though he ſubmitted himſelfe to the death of his body; this feare was both righteous and religious, and as farre from the paines of the damned, as any ſufferings of the ſoule in this life might be.

[r] Defenc. pag. 100. li. 10. [r] *He would not, he could not ſo feare and be affrighted, yea and piteouſly aſtoniſhed with ſuch ſorrow oppreſſing him, as to ſweate drops of bloud onely for feare of his bodily death; Neither would he pray at all, much leſſe ſo vehemently, and ſo often times as he did, againſt that which he perfectly knew was Gods will, and his owne moſt willing purpoſe to vndergoe.*] It is more then folly to miſtake, miſplace, and miſapplie euerie thing after this ſort as you doe ; and then to collect you know not what, nor why, from your owne vnwiſe and raſh preſumptions. What if Chriſt had more cauſe of ſorrow in the Garden, then his bodily death? *ergo* he felt the paines of the damned inflicted on his Soule by Gods immediate hand. Tie this argument to the manger, litter is fitter for it, then an anſwere. Such blockiſh and brutiſh ſequences were the firſt morter that plaſtred your hell paines to Chriſts paſsion. The worke of our redemption, which Chriſt now vndertooke to haue pronounced and ſetled by the righteous iudgement of God, and *his Elect* to be freed, and pardoned of all their ſinnes by the ſufferings of his perſon, and to be reſtored to Gods fauour by his mediation, as alſo ſatan to be reiected from preuailing againſt them, or ſo much as accuſing them ; was a matter of the greateſt moment in all Chriſtian Religion. What maruaile then, if the manhood of Chriſt, when it approched ſo waightie a worke, as by prayer firſt to obtaine and confirme all this, that after he might the more cheerefully and conſtantly accompliſh his obedience vnto death; What maruaile I ſay, if the glory of Gods iudgement, and power of his wrath, the number of our ſinnes, and neglect of our owne ſtate ; the ſharpe and eger malice of ſatan made Chriſt with all poſsible feare of the great might and maieſtie of the Iudge, all paſsionate ſorrow for the crimes and contempts of the priſoners, all earneſt and zealous intention of prayer againſt the impugner and impediment of mans deliuerance, to agonize himſelfe euen vnto a bloudie ſweate? If in our prayers the ſpirit of Chriſt ſtirre vp [f] *ſighes vnſpeakeable*, when we remember what danger we were in ; what ſorrow, cries, and teares may we iuſtly thinke, the fountaine of mercie and pietie would powre forth in our behalfe, when our ſaluation was now in queſtion before the Iudge of all the world, and how burned that fire and flame of Chriſts loue and care for vs, till he was comforted and aſſured from heauen, that God would not by our wickedneſſe or vnworthineſſe be ſtayed from performing his mercies towards vs, in Chriſt his Sonne, nor from accepting Chriſts obedience and ſacrifice as the full ranſome for all our tranſgreſsions notwithſtanding all the reſiſtance that ſinne or ſatan could make in the righteous iudgement of God?

The worke of our redemption was cauſe enough to prouoke Chriſts bloudy ſweate.

[f] Rom. 8.

Chriſt was moſt earneſtly to aske what God had faithfully promiſed to graunt.

This, you will ſay, God long before had purpoſed and promiſed vnto his Sonne.] And that made Chriſt the more earneſtly pray for it, ſince God had from the beginning determined, as well to haue it asked by his Sonne, as graunted by himſelfe. And therefore Chriſts ſupplications for vs in the daies of his fleſh, and at the hower of his paſsion now approching, were as needefull as his ſufferings, forſomuch as pietie and charitie are perceiued rather by the Soule, then by the fleſh ; and God would neuer haue accepted the outward murdering of Chriſts body without the inward and acceptable ſacrifice of his voluntarie obedience, patience and loue euen vnto death which were the points, that were chiefly pretious in Gods ſight.

[t] *Or else Cyrill meaneth no more, but that Christ naturally misliked and shunned, (euen as all flesh doth,) all bodilie paine and death. This we alway yeelde, and it maketh nothing against vs.*] It maketh lesse for you, that Christ had and lawfully might haue, as you graunt, a naturall misliking and shunning of all bodily paine and death: and consequently knowing the sharpnesse of the paine, that was prepared for him on the crosse, might without breach of pietie, or repugnance to Gods knowen will desire to haue that Cup passe from him, if *it were possible* for man by Gods good pleasure to be otherwise redeemed and saued. And this reseruation of Gods will in his prayer, [u] FATHER IF THOV VVILT, *take away this Cup from me*, which was the possibilitie ment by Christ, and his present preferring Gods will before the instinct of nature liking ease, in presently saying, *Neuerthelesse not my will but thy will be done*; doth exquisitely proue that Christ was not astonished in his prayer, nor past remembrance of Gods knowen will, as you dangerously surmise: and no cause you should conclude he felt hell paines in this agonie, because the Scripture concealeth the sense of his feruent supplication, when after comfort receiued from heauen he fell into an agonie of most earnest and ardent prayer, in which his sweate was like drops of blond. And therefore your foolish and wicked imagination, that Christ in his agonie was so amazed, that he knew not what he prayed, nor discerned when he impugned the will of God, is without all leading or likelihood of the word of God, and grounded onely vpon your wilfull and hastie humour, when the Scriptures, and fathers precisely conclude the contrarie.

[t] Defenc pag. 100. li. 25.

[u] Luke 22.

[x] *Therefore I conclude, he thus feared not his bodily death, but it was the paines of the second death which he felt and so feared.*] This conclusion may well be yours, it rightly resembleth the Maker. Christ feared somewhat, and not his bodily death; *ergo* he felt the second death, which the Scripture sayth is the lake [y] *that burneth with fire and brimstone*. So many gappes in one conclusion would no man make besides you. For first, how proone you, that feare was the cause of his bloudie sweat? If it were naturall; feare, which quencheth the spirits, & cooleth the bloud, could not procure a bloudie sweat. If it were supernaturall and mysticall, (as Hilarie, Austen, Prosper, Bede and Bernard obserue) then can you conclude no cause thereof, but must leaue it as a secret and wonderfull effect of Christes power and will knowen to God, and vnknowen to man. Secondly, if we grant feare might be the cause thereof; the feare of Gods power infinitly able to punish the sinne of man on the person of Christ without the paines of the damned, might iustly strike the Manhoode of Christ with any terrour that mans nature was capable of, without the losse of grace and faith. For feare doth not alwayes apprehend what danger is toward, but onely that some danger aboue our reach or strength is imminent ouer vs. Thirdly, if feare of what you will, were the cause of this agonie, it is no way consequent, that that which Christ feared, was really inflicted on him; since feare is of future, not of present euill; and the Apostle beareth witnesse in this case, that Christ was heard (or freed) [z] *from that he feared*. Fourthly, how many things Christ would or did obtaine of his Father for vs by his sufferings, so many things might concurre as causes of this inflamed prayer, whence proceeded by order of the Euangelists narration, this bloudie sweate. So that there being foure maine exceptions against your collection, whereof you shall neuer auoid any one, you soaring aloft and stooping to nothing but your owne dreames, light iust on your hell paines, not because the Scriptures make any such mention, but because that best pleaseth your humour. And this is the very closet of your cause, and pride of your prooses touching hell paines suffered in the Soule of Christ: Neword, ne letter of Scripture to warrant it, but as you wrested Pauls wish to foure notable vntruths, so you sweep vp Christs sweate to make perfect your Pageant, that from things obscure, vnknowen and doubted with all men, as touching the precise and particular cause thereof, you may resolue what you list, and tie your Conclusions with cart-ropes of vanitie and falsitie.

[x] Defenc pag. 100. li. 27.

[y] Reuel. 21.

[z] Heb. 5.

[a] *But you say, (pag. 26. you should put 25.) the sorrow and feare of death, which it pleased*

[a] Defenc pag. 100. li. 28.

pleased our Saviour to feele in our nature came not for want of strength, but of purpose to quench and abolish those affections in vs. I say it came from both.] And I say you doe not onely rashly crosse Saint Austen in that Negative, but you know not what you say. For the question is not, whether feare and sorrow be infirmities, which is your wise conceite; but whether Christ admitted them by his power and will, or by constraint and necessitie, which Saint Austen there calleth infirmitie, and I named want of strength. His words a man would thinke are so resolute, that without better ground then you haue any, a sober Diuine would not so proudlie confront them. [b] *Non est vllo modo dubitandum, non eum animi infirmitate, sed potestate turbatum. It is by no meanes to be doubted, that Christ was troubled, not for any weaknesse of minde, but of (his owne) power.* What saith your wisedome to this? *Austen meaneth not onely by infirmitie, but also by his owne will and power.*] Coherent and different things may be thus coupled together, because both may be true; and diuerse respects may reconcile contraries: but in one and the same sentence and sense to harle priuations and positions whereof the one excludeth the other, as you doe, is to make no construction, but a contradiction in Saint Austens words. As if a man should say, this answere of yours is not onely foolish, but also wise; not onely vnlearned, but also learned; were it not ridiculous? And yet you knit Saint Austens words together in that sort, where if the one be true, the other is false. For if Christ were troubled by infirmitie and necessitie, then was he not by his power and will, as Austen auoucheth he was. Wherefore you hit Saint Austens meaning as rightly, as if a man should post to London Bridge with his backe towards it. [*or else you confute him your selfe.*] as how? because I say with Austen, Christ admitteth these affections and infirmities of mans nature, not for want of power to represse them, but by voluntarie obedience and humilitie, that in him they might be meritorious. Then how these affections preuailed on Christs Soule, is the Question; whether by necessitie, Christ not being able to resist them, or moderate them, which is the weaknesse of mans nature; or by his owne submission, when he would, as he would, and to what ende he would.

[b] *Augustin. in Iohannem tract. 60.*

[c] *Thou art troubled,* saith Austen, *against thy will; Christ was troubled because he would. In illius potestate erat sic vel sic affici, vel non affici. It was in his power to be affected thus, or thus, or not to be affected. Where there is soueraigne power, there infirmitie is gouerned according to the direction of the will.* He must be ruler and commaunder of nature by his power, that was not troubled with any affections or infirmities but according to the liking of his owne will. So was it in Christ. [d] *Non ergo est aliquo cogente turbatus. Affectum quippe humanum, quando oportuisse iudicauit, in seipso potestate commouit. Christ was not troubled by the compulsion of any. For when he thought it needfull, he did stirre in himselfe by his owne power humane affections.* If to raise feare and sorrow within himselfe, when he would, were power aboue nature, and no humane infirmitie; as also to appoint how farre they should prevaile in him; what was it then by the power of these affections in him, to represse and temper all our infirmities and affections, and to endue vs with heauenly grace and courage to resist and restraine the excesse of those affections in our weake natures? was it power, or infirmitie in Christ thus to worke, either in himselfe, or in vs? It was power no doubt in Christ to limit the *time, degree and force* of those affections, which his will would admit; and in all these things the lesse necessitie of nature vrged him; the more acceptable was his obedience vnto God, that would voluntarily subiect himselfe to our miseries, paines and afflictions. I then neither doe, nor neede denie, that our naturall infirmities were common to Christ with vs, but those were voluntarily receiued in him [e] *quia voluit, quando voluit, quomodo voluit; because he would, when he would, and as he would,* euen as Austen saith of his death. And though it be most true, which the Apostle writeth of Christ; [f] *He was crucified through* (or as touching his) *infirmitie* which was the flesh of man in him; yet Saint Austens exposition of those words is right good, where he saith, [g] *de qua infirmitate ait Apostolus, quod infirmum est dei, fortius est hominibus; euen of that infirmitie* (wherein Christ was crucified) *the Apostle also saith, the*

[c] *Augustin. in Iohannem tract. 49.*

[d] *Augustin. ibidem tract. 60.*

[e] *Augustin. de trinitate li. 4. cap. 13.*

[f] 2. Cor. 13.

[g] *Ibid. lib. 13. cap. 14.*

weakne[ss]e

weakneſſe of God is ſtronger then men. What ſeemed weakneſſe in Chriſt, and is ſo called in the Scriptures in compariſon of his diuine power, euen that farre paſſeth the power and ſtrength of men; and therefore the ſame Apoſtle calleth [h] *Chriſt crucified the wiſedome, and power of God.* [h] 1. Cor. 1.

[i] *Faine you would wipe away that Argument of ours, which ſticketh neerer to you then you will ſeeme. In malefactours there is a quiet and contented ſuffering of moſt exquiſite and extraordinarie torments often times, which they endure onely by a naturall ſtrength and courage of mind. How much more likely is it then, that Chriſt the very Rock of all ſtrength and fountaine of patience would not thus ſeeme affrighted and aſtoniſhed, for his meere bodily death, and that before it came vnto him?*] Your brablement is more tedious to me, then your Argument troubleſome. You ſpend here a whole leafe to ſhew that Malefactors and Martyrs often ſuffer moſt horrible torments very quietly and altogether without any ſuch agonie, as Chriſt ſhewed in the Garden. How maketh that againſt me, who teach out of Hilarie, Ambroſe, Ierom and Bede, that Chriſt was not thus agonized for any ſufferings of his owne, much leſſe for feare of a bodily death; though he would be like vs in hauing a naturall horror of death, as *Athanaſius, Auſten, Cyrill* and *Damaſcene* affirme? What wandering and trifling is this, to be loquent in things ſuperfluous, and ſilent in matters moſt ſerious? The whole worke and waight of our redemption was now before Chriſts eyes and apprehenſion in more exact and liuely manner, (he now appearing before the iudgement ſeate of God) then we in this body can diſcerne or deſcribe. For as all things needfull ſhall be preſent and patent to vs, when we are brought to Gods Tribunall, where no truth of things without vs, or within vs, which concerne vs, ſhall be couered or concealed from vs; ſo Chriſt preſenting himſelfe before the iudgement of God to haue Man redeemed by the ranſome, which he would yeeld for him, and ſatan eiected from preuayling againſt his members by his mediation, did perfectly and fully behold both the deteſtation, that Gods holineſſe had of all our ſinnes, and the power of his wrath prouoked by our defection and rebellion; as alſo the dreadfull vengeance prepared and ordained for ſinne, and our dull and careleſſe contempt of our owne miſerie, together with the watchfulneſſe and egerneſſe of the Aduerſarie; the brunt and burden of all which he muſt receaue, and auert from vs by that kind of ſatisfaction and recompence, which the iuſtice of God ſhould then require at his hands. None of thoſe things might be hid from Chriſts preſent and perfect view, when he came now to performe that, which the iudgement of God ſhould thinke a iuſt price and full recompence for the ſinnes of men. The due conſideration, contemplation, intuition and apprehenſion whereof being in Chriſt more cleare, then we can conceaue, might worthily make the Manhood of Chriſt not onely feare and tremble, but in his prayers to God to ſtirre and inflame all the powers and parts of body and Soule, as farre as mans nature and ſpirit were able, with all ſubmiſsion, intention and deprecation poſsible to powre forth themſelues before God. Theſe you puſh away not as falſe, but as parts of Chriſts holineſſe; as if any feare or ſorrow could be in Chriſt, which were not religious and holy; and ſubſtitute other ſufferings of the damned, as the ſecond death, and the true paines of hell from the immediate hand of God, deuiced by your ſelfe without any direction of the Scriptures; and thoſe you dreame Chriſt not onely feared, but really felt in the Garden, otherwiſe he could not ſorrow and ſweate as he did. [i] Defenc. pag. 101., li. 9.

And becauſe you would ſeeme to ſay ſomewhat, though little to the purpoſe, and leſſe againſt me, who auouch no ſuch thing; you heape vp heere malefactours, murderers and theeues, beſides martyrs, who neuer ſweate bloud for any bodily torments inflicted on them. Grant all this, though there be differences, which yet you ſee not, what inferre you? That Chriſt did not thus ſweate for his bodily death. What then? Ergo he ſuffered in the Garden the death of the damned, and the true paines of hell? This concluſion hangeth to the premiſſes with hay-ropes, you winde it which way you will, and then you ſay, I would faine wipe it off. But to me that nei-

ther say, nor said any such thing, that Christ was thus agonized onely for feare of his meere bodily death, these be rather wildgoose-races, then sober mens reasons impugning any thing that I did or doe defend.

And yet your comparisons be not so currant, as you conceaue them. For though murderers or malefactors for obstinacie or stupiditie, and martyrs for constancy may despise the torments, which they suffer, so long as strength of desperate malice in the one, or of heauenly grace in the other resisteth or endureth the paine; yet when nature is subdued and conquered by paine, that the soule must yeeld to death and depart, then can no man expresse, nor euer could any man declare, what conflicts of feare and horror the soule hath with death and in death. Onely Christ, who on the Crosse did voluntarily and instantly breath out his soule with all quietnesse contrarie to the course of mans nature, might before hand shew in himselfe, if it pleased him, the anguish and agonie, which naturally the soule hath in her strugling with death, and fainting vnder death, and which God had impressed on mans nature at the time of the departure of the soule from the bodie, in remembrance and resemblance of Gods displeasure against sinne, when by his mightie power he seuered the soule and spirit of man asunder, to giue way to death for the reuenge of the first mans disobedience in all his ofspring. I speake not this, as if there were none other causes, that might be of Christes agonie, but to shew that your comparisons, which you take to be so strong, are woorle then weake, since the soules both of Martyrs and Malefactors haue a naturall terror and horror of death impressed in them by Gods power and will, though whiles strength and memorie dure, they may be so confirmed in their good or euill purposes, that they doe not yeeld so long, as they can make resistance. This naturall horror of death, which mans soule hath impressed in her by Gods owne doing, if Christ would admit in the Garden priuately before his Father, as obedient to his ordinance, not openly before his enemies, to whom he would shew nothing but patience and constance aboue all malefactors and martyrs, what force haue your examples to refute this, since Christ voluntarily shewed that in the Garden, which the soules of all men naturally doe, when the feare or force of death falleth on them? [k] *Omnes pij statuunt in morte iræ diuinæ sensum esse, ideoque sua natura dolorem & horrorem incutit. quod & Christus ipse, dum oraret in horto, & alij multi sancti viri declarauerunt. All the godly* (saith Peter Martyr) *resolue there is a sense of Gods wrath in* (bodily) *death, and therefore by the nature thereof it striketh a feare and terrour* (into vs) *which Christ himselfe, when he prayed in the Garden, and many other holy men haue declared.*

[k] *Petri Martyris loci communes class. 2. loco. 1. sect. 51.*

To let you farther see, that your Malefactors and Martyrs doe not proue, that Christ might not shew himselfe afrayd of death in the Garden, though in patience and constancie he exceeded all mankinde, when he came to the present feeling of his paines, you shall heare the iudgement of S. Austen affirming, that Christ by this voluntarie feare would of mercie conforme himselfe to his weake members for their comfort, lest they should despaire when they feele the feare of death oppressing them. [l] *Firmissimi quidem Christiani, si qui sunt, qui nequaquam morte imminente turbantur. Sed numquid Christo fortiores? Quis hoc insanissimus dixerit? Quid est ergo, quod ille turbatus est, nisi quia infirmos in suo corpore, hoc est, in sua Ecclesia suæ infirmitatis voluntaria similitudine consolatus est, &c. They are indeed most setled Christians, if there be any such, which are not troubled when death approcheth: But are they stronger than Christ? Who will so say, though he were neuer so madde? What is it then that Christ was troubled* (therewith) *but because by the voluntarie shew of his weakenesse he did comfort those that were weake in his bodie, which is his Church: that if any of his were troubled with the approching of death, they should in spirit beholde him, lest thinking themselues by this* (fearefulnesse) *to be reprobates, they should be swallowed vp with a woorse death of desperation?* And elswhere with admiration of Christes goodnesse for this verie cause; [m] *O Lord* (sayth he) *God aboue vs, Man for vs, I acknowledge thy mercy; for in that thou being so great, wouldest of thy loue be voluntarily troubled* (by [n] taking the affection of thy members)

Christ would be like the weake to comfort the weake.

[l] *August. in Iohannem tract. 60.*

[m] *Idem in Iohannem tract. 52.*

[n] *Ibidem.*

members) *thou doeſt comfort many in thy bodie* (the Church) *which are neceſſarily troubled with this their infirmitie, leſt by deſpairing they ſhould periſh.* So that neither of theſe wayes Martyrs nor Malefactours are ſtronger than Chriſt, though he feared death, which you imagine they do not: but Chriſt either in reſpect of his Fathers ordinance againſt ſinne ſhewed that conflict with death in himſelfe, which the ſoules of all men haue naturally, be they Martyrs or Malefactors, before they depart their bodies; or els of mercie towards vs he would voluntarily aſſume our weakneſſe in the Garden, leſt we ſhould deſpaire, when we feele the ſtroke and terrour of death, as by his example on the croſſe he ledde vs to immooueable patience and confidence in all our afflictions.

Some Malefactors (you ſay) deſpiſe death, & often ſmile in their torments.] Being hardened in their ſinnes, and obſtinate againſt God, they may haue either ſtupefaction of ſenſe by Satans meanes, to encourage others to the like wickedneſſe by their contempt of death; or els obduration in their miſchiefe, till the time of repentance be paſt; but their ſoules, that ſo ſtifly contemne Gods iudgements, haue another maner of terror before they forſake their bodies, when indeed it is too late for want of ſenſe and memorie to call for grace. And the Martyrs themſelues, as all good Chriſtians that are reſolued not only quietly to ſuffer, but to deſire death, that they may be with Chriſt, are by Gods grace preſerued in that minde ſo long as vnderſtanding and faith preuaile; but when the powers of the ſoule are ouerwhelmed by the violent paines and pangues of death, ſhe is by Gods ordinance in all mankinde, and euen in the faithfull ſuffered to feele the touch and ſting of bodily death, which is fully knowen to none, but to God that ordained it, and to herſelfe that feeleth it; though this agonie of death be ſhortened or ſuccoured, as pleaſeth God of his mercie to diſpoſe in euery man: and in Gods elect this anguiſh, though it be very ſharpe for the time, turneth to their good and his glorie; God ſupporting and comforting the ſoules of his Saints with hope of a better life. Your reaſons therefore are all idle and impertinent, which you draw from the patience of Martyrs, or ſtifneſſe of Malefactors. For admitting all that to be true, which Martyrs by grace, and Malefactors of pertinacie performe in their torments, whiles ſtrength and memorie ſerue them, yet haue they both their conflicts with death, when they can neither ſpeake nor expreſſe what they feele, and malefactors a moſt fearefull confuſion, when repentance being paſt, which they neglected, their ſoules are now ſuffered to ſee the terrours and torments of hell, into which they ſhall preſently depart. And this naturall anguiſh of death, which aſſaulteth all men, when the ſoule feeleth the ſtrangeneſſe and bitterneſſe of her diuorce from the bodie, Chriſt might purpoſely ſuffer to ariſe in himſelfe in the Garden, that taſting it with perfect ſenſe and memorie, he might ſuſtaine it with greater patience and obedience (though it were very painfull) than all mankinde beſides.

All feele the ſting of death which Chriſt expreſſed before he aied.

* *All your anſweare is, malefactours are no fit compariſon for the ſonne of God: for they are deſperate not hauing any feare or care of God, till they feele the force of his wrath in hell fire. What an anſweare is this?*] The anſweare is fitter and fuller, then your wit ſerueth you to vnderſtand, or your learning to refute. For this ignorant or deſperate contempt of Gods iudgment, which you alleage in malefactors, Chriſt might not follow; ſince he rightly diſcerned, and religiouſly feared Gods diſpleaſure againſt ſinne euen in the death inflicted on the body of man. So that Chriſt ſhewed an humble regard of Gods puniſhment with due feare and ſorow, which impenitent Theeues and murderers neglect till it be to late; and yet when he came to the very ſuffering of death on the Croſſe, his ſilence and patience farre exceeded both malefactours and martyrs. The cauſe of your error is this, that you aſcribe that to weakneſſe of heart and want of ſtrength in Chriſt, which he of humilitie to God & mercie to his members voluntarily admitted in himſelfe to comfort and ſtrengthen the weake, which are not able to imitate his perfection of patience on the croſſe. [p] *In our baſeneſſe* (ſaith Leo) *Chriſte was deſpiſed, he ſorowed in our heauineſſe, and was crucified in our paine. For of mercy he tooke vnto him the paſſion of our mortalitie to this end, that he might heale it, and his power admitted*

* Defenc. pag. 101. li. 20.

[p] Leo de Paſſione Domini ſerm. 7.

admitted it, that he might conquere it. All thinges in him were full of mysteries and full of
[q] Bernard serm. 1. de S. Andrea. *miracles.* [q] *Agnosco planè in duce belli pusillanimorum trepidationem, agnosco agroti vocem in medico, agnosco infirmantem gallinam cum pullis: considero charitatem, stupeo miserationem, expauesco dignationem: I plainly see* (saith Bernard citing Christes praier in the garden) *in the captaine of the field the feare of weakelings, I see in the Physician the voice of the sicke, I see the hen weake with cherishing her yong ones: I consider the loue* (of Christ) *I am euen amazed at his mercy, and I tremble to see what he vouchsafed* (for vs.)

[r] Defenc. pag. 102. li. 13. [r] *To leaue these and come to the patience of Martyrs in their sufferings. It is admirable what ioy, what peace, what triumphe they shew in the middest of a thousand most strange and bucherly torments, noe lesse, if not greater in outward shew then the sufferings of our Sauiour Christe.*] It is farre more admirable in our sauiour Christ, that he would be weake for their sakes, that were weake, when it pleased him before his passion, and strong for their example, whom he would make strong, when he came to the heigth of his sufferings; and by either as wel weakenesse as strength, teach vs in both to depend on him, and not to exalt our selues against him or afore him, as you doe Martyrs with your manifold termes and torments. And haue not Martyrs thinke you, before they depart this life, as great conflicts with the paines and horror of death, as Christ had any, though the wisdome of God reserue the naturall sting of death till the soule feele her bodily senses and powers ouerwhelmed, and her selfe violently forced to forsake her seat, in which case she would vtterly faint, if she were not supported by the secret goodnesse of God, and taken from that conflict in her bodie by the hands of Angels to be brought with ioy to the presence of God?

As Christ would be weake to cõfort the weake in the Garden, so was he stronger than the strongest on the Crosse.

[s] *Cyprianus de Passione Domini.* [s] *That feare of Christes* (in the garden saith Cyprian) *expressed the common affection of mans infirmitie; and the generalitie of all men that liue in the flesh, to be vrged with this sorow, and that the dissolution of the soule and the body cannot want this griefe.* Martyrs you suppose want this griefe, or willingly endure it, but you are deceiued in either of these as in all things els.

[t] *August in Iohannem tract. 123.* [t] *Si nulla esset mortis, vel parua molestia, non esset tam magna martyrum gloria. If there were no paine, or but small pain in death, the glory of martyrs would not be so great,* saith Austen. And againe. [u] *Tam molesta* (mors) *est, vt nulla explicari locutione possit, nec vlla ratione vitari. So painfull is death, that it can by no wordes be expressed, nor by no meanes auoided.* [x] *Quid horribilius morte? in morte tam dulce carnis & animæ vinculum amarissimo secandum erit diuortio. What is more horrible* (saith Bernard) *then death? in death the vnion of body and soule, which is so sweete, shalbe seuered with a most bitter diuorce.* But martyrs you thincke are willing to endure it; they find as much vnwillingnesse in nature, as they find readinesse in faith, or desire in hope; saue that in them necessity worketh obedience. [y] *mortem horret non opinio sed natura. It is nature* (saith Austen) *not opinion, that abhorreth death. Quis enim vult mori? prorsus nemo, & ita nemo, vt beato Petro diceretur, alter te cinget & feret quo tu non vis. Who will die by his will? vtterly no man, and so certainely no man, that it was said* (by Christ) *to Peter, another shall gird thee and lead thee whither thou wouldest not,* when he went euen to martyrdome. Death therefore by Gods ordinance hath in it a sting repugnant to mans nature, which all men, euen martyrs themselues do feele, & when the paine is so great, that it passeth both their strength and their patience, the force thereof seuereth their soules from their bodies; albeit in Gods Elect all things turne to their good, this agonie of death not excepted, in which God supporteth them whiles they haue sense, that they despaire not, and after some conflict with death, taketh their soules from them, now ioyfull that they are deliuered, and shall be presented to the Throne of Grace. This Christ alone of all men was able exactly to know and feele in himselfe before and without the pangues of death; not that he was weaker than Martyrs, but that all the godly might assure themselues he tasted euen the sharpenesse of death, to which they are subiect, and is able and willing to sustaine vs, and saue vs in the naturall conflict and horrour of death, as he did himselfe.

[u] *Idem de ciuitate Dei. li. 13. ca. 11.*
[x] *Bernard. de Primordijs medijs & nouissimis nostris.*
[y] *August. de verbis Apost. serm. 32.*
[z] *Ibidem sermone. 33.*

[a] Defenc. pag. 103. h. 2. Iob. 38. [a] *All this other godly men do also suffer and feele, which they take passing ioyfully and quietly.*] Who told you that there is ioy and rest in the pangues of death? *Haue the gates*

of

of death beene opened to you? or hath any of the dead certified you, what *sting* there is in seuering the soule from the bodie? Did God punish Adams disobedience with ioy and ease? or doth nature abhorre pleasure? True it is, the godly ought not to be dismayed with the feare of death, since it is God that woundeth and healeth, killeth and quickeneth, bringeth to hell and bringeth backe againe; but they must acknowledge death to be Gods punishment on Adams sinne, and the straightest gate, that leadeth to heauen. [b] *This punishment* (sayth Cyprian) *was layd on all Adams offspring without exception, that the difficultie of the last passage* (out of this life) *should be feared. Hanc nemo anxietatem euasit, & nemo egrediente anima sine amaritudine expirauit. This griefe no man hath euer escaped, nor any euer breathed out his soule without bitternesse.* And Martyrs no doubt doe, or should priuately in their prayers to God, see the sharpenesse of death in respect of their strength, and confesse the iustnesse of this punishment layed on all men for sinne; and so with all religious feare and most earnest prayer to God for his assistance and defence against the terrour of death, approch their endes; though the cause for which they die should comfort them, and make them cheerefull in the eyes of all their aduersaries, when they haue first giuen God his due, and reposed themselues on his heauenly protection. Euen so did Christ teach vs by his example, who to his Father in the Garden confessed the naturall horror of death, which he would feele, and felt for our sakes; and after to his persecutours shewed no such thing, but readily met them, willingly offered himselfe to them, and patiently endured whatsoeuer paine they heaped on him. [c] *Latens in humanitate omnipotentia te Discipulis pauidum, coram persecutoribus terribilem exhibebat. Omnipotencie couered in mans nature, shewed thee fearefull to thy Disciples, and terrible to thy persecutours,* sayth Cyprian of Christ. *When Christ was carried bound to the President, hee was not suppliant to the Sergeants, yea, he despised the greatnesse of Herod and Pilate, & de impietate & malitia suauitas pietasq; Christi triumphat, and the mildnesse and godlinesse of Christ triumphed ouer the malice and wickednesse* (of his persecuters.)

Martyrs finde ioy and ease after death, but not in death.

[b] *Cyprianus de Passione Domini.*

[c] *Cyprianus de Passione Domini.*

[d] *You answere, If death be not fearefull to the seruants of Christ, they are the more bound to their Lord and Master, who was the first that by death disarmed death, and seuered death and hell. What is this to our reason?*] Enough, and more than enough, if your captious head would conceiue it right. For Christ tooke from death all destroying power ouer the Elect, and from them all amazed and confounding feare, which others finde in death; and so not only by his example taught them to resort to God with prayer for comfort against the terrour of death, but by his agonie enabled them to goe securely and quietly to their deaths, notwithstanding the horror thereof; since he will helpe them in the midst of that miserie, and receiue them with glorie, when others thinke them swallowed vp with death.

[d] Defenc. pag. 102. li 26.

[e] *By breaking the knot betwixt death & hell, he could not be so wofully affected & afflicted aboue measure as he was, if he did not suffer by them somwhat extraordinarily. Vnto this you haue nothing to answer.*] Are the pains of hell & the death of the damned come now to SOMEWHAT EXTRAORDINARIE? Heere may the Reader see the verie depth of all your new doctrine. It was SOMEWHAT, that Christ SVFFERED or FEARED in the Garden: *ergo* it was the second death and the pains of the damned. All your idle and erroneous illations and amplifications of martyrs and malefactors end now in SOMEWHAT, if you could tell what; and because you knowe not what it was, you will imagine what you list. I doe not doubt, but it was somewhat extraordinarie, that mooued Christ to this *feare, sorow, and intentiue Prayer* after comfort receaued from heauen by an Angell; although I dare not determine, what it was, which the Scriptures doe not expresse; much lesse presume it to be the second death, as you doe against the Scriptures, or frame a new hell of the damned, for Christes soule to pay our ransome, thereby to crosse the whole course of the word of God teaching and assuring vs the bloud of Christ was the price of our Redemption. I see many things extraordinarie, or rather nothing wholy ordinarie in the son of God, specially at the time of our redemption, which he alone for the innocencie and excellency

[e] Defenc. pag. 103. li. 10. *Christ might feele somewhat extraordinary, yet not the paines of hell.*

lency of his person, and power could, and did throughly performe. Yea euen in his agonie though some thinges might be common to him with man, yet none of those thinges could be sustained by any man, as they were by him. And therefore your *somwhat* betraieth your presumption, when thence you inferre what you best like, because the Scripture hath not acquainted you with euery secret affection or action, that was required in mans saluation.

f Defenc. pag. 103. li 22. f *It was not therefore that only, but some other death farre more dreadfull and intolerable, which made Christ man, (being also God) in such wise to tremble and quake.*] I hope you doe not meane, that Christes godhead trembled at your other death, or was subiect to any humane feares or miseries, nor that your other death was so dreadfull, that his diuine power could not keepe him from trembling and quaking at it. It was no small part of Christes obedience and humilitie to lay aside his strength, when he suffered for our sinnes, and not by power to resist, repulse or ease the paines, which his passion should bring; but with exact sense to feele it, and with woonderfull patience to indure it. Neither was it no part of Christes purpose by his sorrow and feare in the Garden to giue vs to vnderstand, that he would vse no power, which he might easily haue done, to diminish the vehemency or sense of the paines prepared for him; least his so sauing himselfe from smart by his secret power should delude Gods Iustice, impaire his loue to vs, and put vs in despaire of following his example; since we had no power to succour our selues, as we might imagine of him, had he not by naturall and euident signes of true feare and sorow confirmed vnto vs, that he felt his afflictions, as much as we doe ours, and will helpe our infirmitie, and ease our miserie, though he would not spare himselfe. So that hence a good Christian would collect Christes submission to the weakest degree of mans infirmitie, and his communion with vs in tasting the sharpest of our sorowes, and not exaggerate his power to make him capable of the second death, g *which is the lake burning with fire and brimstone*, as the Scriptures affirme; and consequent, not antecedent to the first death, as you dreame in Christes case, besides that the h *smoke of their torments* (which are cast into this lake) *ascendeth euermore, and they haue no rest night nor day.*

g Reuel. 21.

h Reuel. 14.

i Defenc pag. 103. li. 25. i *Indeed Christ had farre greater cause* (as you say) *to feare euen his bodily death, then any of his members haue. For it was therefore because death approched vnto him clasped fast with hell, so that he could not by the ordinance of God meddle with the one, but he must feele the other.*] My wordes enlarged and peruerted by you may seeme to make some musicke for you, but of themselues they are true, and no way touch your vntuned and hie strained cratchets. That Christ must and did breake the knot betwixt death and hell, which otherwise were fast clasped together, and by receauing the one in his owne person did free all his members from the other, is no question neither with me, nor I thinke with any Christian man. The iust vengeance deserued and prepared for sinne, which was temporall and eternall death, the Redeemer must throughly know least he should ransome vs he could not tell from what. Wherefore not your new found hell, but the wages of our sinne, which was eternall death, vsually called hell in the Scriptures, might not be hidde from the eies of Christ; but euen the iust and full reward of our iniquities was to be presented to the sight and spirit of the Redeemer, that in the presence of God he might behold the waight of our sinne, the greatnesse and iustnesse of Gods anger against it, and accordingly conceaue how deare the price, and how sharpe the paine must be, that should quitte vs from this debt, and yet how pretious his person, and infinite his obedience was, that by one death should excuse vs from the other. Whether these things were reuealed and shewed to Christ *by sight*, as the terrors and torments of hell might be; or by *vision*, or in *spirit*, I dare not pronounce; I meddle not so farre with Gods secrets: God hath waies enough to propose the Iudgemēts of the next world to men here liuing, when and how pleaseth him; but of none of these might Christ be ignorant, least we make him a Sauiour at peraduentures, as not knowing all things, that directly belonged to his office, and sacrifice, and to the causes & effects of our Redemption. That therfore

fore Christ must haue a perfect knowledge and liuely sight and view of all these things pertaining to the waight and burden of mans deliuerance, chiefly now when he appeared in Gods iudgement, (where nothing is couered) to performe the same, I may safely grant; but that he felt or suffered eternall death, or the paines of the damned, or the full wages of our sinnes, this you shall neuer prooue, how much soeuer you presume with licentious but irreligious words to couer it, and conuey it into the Creed of Christians.

[k] *He did not contemplate and looke on them a farre of, nor had to do with one more then the other, but by suffering one he felt both, and by enduring one he endured both.*] Your speaches are false, absurd, and impious, howsoeuer you will qualifie them, when you come to the point, with the substances, but not with the circumstances of eternall death and damnation. First, shew that the Scripture teacheth any such thing of Christ as that he suffered the second death, or the paines of the damned. Next, that your deuice of this new second death, which dureth but for a moment, and proceedeth from Gods owne hand agreeth with the word of God. And Thirdly, that God did thus torment the soule of his sonne with his immediate hand, either in the garden, or on the crosse. All these things are your owne dreames plainly plastered to the Christian faith with figures and phrases of your owne coining; and yet you thinke you haue wrong, if you be not suffered to change the whole Creede, and outface the Scriptures with your idle fansies. That Christ should and did suffer a bodily death on the crosse, the Prophets did forshew, the Euangelists doe witnesse, and the Apostles doe confirme. That he died the second death in the garden before the first, or that this death came to him by fitts, and dured but the turning of an hand, and was inflicted on his soule by Gods immediate hand, as the other death was on his body by the Iewes, what Prophet, what Euangelist, what Apostle did euer teach or write? And how hang your owne words with your owne conceits? *by suffering the one, Christ felt both,* (you say) *and by enduring the one he endured both.*] Then in the Garden, when as yet he suffered not the death of the body, he felt not your second death; and Gods immediate hand did cease, if by the one, which the Iewes inflicted he endured both. If you fly to Christes *fearing and apprehending* the second death by the first; then are you farre from his suffering and enduring it; and this apprehension, which was not erroneous in Christ, as it is in you, might offer him a feare of Gods power, which is more infinite, then the manhoode of Christ could comprehend, and so might be terrible to him, as it is to all the godly when they finde or feele Gods anger against sinne; but it could breed no perswasion, or distrust, that God would destroy him for our sinnes, since he perfectly knew God would saue vs by his sufferings.

[k] Defenc. pag. 103. li. 29.

[l] *Also you forget my argument: that Christ alwayes charged his Disciples not to take their bodily death heauily for righteousnesse sake.* ergo *he himselfe would neuer be so dismayed with the feare of it.*] As I did not professe in my conclusion to refute all your follies, which were both trifling and tedious, so if I had purposed any such thing, I should haue skipped this, as an argument rather of your ignorance and vanitie, than of any force or veritie. For first, where did I defend in my Sermons, that Christes bodilie death was the cause of this agonie? recken my sixe causes on your fingers ends, if your memorie be so fickle, that refuting them you can not tell what they are, and see whether Christes bodily death be any of them or no; if it be none, how doth this argument conclude any thing against me, who shew so many things, which might concurre in Christes feare, besides his bodily death? Wherefore your conclusion, if it were good, is no way preiudiciall to me, nor beneficiall to your hell paines. For though Christ feared somewhat els, there is a large leape betweene *somewhat els*, and the death of the damned. But what was it that Christ willed his Disciples to feare? Gods purpose meaning to condemne Christians to hell, or his power, that was able to destroy soule and bodie in hell? Did Christ teach in these words a desperation of Gods fauour, or submission vnder the mighty hand of God, and a religious feare not to displease him? To feare religiously, not distrustfully Gods power, since they were perswaded

[l] Defenc. pag. 104. li.

The Defender forgeth apace new parts of the Christian faith.

Christ teacheth all his to feare Gods power, as himselfe did in the garden.

persuaded of Gods goodnesse whom Christ calleth his friends, and so not to prouoke him, considering the mightinesse of his arme, is the summe of Christes doctrine in that place; as God himselfe by the Prophet Esay taught all the faithfull, saying;

m Esa.8. m *Sanctifie the Lord of hosts, and let him be your feare, and let him be your dread.* A deepe impression of this feare commended to all the Elect, whiles heere they liue, Christ himselfe might haue and shew in the Garden, and be farre from doubting his owne saluation and our redemption. So that Christes words doe no way touch your new

n Luke 12.v.4. o vers.5. deuice of hell paines, except by contradicting it. For where Christ sayd, n *I speake to you my friends,* o *I will forwarne you whom you shall feare,* φοβήθητε τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντα ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν γέενναν, *feare him that hath power,* AFTER HE HATH KILLED, *to cast into hell:* you contrarie to Christes words auouch, that God first cast Christes soule into hell in the Garden, and after killed his bodie on the crosse, where Gods course is, as Christ obserueth, *after he hath killed, to cast into hell,* or Gehenna, where the paines of the damned are. And so where Christ maketh the second death of the damned to come after the death of the bodie, you make in Christ and all his members the second death to go before the first, which is a grosse ouersight as well against order as against trueth; saue that your conceits haue neither *order, weight nor measure.*

p Defenc.pag. 104.li.11. p *Here you haue a notable saying in the margent, which must not be forgotten, we must preferre Christs sufferings before all Martyrs, not for his paines, but for his Patience. Not for his paines, but for his Patience? A rare distinction: If you could make vs beleeue, that the greatest patience is tried and discerned, where the smallest paines are, then you said somewhat.*] The margin will prooue you fit to play with a feather, and willing to embrace a bable before a better thing. Doe my words there import or intend, that Christs paines were lesse then the paines of Martyrs? Hauing said before as much as I thought good, touching the comparison of Christs paines with other mens, I obserued here that Christs patience in suffering farre passed theirs, whatsoeuer we resolued of his paines. My words were. q *Longer torments others haue endured, but neuer greater for the time, nor with like patience.* This, as your manner is, you ouerskip, and where I refuse a needlesse contention, what kinds of paines are sharpest here on earth, but auouch Christs patience far exceeded the tolerance of Martyrs, whatsoeuer his paines did; you neither remember what I before auouched, nor what these words inferre, but make your selfe merie with your owne folly. *We must preferre,* I said, *Christs sufferings before all Martyrs, not for his paines,* (the exact degree whereof I know not) *but for his patience.* Doth this hinder, but that Christs paines were equall to any Martyrs sufferings, though I tooke not vpon me to make them sharper, then all the paines, that euer were felt on earth? My words before were plaine enough, *greater torments for the time others neuer endured:* And if such a Wyer-drawer, as you are; would goe to casling, which is the sharpest kind of paine, it pertained not much to the purpose, there could be no question, but Christs patience in his extreame paines did farre excell all mens. Indeede you little regard his patience, for you put him in a maze all confounded and all astonished, where neither obedience nor patience could haue any place: and as for paines you will none other, but the paines of the damned, which passe the patience of men and Angels. Wherefore that I would make men beleeue, the *greatest patience is tried in the smallest paines,* is a buzzardly deuice of your owne, and howsoeuer I would not contend, whether Christs paines were the sharpest that euer were suffered on earth, yet I before resolued his paines to be as great, as any mans euer were in this mortall body, and his patience to be farre greater and painfuller to him. The reasons whereof I gaue before in my Sermons, though your course be to leape ouer what you list, and to meddle with no more then you may entertaine with a wrest or a iest.

q Sermo.pa. 7.li.10.

Christs patience was greater than any mans whatsoeuer his paines were.

The eminence of Christs patience aboue all Martyrs I shewed to consist in these two points; in exacter sense, and perfecter obedience at the time of his sufferings, then any man euer had, or could haue. For in others the more violent the tortures,

the

the ſooner they ouerwhelme the ſenſe, and haſten death; but in Chriſt (whatſoeuer you dreame to the contrarie) there was no confuſion, nor corruption of ſenſe; rather when his paines were ſharpeſt, and himſelfe weakeſt; then was his ſenſe as tender, if not tenderer then at any time before. Againe in others, euen in Martyrs, when paine doth paſſe their ſtrength, the Soule ſtruggleth and ſtriueth to repell or auoyde the paine, which when ſhe cannot conquere, nor reſiſt, ſhe departeth the body. In Chriſt it was otherwiſe; when the ſharpneſſe of paine moſt fiercely aſſaulted him, then did his obedience and patience riſe to the higheſt degree. So that nothing in him refuſed or declined the bitterneſſe of his paines, nor ſo much as repined or ſhrunke at it, but to the vttermoſt he put himſelfe with all ſubmiſsion and patience aduiſedly, obediently, and quietly to beare, and endure the greateſt rage and exceſſe of his intolerable torments, which no mans ſtrength or nature can performe. And this I truſt toucheth the triall and proofe of Chriſts patience, and not the inward habite, as you call it; not ſo much as vnderſtanding, that my words concerne the vſe, and not the gift of Chriſts patience. And if I would enterpret my words, as you did Saint Auſtens a little before, when they contained contraries, not conſequents, as mine doe, and ſo ſay, Chriſts *ſufferings muſt be preferred before all Martyrs, not for paines* (only,) *but for patience alſo*, ſince there could be no vſe of patience in Chriſt without paines: then by your owne interpretation, which in things conſequent is very requiſite, you haue flowen faire, and ſeaſed on a Butterflie.

[r] *By this alſo we may ſee how vaine your next coniecture is, that he feared in his Agony corporall caſtigation aboue his ſtrength. For why may not Martyrs and others feare as much crueltie and extraordinarie torments at the hands of men, as Chriſt had cauſe to doe?*] You haue an habite of vnderſtanding nothing beſides that, which no man vnderſtandeth beſides your ſelfe. When I tell you that another thing [r] *which Chriſt might iuſtly feare and earneſtly pray againſt, (though his ſoule were neuer ſo ſafe,* from the paines of the damned) *was the power of Gods wrath to be executed on his bodie:* [t] *for God was armed with infinit vengeance to afflict and puniſh the bodie aboue that the humane fleſh of Chriſt was able to endure:* You anſwer, why may not martyrs feare as much at mens handes. Wiſely forſooth, and as much to the purpoſe as chalke to make cheeſe. Why ſhould not Martyrs feare the power of men againſt their bodies, as much as Chriſt feared the power of God againſt his body? If you ſee not the cauſe, aske one of the children that dwelleth at next houſe to you, if they haue learned to know God from men, and they will readily tell you; though my wordes were full enough, but that your head was ſo emptie, as not to ſee what I ſaid. *God* I ſaid, *was armed with infinite vengeance to afflict the body aboue that the humane fleſh of Chriſt was able to endure.* Are men ſo armed as God is, euen in this life? I troe not, and therefore are not ſo to be feared.

[r] Defenc. pag. 104. li. 28.

[r] Sermo. pag. 24. li. 18.

[t] li. 22.

[u] *Why ſhould the feare of any whatſoeuer meere bodily paines, ouercome Chriſtes patience?*] Euen therefore becauſe it was humane, and weake in reſpect of God, and farre vnable to beare that, which God could impoſe. [*Are not martyrs as far vnable?*] Yes farre leſſe able, whether it be the hand of God, or of man, which they muſt feele. [Why then are not they as much afraid?] Of Gods power they are, when and where-ſoeuer ſhewed vnto them, or duely conſidered by them. As Moſes when God [x] *lightned and thundred on mount Sinai before* the deliuering of the Law, [y] *feared and trembled* by the Apoſtles report, as well as the reſt of the people. And as for the rage of men, Martyrs firſt know, that Gods wrath towards them is appeaſed by Chriſt Ieſus, and therefore they ſhall feele no more but the hands of men. Secondly, that as the crueltie of humane tortures increaſeth, ſo God either aſſiſteth his ſeruants by diminiſhing the bitterneſſe of their paines, or ſuffereth their ſtrength or ſenſe to be ouerwhelmed by the furie of their torments, in which caſe the ſoule though impatient of ſuch paine doth not ſinne, becauſe the violence is greater then mans ſtrength can endure, and thereby driueth the ſoule from the bodie. With Chriſt it was otherwiſe. For where he was to beare our ſinnes in his bodie, and had power ſufficient in himſelfe to decline or fruſtrate all that men could doe vnto him, when he would; he was

[u] Defenc. pag 104 li. 32.

[x] Exo. 19. v. 16.

[y] Heb. 12. v. 21

Why Chriſt feared more than martyrs do.

to

to see that Gods hand might ioyne with the Iewes rage for the punishments of our sinnes in his flesh; and that the sharper the anguish, which he should feele, the exacter the sense thereof which he must haue, and yet must still continue the perfection of his obedience and patience; since no violence of torments, were they neuer so intolerable, might ouerwhelme his sense, or force his soule from his body, but he must expect the time appointed by his Father, when he should in full sense and memorie breath out his soule at an instant, as I haue formerly shewed. He might therefore feare as well the violence, as the continuance of his paines (farre more then Martyrs neede) if he did not deprecate the power of Gods wrath deserued by our sinnes, to be eased euen in his body, where he bare our sinnes. For God was and is able to aggrauate bodily paines farre aboue the strength of mans nature in vs or in Christ, without meanes, or by meanes whatsoeuer. So that Christ desiring this cup, which he now beheld (for THIS doth demonstrate somewhat conceaued in the cup, which he declined) should passe from him, might haue this meaning, that the cuppe should passe from him, and not *oppresse* his patience, because his flesh was but weake to beare that heauie burden in his body, which our sinnes prouoked; and was heard, as the Apostle noteth of this praier in the garden, and eased of that he feared.

Christ knew all thinges, you will say, that should befall him.] Then he also knew, what his praier would auert of that punishment which our sinnes deserued: and since it is euident, that greater torments both of soule and body were due to vs for our sin, as we find by the damned, who are in the same desert with vs, though not partakers of the same mercie with vs: why should not Christ by his praier, which he knew God would heare, decline what he disliked in the cup of Gods wrath mixed for the sinnes of men, and yet submit and commit himselfe, after praier made, wholy to the will of God his father?

a Defenc. pag. 105. li. 1. [a] *If you meane that he felt greater (paines) concurring in and with the bodily punishment inflicted by the wrathfull hand of God armed with infinite vengeance, then you say well, and we acknowledge it.*] If I will mistake *fearing* for suffering, and *bodily* for ghostly pains, and the *crosse* for hell, and make Gods immediate hand a pretence for all these deuices, as you doe, then I say well, as you suppose; but if I make the power of God able to afflict for sinne the Bodie or Soule of man aboue all humane strength without the paines of the damned; and Christ iustly to feare the power of Gods wrath, if he did not by earnest and humble prayer pacifie Gods indignation for as much as exceeded the weakenesse and patience of his manhood, then my coniectures are vaine, though they neuer so well agree with the rules of religion and pietie. But in this you doe, as all Sectaries are wont to acknowledge no sinceritie, but in their owne secrets. [a] *Tu es ergo regula veritatis? quicquid contra te facit non est verum? Are you then the rule of truth? and whatsoeuer is against you, is that not true?*

a *August. contra Faustum Manichæum li. 11. cap. 2.*

b Defenc. pag. 105. li. 4. [b] *Your other cause is, for that by death his Body should want awhile the feeling of Gods presence. But did not Christ perfectly know that this was Gods decree and certaine appointment, yea his owne most free will and purpose?*] He that once hath vndertaken to wrench the Scriptures from their right sense, will neuer sticke to wrangle with all the world, as long as braine, or breath will giue him leaue. Often enough if that would serue, you haue beene told, that I produced not those foure points, on which you last insisted, as causes of Christs agonie, but as respects of his fearing, disliking, and shunning bodily death; against which you say nothing, but that he *could not*, he *would not* so feare it, as to sweate bloud for it. Which sillinesse, if not sottishnesse, still to impugne that, which I doe not affirme, and to post ouer the rest as pertinent to Christs perfection and holinesse, and so no part of his sufferings, is the best ground of your defence: but take any of these foure points, which you so much mislike, and referre them rightly to the end, for which I brought them, or any of the former fiue causes concurring to Christs agonie, and speake directly and truely to any one of them, and you shall be excused for all the rest. But being not able to refute one of them in sound and vpright reasoning. All your shift is, to misapply the respects of

Christs

Christs declining death, as if I made them causes of his agonie; and to single the causes, which I auouch might all meete in Christs feare and sorrow in the Garden, as sole and singular efficients of his whole agonie. With this childish Art you haue almost waded by them, not denying, as indeede you cannot, that they were then before Christs eyes, when he feared and sorrowed in the Garden, but that either they were no new things to him, or else parts of his righteousnesse and holinesse. Both which Answeres are very idle. For your hell paines, if that were part of his Passion, were no more newes to his foresight then the rest; and all Christs sufferings euen of your hell paines (if that conceite had any truth in it) were parts of his obedience and patience, as well as his suffering of feare and sorrow, or of bodily death. Wherefore these be but straines and starts to make your Reader beleeue you haue somewhat to say, when indeed your oppositions are so sleight, that they bewray how gladly you would, and how hardly you can distresse any of these causes, which I said might concurre in Christs Agonie. They all were weightie and godly respects impressing no small degrees of feare, sorrow, care and zeale on the Soule of Christ, and directly pertinent to the worke of our redemption now in hand. And where you shift them of as parts of Christs habituall holinesse alwaies resting in him, know you good Sir, that I speake not in this case of the permanent gifts of grace alwaies inherent in Christs Soule, but of the painfull impressions, which those respects did therefore now presently and sensible make on the Soule of Christ more then at other times, because they came now to execution, which before were but in cogitation, & by religious and humble praier, he was now to settle the whole course, force, & effects of his sufferings.

' *Call you this greater perfection in him than in other men, to pray expressely against the knowne will of his Father, yea against his owne?*] That Christ praied against the knowen will of his Father, is an irreligious and dangerous dreame of yours. This Toy you trump in euery where, as if it were some chose Answere, and yet this emptie reason maketh as much against you, as against me, if there were any waight in it. For if Christ did suffer the paines of the damned according to your deuice, was it not his Fathers knowen will he should so doe, yea and his owne also? How then doe the paines of hell excuse him from praying against his Fathers knowen will? [*he was so amazed therewith, you will say, that he knew not what he did.*] Christ must then be wholy depriued of all vnderstanding, if he neither remembred his Fathers will, nor his owne, nor our saluation, for whose sake he was content to suffer. And how then came he so suddainly in the very next syllable to remember himselfe, and his Fathers will? [*He was now freed,* you will say, *from that astonishment.*] How fell he then thrice into it? [he had so many touches of hell paines, which must needs confound all the powers and parts of his body.] Then all the time of his apprehension, examination, condemnation and crucifixion he felt no such thing, since the Gospels beare witnesse, that he wisely, religiously, constantly, carefully, and euery way admirably behaued himselfe in eche word and deede after to the instant of his death; and remembred all things that were written of him. Is not here a fine mockerie, which is the fortresse of all your hidden mysteries; that to prooue your hell paines, you must bring Christ into three such fits and pangs of confusion and obliuion, that he knew not what he said, or did; & presently with the speaking of (YET) to restore him againe to his perfect sense and memorie, and so to free him from all your new deuised Passions? besides your selues, no writer old nor new did euer find in Christs prayer, that he knew not what he said; and the condition added before his prayer, [d] *Father, if thou wilt, take away this Cup from me*; and the submission following with the same breath, *yet not my will, but thine be done*, doe plainely prooue that Christ had exact remembrance and regard of his fathers will, besides that the Apostle affirmeth of this prayer, that *Christ* [e] *was heard, in that he feared.* So that if this be all the Scripture you can produce for your hell paines, I protest before God and his whole Church, I will sooner beleeue that you were out of your wits in writing this, then that Christ was forgetfull in praying that, which he spake in the Garden.

* Defenc. pag. 105. li. 10.

[d] Luke. 22.

[e] Heb. 5.

f Defenc. pag. 105. li. 10.

f *Againe could this thing in any reason be such an horrible griefe vnto him; to haue his flesh lie dead for a day and a few howers, would the thought of this make him sweat blond for griefe, and to neede an Angell from heauen to comfort him, and to pray three times vehemently, this cup might passe from him? verily it is vnreasonable to thinke so.* Who hath bewitched you thus openly and vsually to fasten on vntrueths? I alleaged six causes that might conioine in Christes agonie, you haue piked out of my wordes foure more then euer I ment to be reasons of his bloudie sweate, and are nine of these now puft away with a breath, and nothing left by your swelling and insulting eloquence, but the deadnesse of Christs body, whiles the soule wanted? this it is for a man to trust to his tongue, when his teeth be gone; and to bleate, when he cannot bite. If the cause were not Gods, it might be thought a pastime thus to faine and face; but in so serious questions to vse such idle and false imputations and friuolous refutations, is a griefe to any good mans eares and a corrosiue to his conscience. Of Christes agony, and the causes that might occasion his feare, his sorow, and his zeale in the garden I haue said so much that I am wearie with repeating, though you be neuer weary with resuming the selfe same childish and erroneous mistaking. The reason of my speach is plaine and euident, howsoeuer you take the course rather to misreport it, then refute it. For if the soules of Gods saincts doe by nature vnwillingly leaue their bodies to which they are vnited, though by them they are often molested and burdened; (otherwise death were no punishment of sinne, but a signe of Gods fauour which is nothing so) how farre iuster cause then was there, Christ should naturally dislike death not only because it was a subuersion of nature created, & quickned by God, and an effect of Gods displeasure against sinne imposed on all men; but also for that it should during the time depriue him of life, sense and action with great slaunder and infamie, and cheefely should exclude for a season his bodie from that blessed communion and fruition of his diuine grace and glorie, which formerly it felt, though the personall vnion should not be dissolued: now the more Christ liked and loued that adherence to God, which he liuing enioied, the more grieuous was the want thereof, which death tooke from him for the time, though it were after restored with greater glory. This I did not put for the cause of his agonie, as you idlely amplifie, but noted it as a respect, that might worthily lead Christ to dislike or abhorre death in respect of his perfection and communion with God aboue all men and Angels, saue for the will of his father, and the good of man, which ouerruled this dislike in him.

t Defenc. pag. 105 li. 22.

t *You say excellent well, but by your practise in all matters so farre as I see, you neuer meane to obserue it: in Gods cause let Gods booke teach vs, what to beleeue, and what to professe. shew me then where you read in Gods word any or all these to be effectuall causes of this strange agony, or els for my part I shall neuer beleeue you.*] If I did professe to bind mens faiths to these causes of Christes agonie, as you doe to your new redemption by the paines of the damned, I would shew you where I redde them in the word of God, or els I would leaue ech beleeuer to his libertie: but I forwarned all men, that the Scriptures directly and particularly speaking nothing of the causes of Christes agonie, the safest rule that I could find, or they could follow, was not to depart from any knowen and receaued grounds of Religion and principles of pietie for the causes thereof. For since the Scriptures keep silence, and our Sauiour himselfe would not shew it to all his Disciples, but chose three from the rest to goe with him, and tooke the darke time of the night, and left those three (whose eies were so heauie that they could not forbeare sleepe) *about a stones cast* before he would pray, because he would not haue them priuie to all that he said, or did in that place, I see no reason why any man should be ouer curious in searching that, which the word of God hath not precisely reuealed, specially seeing no demonstratiue cause can be giuen of secret affections and voluntarie actions, such as these were in Christ. And your audacious and presumptuous boldnesse is the more chalengeable, for that you not onely take vpon you to giue the right and exact cause therof out of your owne braine, but you light on such a cause, as hath no foundation in any part of the Scripture, nor any coherence with the maine

maine positions of the Christian faith vnfalliblely deliuered in the word of God. Wherfore I haue not transgressed my directions, when I teach what iust and waighty respects of feare, sorow & zeale our Lord & Sauior had in the worke of our redemption; which might be the causes of that earnest prayer & agonie, and withall shewed the iudgements and opinions of diuers ancient and learned Fathers concerning the same; but you as insolent in your conclusions, as in your conceits, take vpon you to specifie the full and true cause thereof, for which you haue no shew of Scriptures, nor touch of reason. And such is the cause which you yeeld, that thereby you crosse the chiefe streames of faith and trueth most currant in the sacred Scriptures, and with all learned and religious antiquitie. The same rule then binding you, which bindeth me, shew you, what Prophet, Euangelist, or Apostle euer taught or thought the paines of the damned to be inflicted on Christes soule in the Garden by Gods immediate hand, and that without the paines of hell we could not be redeemed; or els my not beleeuing you will not excuse your enterprise; you must answere to God, and to all the faithfull, for innouating the very roots and branches of their redemption by the bloud and death of Christ Iesus, which you auouch to be vnsufficient for the ransome of our sinnes, except your hell be thereto added, when the Holy Ghost, who should best know the trueth, being the spirit of trueth, hath expressed no such thing in all the Scriptures.

[h] *Your sixt and last maine cause is, that Christ by this his bloudie sweate and vehement praiers did nothing but voluntarily performe that bloudie offering and Priesthood prefigured in the Law. This we simply grant.*] If you should truely repeat and conceiue any part of my writings, you should put your selfe to more paines, than you are willing to take, iustly to refute it. Wherefore your course is either to misrecite, or to misconstrue all that you bring. In the oblations of the Law, which prefigured the death of Christ, I obserued, that not only the Sacrifice was slaine by the shedding of bloud, but that the person of the Priest was sanctified, as well as the sinner presented by the Priest to God with earnest and humble prayer to make atonement for the trespasse. And since the trueth must haue some resemblance with the figure, Christ might in the Garden performe some points requisite to his Priesthood, as the sanctifying of himselfe with his owne bloud, and presenting his bodie to be the redemption and remission of our sinnes, with most instant and intentiue prayer for the transgressours. This if you simply graunt, as in wordes you say you doe, tell vs now which way you will conclude Christes suffering of hell paines in the Garden from his bloudie sweat? [*It hindereth not our assertion.*] Much lesse doeth it further it: but yet if there might be a cause of Christes voluntarie sprinckling himselfe with his owne bloud, and dedicating it to Gods pleasure for mans redemption besides and without your hellish torments, you will come shorter than you recken, to make good your conclusion.

[h] Defenc. pag. 105. li. 32.

The first cause concurring to Christes agonie.

[i] *The Scriptures which you cite, prooue indeed that Christ now executed his office of Priesthood, but will you diuide and exempt his death on the Crosse from his Priesthood?*] Who besides your selfe restraineth Christes euerlasting Priesthood either to the garden or to the crosse? But it was one thing for Christ with feruent and submissiue prayer to present and submit his bodie, which was his Sacrifice, to the will of his Father, as he did in the garden; and another thing, to receiue and admit the violent and wicked hands of the Iewes executing their rage on his bodie with all reproch and crueltie, as he did on the crosse. Now what had his Priesthood to do with the paines of hell, since he was to present and performe the bloudie sacrifice of his bodie prefigured in the Law, which he did in the garden, and on the crosse? And forsomuch as you grant, that Christes bloudy sweat, and his vehement prayers in the garden were pertinents to his Priesthood prefigured in the Law, which indeed is [k] confirmed by the Apostle, as you can shew no figure of suffering hell paines or the second death in the sacrifices of the Law, no more doth either of these performed in the garden concerne any secret death of the soule, which Christ there suffered from the immediate hand of God.

[i] Defenc. pag. 106.

[k] Hebr. 5.

[1] Defenc.pag. 106.li.14. [1] *Why say you not aswell, that his death and bloudshed on the Crosse shewed in him no paines nor infirmitie, but onely that voluntarily he made himselfe there the true Priest, and performed the prefigured bloudie and deadlie sacrifice for the sinnes of the world? As good reason altogether you haue to say so, as to affirme it of his agonie,*] No by your leaue: for Christ did not actually offer two sacrifices; the one ghostly, suffering the paines of hell in the garden, as you imagine; the other bodily and bloudy, yeelding himselfe to the death of the crosse. [m] *With one oblation he hath made perfect for euer them, which are sanctified;* [n] *and we are sanctified by the offering of the body of Iesus Christ once* (made). This sacrifice was presented and submitted to Gods will in the garden, but finished and consummated on the Crosse, which could not be without paines and infirmitie belonging vnto death. In the garden, where no Scripture saith Christ died, I admit not the second death nor the paines of the damned, which are thereto consequent. And where you say, I refuse all paines and infirmitie in Christes agonie, it is one of your wonted trueths, which in another were an open lie. I admit not the paines of the damned, or of the second death, til you shew where the scripture teacheth, that Christ suffered two deaths; the first on the Crosse, and the second in the garden, and that afore the first. Otherwise painefull affections of feare and sorow, which were humane infirmities, though voluntarily and religiously receaued by Christ into his soule, I euerie where acknowledge, and with Cyprian make them entrances to his oblation for the sinnes of the world. [o] *vt fieret voluntas Patris, & sacrificium carnis à timore & tristitia inchoaret, suberant victimæ desolatorij carbones, quos obedientiæ liquefactus adeps extinxit. That the will of the Father might be donne,* saith Cyprian *and Christ begin the sacrifice of his flesh with feare and sorow, consuming coales* (of feare and sorow in the gardē) *were put vnder the sacrifice, which the sweet fatnesse of his obedience melting did quench.* So that Christ beganne the sacrifice of his body in the garden, offering that to be disposed at his fathers will for the life of the world, and his entring to it was with feare and sorow, the painfulnesse whereof his obedience abolished, and so without all feare went to the rest of his suffrings before and on the crosse, where he perfected and ended his oblation, despising all torments and punishments, that the wicked could deuice for him. [p] *Doluit vt sanaret infirmos, timuit vt faceret securos. Christ sorowed to heale our weaknesse, and feared to make vs secure. I beheld thy workes* (ò Lord saith he) *and admire thee fastened to the crosse betweene two condemned* (Theeues) *now to be neither fearefull nor sorrowfull; but a conquerer of thy punishments.*

[1] Defenc.pag. 105.li.36. [1] *You meane voluntarie in such sense, that Christ was not also vrged thereunto by any violence of paines and feare procuring it in him naturally.*] I meane by *voluntarie*, that Christ had power enough to resist and represse the vehemency and painefulnesse of these affections in him selfe; and therefore against or without his will they could not trouble him. For affectiōs did not preuaile or exceed in him, as they do in vs against our wils, but he must be willing to submit himselfe to each affection of feare & sorow, before they could take hold of him, or be grieuous to him. Our nature though he tooke in substance, yet the corruption and distemper of our sinfull nature he did not take; and therfore as before our fall the innocency and rectitude, that was in man, could guide and gouerne as well the rising, as the inflaming of his affections; so much more Christ, who besides sincerity from sinne, and libertie from corruption, had the grace and power of Gods spirite aboue measure in his humane nature, could so restraine and represse in himselfe all affections of feare and sorow, that till he was willing, and thought it fitte, they neither did mooue, nor molest his humane flesh, or spirit. And when he suffered mans nature in him to feele the same affections, that are in vs, they were holy and righteous in him, declaring his obedience to his Fathers will, and not disordered as we find in the corruption of our flesh. And where you adde that *Christ was vrged* (to his bloudie sweat) *by violence of paines or feare procuring it in him naturally*; you speake not only against the trueth, but euen against your selfe. For within one leafe after you grant, [q] *it was aboue the course of nature*; led thereunto by Hilaries wordes, that it was [r] *non secundum naturæ consuetudinem, not according to the accustomed course*

Christ could represse and increase his affections as he saw cause.

Cyprianus de Passione Dom.

Cyprianus ibidem.

[q] Pa.107.li.16 [r] *Hilar.de Trinitate li.10.*

course of nature. And indeed how could it be naturall, since feare cannot by nature cause a bloudy sweate? and of all the men that you imagine did euer suffer the paines of hell, you neuer read in the Scriptures or else where, that any of them did sweate bloud. Now if it were naturall to paine, yea to your supposed paines of hell in this life to sweate bloud, as many as you vrge suffered the same, yea all the members of Christ, to whom in these sufferings you make him like, must needs at one time or other sweate bloud as well as Christ. Wherefore it is certaine that either you fitten and faine these sufferings in other men, or else Christ was not vrged NATVRALLY to this sweate by any feares or paines of hell, that oppressed him in the Garden.

[f] *Of this* (Exposition) *with all the rest you pronounce, that they are sound and well agreeing with Christian pietie. Yet is it contrarie to your Resolution also, yea it is contrarie to the Scripture expressing his feare and vehement sorrowes, and discomfort to haue caused his Agonie.*] Your words are of so small waight, that a man would skant spare you Oyster-shels vpon your credit. You know not the difference betwixt the occasion of Christs sorrow and sweate in the Garden, and the exposition of his complaint on the crosse. What I say of the one, You more then negligently apply to the other. As for my Resolution Pag. 290. proone it contrarie to this position (for exposition it is none, since it concerneth the cause of Christs sweate, and not the sense of his words;) and you shall after many failes and follies proone somewhat. Otherwise if these things in the Garden concerned Christs priesthood, which is mine Assertion in this place, I hope his Priesthood procueth both his submission to God, to whom he yeelded himselfe obedient and suppliant, and his compassion on man, for whose sake he refused not to make a bloudie and deadly offering of his owne bodie, which is my Resolution in the Page, that you name for a contradiction to this.

[f] Defenc. pag. 10. h. 2.

But the Scriptures are against it.] That were worth the hearing, if you had any in store; but if your ignorance be such, that you bring the parts of Christs agonie for the causes thereof; and your insolence such, that you will pronounce what the Scriptures shall say or meane without any farder proofe, you may soone make them contrarie to themselues, as you doe in the maine matter and merit of our redemption by the death and bloud of Christ. That Christ in the Garden *began to be afraid*, and said of himselfe, *he was on euery side sorrowfull*, and after *comfort* receaued by an Angell from heauen *fell into an agonie of intentiue prayer*, in which *his sweate was like drops of bloud*, this the Scriptures report. What was the direct and particular cause of this *feare and sorrow*, or for what, after the vision of an Angell from heauen, Christ *prayed so earnestly*, that his sweate was like bloud, this is the Question in this place. Wherein like some late risen Apostle, you take vpon you to decide, what best forteth with your error, and proclaime that to be expresse Scripture. But where doth the Scripture *expresse*, that Christs *feare, sorrow, and discomfort* caused his Agonie? If they were parts of his agonie, as well as his bloudie sweate, then must there be a cause as well of these, as of the other; and they caused not his bloudie sweate. Now the cause of neither is directly mentioned in the Scriptures. The Scripture speaketh of Christs *prostration and prayer*, of his triple *Petition* that the Cup might passe from him, of his *Disciples heauinesse* and neglect to watch with him, of their *danger and tentation*, of the *weaknesse of flesh*, as well as of his *sorrow* or *feare*. Doth it therefore expresse these to be the causes of his agonie? and how doth the Gospell declare discomfort to haue caused that agonie? becaule it saith, there appeared to him an Angell from heauen ἐνισχύων αὐτόν, *strengthning* (or comforting) *him?* the Angell was not able to inspire any spirituall strength into Christ, that is proper to the spirit of God; neither did the Angell performe the part of an honest neighbour, to perswade Christ with words to be content and patient; these kinds of strengthning and comforting are not tolerable in this place; but by his message from God (for he was Gods messenger comming from heauen,) he declared in all likelihoode, that Christs prayers *were heard in that he feared.* For so much the Apostle noteth of Christs prayers in the Garden, which in all coherence was the comfort the Angell

Comfort by an Angell and intentiue prayer went before Christs bloudie sweate.

brought with him, when he appeared to him in the Garden. Now this comfort would rather aſſwage his ſorrow and feare, then increaſe it. Yea how could any comfort brought by the Angel cauſe this agonie? you dreame perhaps Chriſt would not receaue that comfort, but notwithſtanding the Angels comfortable meſſage continued his former agonie, or fell into a worſe then before, wherein he ſweate bloud. If your dreames be expreſſe Scripture, then here is all the Scripture you haue, euen your preſuming beſides the Scripture, or rather againſt the Scripture. For ſince the
[z] Luke. 22. Euangeliſt affirmeth, [z] *an Angell from heauen*, that is from God, *appeared comforting him*, that is with a comfortable meſſage to him; in all reaſon his feare and ſorrow did now ceaſe; and he fell vpon this comfort receaued as I thinke, not repelled as you imagine, *to an agonie*, not of feare and ſorrow, much leſſe of hell paines; but of *more vehement prayer*, then before, and in that zealous and inflamed prayer, in which he powred forth not onely the ſtrength of his Soule, but the very ſpirits of his body for deſire to preuaile for man againſt ſinne and ſatan, his ſweate was like bloud.

[a] Defenc. pag. 107. li. 1. [a] *The words next before in the text are*; [a] AN ANGEL CAME TO GIVE HIM SOME COMFORT, *that is, leſt he ſhould be ouerwhelmed quite in his ſorow & diſcomfort*;
[b] Luk. 22. 43. 44. but ſtill *he was in his agonie, and ſweat like drops of bloud trickling downe to the ground, and preſently ſayth*, MY SOVLE IS FVLL OF SORROVVES EVEN VNTO THE DEATH. [b] The Tempter in the wilderneſſe, that ſought by pretence of Gods power and protection to procure Chriſtes ouerthrow, had more regard not to be taken tardy with corrupting the Scriptures, than you haue in this place: for he cited the words as they lay, without addition or interpoſition of his owne, which you do not; but taking ſome parts of the text for a ſhew, you moſt vntruly and moſt peſtilently corrupt both the text and the trueth of the Goſpell. You cite out of S. Luke ca. 22. verſ. 43, 44; theſe words in a different letter, as *the words in the text next before* Chriſtes bloudie ſweat; *An Angell came to giue him ſome comfort, &c.* Are theſe the Euangeliſts words? Was your haſte ſo great, or your care ſo little, that you could not, or would not ſo much as looke in your booke for the right words of the text? S. Luke ſayeth,
[x] Luk. 22. v. 43 [x] *There appeared vnto him an Angell from heauen* ἐνισχύων αὐτὸν *ſtrengthening him*, or comforting him; no doubt with a meſſage from God, which what it was, we do not know,
[y] Heb 5. v. 7. except we applie the Apoſtles words to this purpoſe, where he ſayth: (Chriſt) [y] *in the dayes of his fleſh did offer vp prayers and ſupplications with ſtrong crying and teares, to him that was able to ſaue him from death*, AND WAS HEARD IN THAT WHICH HE FEARED. This if we take to be the *comfort* which the Angell brought from heauen, the Apoſtle might well intend it. For that Chriſtes prayers were heard, and ſo much declared to him by an Angell from heauen, could not be but very comfortable to him. If we liſt not to beleeue this was the Angels meſſage of comfort, then we muſt confeſſe, that the comfort which the Angell brought, is vnknowen to man, as the certaine cauſe of Chriſtes bloudie ſweat.

But whatſoeuer we ſuppoſe of the Angels meſſage, there is ſome difference betwixt S. Lukes words, and thoſe which you cite, as *the words next before the text*. [not in matter you will ſay.] I ſpeake of the words which you may not alter, when you profeſſe to cite the text whatſoeuer the matter be. [You keepe the meaning of the Euangeliſt, you thinke.] Such a meaning, as you your ſelfe make of the Euangeliſt: for you tranſlate ἐνισχύων αὐτὸν (which is *ſtrengthening him*) *to giue him ſome comfort*. Where by the diminutiue (*ſome*) you would implie, that it was not ſufficient to remooue his feare; and that intent you betray in the next line, citing againe your owne words in ſtead of S. Lukes', and apparently corrupting his text: for comming to cite the 44 verſe, καὶ γενόμενος ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ ἐκτενέστερον προσηύχετο, *and falling into an agonie he prayd more earneſtly* (or intentiuely:) in ſtead of theſe words, profeſſing to cite the text, you ſay, *But ſtill he was in his agonie*. And as for the words, *he prayed more earneſtly*, which are immediate before Chriſtes ſweating bloud, you ſhutte them cleane out, as not fitting your turne, leſt the Reader ſhould thinke his vehement prayer after comfort receiued was the cauſe of this agonie; for that the Euangeliſt placeth it next before in

The Defender corrupteth S. Luke.

the

the text. Your wordes then, *hee was in his agonie*, are no good tranſlation; and that which is added, *but ſtill he was in his agonie*, is a violent corruption; for *genómenos* there doeth not ſignifie his *being*, or continuing that which he was before; but his *becomming* that which he was not before. For example, [z] *God ſent his Sonne genómenon made of a woman, and genómenon made vnder the law.* Doth the word *genómenos* heere ſignifie, that Chriſt was man before he was conceiued of his mother, or rather, that he was made of his mother, which before he was not? and ſo, *made vnder the law*, doth not import, that Chriſt was ſubiect to the law before he was man, but that being altogether free from the law he would become ſubiect to the law, which before he was not. Likewiſe [a] *ho logos ſarx egeneto, the word was made fleſh*, which before it was not. This difference of the word γενέσθαι from εἶναι the Greeke Scholiaſt obſerueth commenting vpon S. Pauls words, *I could wiſh to be ſeparated from Chriſt for my brethren.* [b] ἤδελε λέγει ἀνάθεμα γενέσθαι, τετέστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν χωρισθῆναι, ἀλλὰ ἀνάθεμα εἶναι, τετέστι κεχωρισμένον ἔτι εἶναι. Paul *doth not ſay*, (he could be content) to become *a curſe*, *which is* NOVV PRESENTLY *to be ſeuered from Chriſt, but to be* (or haue beene) *a curſe, that is, to haue yet continued ſeuered from Chriſt.* So that γενέσθαι, *to be made* or *to become*, is ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν, *from the preſent time*, and εἶναι, *to be, is ſtill to continue.* Wherefore *genómenos en agonia*, is *falling* (at that preſent vpon comfort receiued by the Angell) *into an agonie*, and not as you corruptly tranſlate, *ſtill he was in his agonie.*

[z] Gal. 4. v. 4.

[a] Ioh. 1. v. 14.

[b] *Photius apud Oecumenium in cap. 9. Epiſt. ad Romanos.*

An agonie (you will ſay) you vſe for all Chriſtes affections and actions in the garden.] But ſo doth not S. Luke; he referreth the word to Chriſtes more ardent prayers, *and to his bloudie ſweat.* If we ſpeake abuſiuely, an agonie may be taken for feare, as I haue formerly ſhewed; or if *defectiuely* we name one part for the whole, which ſome men vſe to auoid length of ſpeech, and the number of particulars; then Chriſts agonie may ſtand to note all his affections, actions and ſupplications in the garden: but if we ſpeake properly, as there is no cauſe nor proofe S. Luke ſhould heere do otherwiſe, then Chriſtes agonie both by the proprietie of the Greeke word, and by the circumſtances of the text, was that vehement contention of minde, wherewith Chriſt prayed ἐκτενέστερον *more feruently* than before, being now ſtrengthened or comforted by the Angels appearing and meſſage, and euen powred forth his ſpirit to God with ſo zealous affection, that his ſweat was like bloud. This you would croſſe by your corrupt tranſlation, in ſaying, BVT STILL *he was in his agonie*, though the words of the Euangeliſt doe not import, that he continued ſtill any former agonie, but vpon the ſtrength and comfort receiued by the Angell, *he fell into an agonie* of moſt vehement deſire to preuaile in the worke of our redemption, and to remoone all impediments, for which he vſed ſo ſtrong cries and teares, that his ſweat was coloured like bloud.

How ſome vſe the word Agonie.

All theſe things you venture to determine by your owne authoritie, as if the Scriptures were vnder your command, and little thinke, that wiſe and godly Readers will cenſure your licentious intruſion on the Scriptures as it deſerueth. Neither can you ceaſe for ought that I ſee: for as you affirme that which our Sauiour aſſumed vpon the Angels meſſage, to haue poſſeſſed him before at his entrance into the garden; ſo the words which he ſpake before any prayer in the garden, and much more before the appearing of the Angel, you make conſequent to his bloudie ſweat. Your handſome and holie tranſlation and expoſition is, [c] *but ſtill hee was in his agonie, and ſweat like droppes of bloud trickling to the ground: and preſently ſayth, My ſoule is full of ſorrowes to death.* Where you commit two notable falſifications euen of the Scripture it ſelfe. For firſt theſe words, *My ſoule is full of ſorrowes euen to death*, are not in S. Lukes Goſpell, whence you would ſeeme to cite them, as preſently ſayd after Chriſtes bloudie ſweat. Next you peruert both the other Euangeliſts, in which theſe words are written: for both Matthew and Marke, which witneſſe the ſpeaking of thoſe words, preciſely record, that they were ſpoken to Chriſtes three Diſciples before he departed at firſt from them to pray in ſecret, and before he began to expreſſe any deſire, that the cuppe might paſſe from him. Reade the texts, they keepe almoſt the ſame wordes.

[c] Defenc. pag. 107. li 3.

The Defender addeth to Saint Luke that which he neuer wrote, and leaueth out that which he wrote.

When

[d] Mar.14.v.32. [e] 33. [f] 34. [g] 35. When Christ had sayd to the rest of his Disciples, [d] *Sit you here till I haue prayed,* [e] *he tooke Peter, and Iames, and Iohn, and he began to be afrayd, and in great heauinesse;* [f] *and sayd vnto them: My soule is very heauy vnto death: tary here and watch.* [g] *So he went forward a little, and fell downe on the ground, and prayed that if it were possible, that houre might passe from him.* You turne all vpside downward, and tell vs out of S. Luke, that *still Christ was in his agonie and sweat like droppes of bloud, and presently sayth, My soule is full of sorrowes euen to death.* With such additions, translations, and corruptions against the circumstances described in the Scriptures, some doubt may chance to creepe at a creuie into some mens consciences touching the cause of Christes agonie, but your pains of the damned are not one iot the neerer for all your inuerting & peruerting the Euangelists words to your will. For what if Christ did sweat bloud at first, which the Gospell referreth to the last, doth that giue entrance to the second death and torments of the damned? Are not the paines of this life able to make men sweat bloud, but you must runne to hell for the lake that burneth there with fire and brimstone, before mans body may colour his sweat with the shew of bloud? Is it harder for Christ to resolue his bloud into sweat by zeale without paines, or with bodilie paines, whiles he was liuing, than when he was dead to send out of his side, first [h] *bloud,* and then *water*, so distinctly and miraculously the one after the other, that S. Iohn confirmeth it with his owne [i] *sight*, lest so strange a thing should not be *beleeued?*

[h] Ioh.13 v.34. [i] vers.35.

[k] Defenc. pag. 106. li.35. [k] *Though it be against the common course of our nature for any paines or feare to sweate bloud: yet the diuine power with and through paines and feares might wring out of his body that trickling bloudy sweate. As it is plaine that it did by the wordes next before in the text, an Angell came to giue him some comfort.*] Your head was troubled about some waighty worke, when one sentence wrang from you such contrarieties and falsities. But the

[l] Pag.105. li. 38. [l] Page before, you tooke speciall exception against me, if I did not thinke, that *Christ was vrged* to his bloudy sweate (for thereof you speake in that place) *by violence of paines, or feare procuring it in him* NATVRALLY; here you say, *it is against the common course of our nature for any paines or feare to sweat bloud.* Could it be *naturally* procured in Christ, and yet *against the common course of our nature?* againe if it be *against the common course of our nature for any paines or feare to sweate bloud*, by what reason or authority doe you conclude hell paines out of Christes bloudy sweate? for if no paines or feare can by the course of our nature procure a bloudy sweate, how know you that Christ did sweate bloud for paines or for feare? [for *hell paines*, you will say, *he might.*] Not by any course of our nature. For then all his members which at one time or other feele the like, which Christ felt, should sweate bloud, as Christ did. But that I trust is sensiblely false. [*The diuine power might wring it out of his body.*] So it may raise *Children to Abraham out of stones.* Doth that inferre, that men are made of stones? and might not the diuine power wring this sweate (for that is your phrase) out of Christes bodie as well without hell paines, as with them? is it hard for God to make a man sweat bloud without the paines of the damned? [*It is plaine that it did by the words next before in the text.*] Doth the text name hell paines, or the feare of hell? what will you not aduenture, that thus presume to outface the Scriptures? the text nameth many thinges before, and you like your crafts-master will make your choise, though the Scripture doe not expresse, what was the cause thereof. [*The words next before the text are an Angell came to giue him comfort.*] Then comfort belike cast him into this bloudy sweate, if the wordes next before declare the cause thereof; which were very strange, that a man by comfort should be cast into a bloudy sweate. Why may not I rather say that the vision of an Angell put him rather into this sweate, then the comfort, which was brought him, since Daniel was [m] *stroken sicke* and *astonished* with a vision, as diuers others of Gods saints haue beene? yet I thinke neither of these to be the cause of that sweate, but as I say in my Sermons, it might be voluntary either for signification, as *Austen, Prosper, Bede, and Bernard* do thinke; or for sanctification and consecration of his person and sacrifice answeareable to the manner of the legall oblation prefiguring this as the trueth; or for vehement contention of spirit in praier, which indeed

[m] Dan.8. v.27.

indeed is the next thing mentioned before his ſweate, and ſhewed his deſire and zeale to be more then humane for the Redeeming and reconciling of man to God by the ſhedding of his bloud.

[n] *You conclude that Chriſtes agony demonſtrating Chriſts Prieſthood muſt not riſe from the terror of his owne death; and yet a little before you openly confeſſe and graunt, that his agony did riſe from the feare of his death.*] The effect of Chriſtes Prieſt-hood performed in the garden muſt in no wiſe concerne himſelfe. For he was not a Prieſt to make interceſsion, or to offer ſacrifice for himſelfe, but for vs. And therefore his praiers then vttered in his agonie with *ſtrong cries and teares*, if they pertained to his Prieſthood, they were made for vs, and not for himſelfe; and declared his voluntarie profering and preſenting his body and bloud to Gods pleaſure, to be the ſacrifice for mans Redemption, and his feruent ſupplications to haue it accepted as the full Ranſome for his elect, that the accuſer and ſupplanter of his Church might be remooued from Gods preſence, and wholy ſubiected vnder Chriſtes feete. Now if this deſire and offer for vs muſt not only be voluntarie, but inflamed with wonderfull vehemencie, then would not Chriſt ſweat bloud for any terror of his owne death, but for his infinite feruency to preuaile and obtaine his petition for vs. You permix Chriſtes feare, and his feruent zeale together, and call the whole action his agonie, though it containe both feare conceaued at firſt, when he approched Gods preſence in iudgement for ſinne, and comfort receaued at laſt by meſſage brought from Heauen, and out of this confuſion you collect what you liſt, and ſay what you pleaſe to no purpoſe. That Chriſt might haue a naturall feare of death, I then ſaid, and yet ſee no cauſe to recall it; but that I ſaid Chriſt did ſweate bloud for feare of his bodily death, this is one of your painted faces with which you would outface the trueth. Howbeit this perſiſting in your ignorant folly without remembring or regarding what is ſaid on the other ſide, argueth ridiculous negligence, or malitious diligence: of which becauſe I haue already ſpoken, I will ſay no more.

[n] Defenc. pag. 106. li. 27.

[o] *Why ſhould Hilarie deny, that Chriſtes bloudy ſweat came of infirmity? or Auſten, that Chriſtes feare and perturbation was of infirmity?*] Becauſe they had learned iudgments, and ſober conſiderations in theſe matters, which you want. They beheld Chriſtes power, which no force of hell or Satan could impeach, but where and when himſelfe would permit. They ſaw the innocencie and integrity of Chriſtes humane nature, which could not be toſſed nor troubled with inward affections, but when and how farre he was content to admit them. They knew the infinite loue of God to his ſon, for whoſe ſake we were all beloued and adopted; and that the father was ſo farre from tormenting the ſoule of his ſonne with his immediate hand, that [p] *he gaue him power ouer all fleſh, and* [q] *gaue all things into his hands* euen before his death, and againſt the time of his agony in the garden. Wherefore as the [r] *Prince of this world had nought in him*, and for that cauſe neither ſinne nor corruption were found in him; and [s] *no man tooke his ſoule from him*, but he *laid it downe of himſelfe*; ſo neither neceſsity nor infirmitie of our nature could oppreſſe or poſſeſſe him, but he muſt firſt giue place to it by his will, and guide it by power, that in all as well ſufferings, as doings, he might be obedient, and yet righteous. And had they heard ſuch a gheſt, as you are, tell them a tale of Gods [t] *diuine power wringing out of Chriſtes body a bloudy ſweat*, they would haue rung you another manner of Peale. For what is wringing, but violent forcing? and what is violence, but inuoluntary conſtraint, which is any thing rather then obedience? and ſo where the Apoſtle profeſſeth of Chriſt, that *he was obedient euen vnto death*, you haue ſpied out that Chriſtes bloudy ſweat was WRVNG from him, and ſo no part of his willing and free ſubmiſsion and obedience vnto God.

[o] Defenc. pag. 106. li. 33.

[p] Iohn 17.

[q] Iohn 13.

[r] Iohn 14.

[s] Iohn 10.

[t] Defenc. pag. 106. li. 38.

[u] *Where they ſay, Nec infirmitas quod poteſtas geſſit, that prooueth the cleane contrarie: for ideo & infirmitas quia poteſtas geſſit. For the working of his power in him argueth the ſuffering of his infirmity. The power of God is perfited in infirmity.*] If you would aſcribe neither Religion, nor learning to two ſuch Pillars of Chriſtes Church, as Hilarie and Auſten were, you ſhould at leaſt leaue them common in ſight and vnderſtanding

[u] Defenc. pag. 107. li. 12.

derſtanding of their owne wordes. It is enough for a man of your ſiſe to lacke learning, trueth, and ſenſe. They were very learned and wiſe, or els the whole Church, that hath hitherto eſteemed and receaued them for ſuch, was much deceaued. But you, that haue found a new faith in the Scriptures, no maruaile if you catch the fathers with contrarieties, which others neuer dreampt of. The ground of their wordes is the cleare rule of reaſon, nature, and trueth, confirmed in heauen, earth and hell: that contraries in one and the ſame *ſubiect, time, and reſpect* doe exclude one another. As if any thing be cold, it is not hoate; if it be drie, it is not moiſt; if it be ſtraight, it is not crooked; and ſo if it be weake, it is not ſtrong. Hence they conclude, if there could be in Chriſt no compulſion to feare and ſorow, then was there election; if no neceſsity, then liberty; and conſequently if no preualence of corruption againſt his fullneſſe of trueth and grace, then it was not infirmity, that ſubiected him to theſe violent and painfull affections, but it was his will and power, that raiſed and reſtrained them in him ſelfe. Againſt this what ſaith our maſter of new maximes? [*nay it was therefore infirmitie, becauſe power did it.*] This indeed croſſeth their ſayings, but withall it croſſeth all trueth, if you take their wordes, as they ſpake them. [But you meane, as your marginer noteth [a] *therefore there was infirmity, becauſe there was power.*] He can neuer ſhoot amiſſe, that neuer offreth to any marke. Where was there infirmity, & where was there power? in the perſon of Chriſt? belike Hilary and Auſten did not know, that Chriſt was God and man, and had in his perſon both the infinite power of God, and the voluntarie weakneſſe of man, that being compared with his Godhead might well be called infirmity: as the Apoſtle ſaieth, Chriſt *was crucified concerning (his) infirmity*, that is, in the weakneſſe of his fleſh, but yet that voluntary weakneſſe of God, or in God the ſonne, was ſtronger then all the power of men or of Diuels, whom his manhood ſpoiled, and caried captiues, with an open triumphe. This is not their meaning to ſay, that Chriſt had no infirme part in his perſon, compared with his diuine power, that is no manhood, but only his Godhead; and therefore your reply to that purpoſe is as ſenſeleſſe, as it is needleſſe.

[a] Defenc. pag. 107. ad marginem. li. 3.

Where Chriſtes diuine power did puniſh, there his humane infirmity did ſuffer.] This is your wreſting of their wordes againſt their meaning, to bring them to your compaſſe, but this is no part of their ſpeech. That weakneſſe is patient, where power is agent, this may be; but what is that to their words, which are very true without your puniſhing power? Hilarie ſayth, [b] *To ſweat bloud is againſt nature*, and ſo not a weakneſſe in nature. Since then it was aboue nature to ſweat bloud, he aſcribeth it to Chriſtes will and power performing that in his bodie, which nature could not do. [c] *Quis rogo furor eſt, repudiata doctrinæ Apoſtolicæ fide, mutare ſenſum religionis, & totum hoc ad imbecillitatem & contumeliam rapere naturæ, quod & voluntas eſt, & ſacramentum, quod & poteſtas eſt, & fiducia, & triumphus? What madneſſe is this* (here you, Sir Defender, how he requiteth you for peruerting the trueth of his words) *by refuſing the faith of the Apoſtles doctrine, to change the ſenſe of religion, and to impute all that to the imbecillitie and contumelie of* (Chriſtes) *nature, which was* (his) *will, and a myſterie, yea power, confidence and victory?* And againe, leſt you ſhould thinke he wanted reaſon for his ſpeech: [d] *Quæ rogo fide naturaliter infirmus fuiſſe defenditur, cui naturale fuit omnem humanarum infirmitatum inhibere naturam? Fortè ſtulta atq; impia peruerſitate hinc infirmæ in eo naturæ preſumitur aſſertio, quia triſtis ſit anima eius vſq; ad mortem. With what faith, I aske, is (Chriſt) affirmed to be naturally weake, to whom it was naturall to heale all mans infirmities? Happely by a fooliſh and wicked peeuiſhneſſe he is therefore preſumed to be of a weake nature, becauſe his ſoule was ſorrowfull vnto death.* This ground of his ſpeech is ſhort, but ſure, except you will deride Chriſt, and ſay, [e] *Phyſician heale thy ſelfe*; or blaſpheme him with the Phariſes, and ſay as they ſayd; [f] *He ſaued others, he can not ſaue himſelfe.* It was then in Chriſt not want of power to repreſſe theſe paſsions, or repell theſe infirmities, that ſubiected himſelfe vnto them, it was his owne willing obedience, that would taſte them, and power that did guide them, leſt they ſhould breake into the diſtemper and exceſſe of our corrupt nature.

[b] Hilar. de Trinitate. li. 10.

[c] Ibidem.

[d] Ibidem.

[e] Luke 4.

[f] Matth. 27.

The

The power of God, you say, *is perfected in infirmitie.*] Those words I truth were not spoken of Christ; and howsoeuer in some sort they may be verified of Christ, yet is there no comparison betwixt our naturall infirmitie, and his fulnesse of trueth and grace. [d] *The spirit of counsell and trueth rested on him* [e] *without measure*: wee wholly want it, till Gods power in some degree confirme our infirmitie. Againe, infirmitie in these words doth signifie outward afflictions and miseries: for so the Apostle there expoundeth it: [f] *Therefore I take pleasure in infirmities, in reproches, in necessities, in persecutions; for when I am* (outwardly) *weake, then I am* (inwardly) *strong*. So that those words can not rightly be referred to inward infirmitie; and might they, yet Christes gifts and graces of the Holy Ghost were not only farre aboue Pauls, but in the greatest degree that any creature might haue them, and greater than all the gifts of men and angels. How then doth it follow, that Christ was weake, because Paul was weake? Yea, if Pauls weakenesse were perfected by Christes power, as Paul himselfe confesseth in that place; [g] *Very gladly will I reioyce in mine infirmities, that the power of Christ may dwell in me*; then from those words Christes power is prooued, and not his infirmitie. But take it which way you will, though this be the trueth which I haue tolde; these wordes doe nothing hinder Hilaries and Austens confession, that Christes infirmitie was voluntarie, where ours is necessarie; and so infirmitie in him was not for want of strength, but for merit of righteousnesse, and was both receiued and directed by his will and power. And where you are so often on the hoigh to impaire S. Austens credit with yours, you shall do well to get you some more vnderstanding in him, before you rush so rashly against him, least if it come to the ballance, whether you or S. Austen be in an errour, you finde few friends so fauourable, that will forsake him to follow you. His resolution, which you may put off with pride, but you shall neuer refute with reason, is this: [h] *Habemus ergo has affectiones ex humanæ conditionis infirmitate, non autem ita Dominus Iesus, cuius & infirmitas fuit ex potestate. Quamobrem etiam ipse Dominus in forma serui agere vitam dignatus humanam, sed nullum habens omnino peccatum, adhibuit eas, vbi adhibendas esse iudicauit. Cùm ergo eius in Euangelio ista referuntur, quod Lazarum suscitaturus lachrymas fuderit, quòd propinquante passione tristis fuerit anima eius vsq; ad mortem, non falsò vtiq; ista referuntur. Verum ille hos motus certæ dispensationis gratia, ita cùm voluit, suscepit animo humano, vt cùm voluit, factus est homo. We haue these affections* (of feare and sorow &c.) *by the infirmitie of mans condition, but the Lord Iesus had them not so, whose infirmitie was of his owne power. Wherefore the Lord, when he vouchsafed to leade an humane life in the forme of a seruant, but vtterly void of all sinne, admitted those affections, when he saw it fit to admit them. And in the Gospell, when those things are reported of him, as that he wept when he was about to raise Lazarus, and that his Passion approching, his soule was sorrowfull vnto death; these things are not falselie written of him, but he admitted these motions in his humane minde for certaine purposes, euen when he would, as when he would he was made man.*

[d] Esa. 11.
[e] Iohn 3.
[f] 2. Corin. 12. vers. 10.
[g] Ibid. vers 9.
[h] *August. de ciuitate Dei. li. 14. ca. 9.*

[1] *I iudge their very meaning to be, that here appeared not Christs infirmitie onely in suffering, but his diuine power also in punishing, and this they speake fully for vs, and against you.*] If you make them speake that they neuer ment, they may chance to speake with you; but leaue them to expresse their owne minds, and then they neither speake, nor meane with you. But what is the reason, they so soone speake with you, where not fiue lines before you controled their speech, as repugnant to the truth? haue you now by your glozes made them lyers like your selfe? you should at least be more constant, if not more prudent, then first to chalenge in their speech a contrarietie to the truth, and then to claime a conformity to their sense. They ment no such thing, as you make shew of, but they speake of Christs power, which stirred and gouerned his affections, as he thought good, that they might declare him a true man, and yet be parts of his obedience, and submission to his Father, though withall they were religious and voluntarie. For as he emptied and humbled himselfe, so he weakned and troubled himselfe, when he saw time; not for want of power, but of purpose so disposing and dispensing

[1] Defenc. pag. 107. li. 20. 18.

spensing his affections, that by his vertue he might moderate them in his owne person, and cure them in ours.

[k] Defenc.pag. 107.li.28. [k] *Those other mysticall and figuratiue sayings of Austen, Bede and Bernard, how shall we admit them without better warrant? that Christs bloudshed was to signifie, that Martyrs doe shed their bloud, what reason haue we so to thinke? or that his bloudshed should signifie the purging of his Disciples harts from sinne, yea or of all his Church in the whole world? It did not signifie thie, but it did it indeede.*] If their opinions of Christs bloudy sweate, be not to be admitted, because they bring no warrant besides themselues for it, how should we admit your loose dreames and dangerous fansies of a new found hell inflicted on the Soule of Christ in the Garden by the immediate hand of God, which is not onely strange, but repugnant to the Scriptures? theirs is possible, and agreeable to the rules of faith; yours is not. Why Christ sent out of his side, after his body was dead, first *bloud*, and then *water*, can any man giue the reason? Saint Austen saith, [l] *De latere pendentis in cruce, lancea percusso, sacramenta ecclesiæ profluxerunt. Out of Christs side pearced with a speare, as he hanged on the crosse, the Sacraments of the Church issued forth.* What warrant had he so to say? the Scripture doth not vouch so much; and yet the Church of God hath euer since regarded, and receaued that speech of his. So for Christs bloudy sweate, finding no reason deliuered in the Scripture, he descended to the signification, which might be thereof, that Christ by sweating bloud in his whole naturall body, foreshewed the martyrdomes of his mysticall body, the Church. You aske for a Reason.] The resemblance is euident, and the performance consequent; greater reasons then which cannot be giuen of significations. You like it not.] No maruaile; nothing pleaseth you besides the wringing out of this sweate by the diuine power punishing. You haue neither proofe, nor truth for your second death to be suffered at this time, and in this place; and yet you would haue your absurd conceits preferred before Saint Austens iudgement. It was *aboue the course of nature*, you grant; and since it was not naturall, it must be miraculous, if not mysticall. Now if it were a miracle, there may no reason be required of it, but it must be left to the power and will of the doer. To what end Christ did it, if you like neither Austens, Prospers, Bedes nor Bernards iudgements in this case, know you any man so vnwise, as to like yours?

Christs bloudie sweate might haue signification as well as the water that ranne out of his side.

[l] *August. in Iohan. tract. 15.*

You say, *it did not signifie the purging* of the earth *from sinne, it did it indeede.*] Did the bloudie sweate of Christ in the Garden purge indeed all his Church in the whole world from sinne? what needed then his death and passion afterward on the Crosse? what needed his body be giuen for them, and his bloud to be (violently) shed for remission of sinnes, if this sweate did indeed purge all our sinnes? but you speake in this, as you doe in all other things, without caring what you say, so you bring somewhat to continue your cauilling. This sweate the Apostle calleth [m] *teares*, and ioyneth them with Christs vehement prayers in the garden, which he saith were *heard*. Then Christs feruent desire to preuaile in the worke of our redemption against all the hinderances thereof, might in all reason moone him to pray with teares, respecting our miserie, and yet indignitie, for whom he prayed; and so be the cause of this bloudie sweate: and your hell paines must giue place, till you find some better proofe for them, then your bare auouching, that this sweate might rise from the very paines of the damned, which is your single supposall with farre lesse warrant, then any thing that *Austen*, *Prosper*, *Bede* or *Bernard* said. And as for your binding all their significations and your imaginations in a bundell together; when you first prooue, that the Scriptures affirme any such thing, as the second death, or the paines of the damned to be suffered by Christ, then we will talke what might *rise* from your hell paines; in the meane time know you Sir wanderer, that if the rest might be the causes of this bloudie and voluntarie sweate, then you may put vp your pen, and lay your vnquiet head to rest.

[m] Heb. 5.

[n] Defenc.pag. 107.li.31. [n] *Hitherto we haue made it manifest that in truth you haue nothing in all these words a-*

gainst

gainst our Doctrine, that paines and sorrowes were the true and proper cause of Christs dreadfull agonie; nor to proone that his meere bodily paines or death was the whole cause. Now we are to shew the like in his most wofull complaint on the crosse: where he saith, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me.] And I haue made it more manifest, that you haue lesse for your doctrine of the second death and the paines of the damned to be suffered in the Soule of Christ, whiles he prayed in the Garden. For what reasons be these; Christ feared and sorowed in the Garden, and he prayed so intentiuely that his sweate was like bloud: ergo, he suffered the second death and the paines of the damned: except a man were disposed to run madde with reason? [He feared somewhat else besides a meere bodily death.] What then? how many degrees and causes of feare and sorow haue I shewed, that might conioyne in Christ now seeing in Gods presence and iudgement the waight of our redemption, and the number of our sinnes, together with the vengeance prouoked by them, and the power of Gods anger displeased with them, and yet no point nor part of the second death to be suffered by him? if there might be any cause besides yours, then yours can neuer be certainly concluded from the Scripture, which is the thing I first affirmed to the Reader. You aske me where I reade mine in the word of God, and I aske you the like. The Text saith, Christ *feared and sorrowed*, but the cause of Christs feare or sorrow is not there declared. Then no cause being expresly mentioned, neither mine nor your, I leaue it to the censure of the Christian Reader, which of vs two taketh the surest course: I, that offer no cause but concording with the maine grounds of the Scriptures, and such as you confesse wanted not in Christ at that present, and whereto the learned and Catholicke Fathers giue full consent and approbation; or you, that wade alone by your selfe in your owne conceits, such as haue no foundation in the word of God, and are repugnant to the Principles of Christian Religion confirmed by the Scriptures, and confessed by the greatest pillars of Christs Church, next after the Apostles. And where you promise to shew the like in Christs complaint on the Crosse, I easily beleeue, you will performe the one, as well as you did the other, by your owne fansies without all regard of truth or proofe.

[o] *You will aske me here what kind of forsaking may this be.*] Loose not your labour, I will aske you no such thing. What haue I to doe with your vntidie deuices wynoing words as men doe chaffe to and fro without any manner or offer of proofe? The question I did and doe aske, is; not what you parle out of your owne platforme, but how you can proone by the word of God, that *forsaking* in this complaint of Christs was either damnation, or the second death, which your Reader perceaueth now to be your purpose, though you long dissembled it. Your interlacing those words with qualified phrases serueth but to saue you from apparent heresie and blasphemie. It maketh no manner of proofe, that those words must so be vnderstoode, or that the paines of the damned may thence by any colour be concluded. [p *I plainly shewed you before, if you had regarded it.*] And I more plainly opposed those things against it, which you neither did, nor can answere: and doe you thinke, that neglecting what you list, I must be forced laboriously to disproone all your deuices, before you shew what dependence they haue with the Sacred Scriptures, or with the primatiue faith of Christes Church? my grounds excluding your exposition and conclusion, are to be seene in my Sermons pag. 32. 33. and are such, as you shall neuer defeate. The first is, that *derelict ion and forsaking* doe no where throughout the Scriptures import damnation, or the second death, which is your drift in this place; but are alwaies applied to the iudgements of this life. The second, that in the wicked castawaies it argueth reprobation from grace, and desperation of glory, which if any man imagine of Christ, it is rather furious blasphemie, then erroneous follie. Thirdly, that in the godly the word vsed by Christ noteth either destitution of help, or diminution of comfort in time of trouble; but neither in David, who first spake them; nor in Christ doe they with any shew conclude the true paines of the damned. Fourthly, that no conitruction must be made of this word, that may decrease in Christ

[o] Defenc. pag. 107. li. 37.

[p] Ibid. li. 38.

the *fulnesse of truth and grace*, which neuer wanted in his Soule, or draw him within the compasse of erroneous mistrusting or mistaking Gods fauour & counsell towards him. These grounds standing good, which you shall neuer be able to remooue, your warbling with those words to make them pliable to your will, is but time and paines lost; wind them which way you can, by example of any Scripture you shall neuer wrest them to that height, which you desire. But because you are so far in loue with your owne fansies, and my leasure now serueth me better then it did before, let vs heare what kinde of forsaking you would faine fasten to Christes complaint on the Crosse.

[q] Defenc. pag. 108. li. 1. [q] *Christ being now in the feeling of infinite paines inflicted on him sundry waies, and that directly from Gods proper wrath for our sinnes, he felt his whole humane Nature for the time left all comfortlesse and alone, without any ioyous assistance of his Deitie.*] Doe you enforce all this from the word *forsaking*, or would you adde it to those words, which Christ spake? either way your ignorance or impudence is cleare and manifest. For if you dare adde so many circumstances of so great importance to those words, you are not a tolerable expounder, but a notable peruerter of Christs words. If you would conclude so much from the word, you shew your selfe most ridiculous against all the rules of Diuine Doctrine, and humane sense to deduce all those sequels from that one word. For neither *infinite paines*, nor *from Gods proper wrath*, nor *in Christs whole humane Nature, nor all comfortlesse* are necessarie consequents to that word; and yet graunt all these, so farre as any truth or experience conuinceth them to be felt in this life, they no way amount to the second death, or to the true paines of the damned, which is the thing you should and would inferre from this complaint.

[q] Defenc. pag. 108. li. 7. [r] I meane *his Godhead as it were withdrawing and hiding it selfe from him, for that season of his Passion gaue him no sense nor feeling of ease, comfort, or ioy.*] Your owne mouth testifieth against you, that you doe not expound, but corrupt the Scriptures to serue your conceits. Begin with the last. Doth not the Apostle in plaine words [r] Heb. 12. say, that Christ [r] *for the ioy set before him endured the Crosse?* Who could set any ioy before him in that case, but God alone? then apparantly did his Godhead set before him assurance of ioy, and that euerlasting in the highest degree, which was so great, that it led him with patience to endure the Crosse. [He had no present feeling thereof, you will say.] So you must say, or else in exact words you shew your selfe to contradict the spirit of God. But if God did propose it, and Christ did most certainly know it, and expect it; had faith and hope in him no present sense nor feeling? had not Christ farre certainer and fuller knowledge and sight of Gods presence, fauour, [t] Rom. 5. and promises, then any faith or hope in vs can haue? [t] *If then we reioyce vnder the hope* [u] Luke 24. *of glory*, did not he? did not he know, that *he* [u] *was to suffer those things, and* (so) *to enter into his glory*; when he called them *fooles, and slow of hart, that beleeued not all that* [x] 1. Peter 1. *the Prophets haue spoken* by the spirit, [x] *forewitnessing the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow?* Did the spirit of God by Dauid beare false witnesse, when [y] Acts 2. he said of Christ, and in Christs person; *I* [y] *beheld the Lord alwaies before me at my right hand, that I should not be shaken; therefore did mine hart reioyce, and my toong was glad, and my flesh shall rest in hope?* Ease from paine he felt none; ne would he feele, till by death he determined his sufferings, but comfort in his afflictions he could not want, because he was not onely patient and obedient to the will of God, and so not void of comfort, when he had done the will of God, to receiue his promises; but euen in the midst of his sharpest paines he saw the counsell of God for his glorification, and our redemption; and beheld God as his Father most highly pleased with him, though iustly displeased with our sinnes, the smart whereof he must feele in his flesh.

That therefore Christes whole humane Nature on the Crosse was *all comfortlesse and alone*, is false doctrine, and repugnant not onely to the words of Dauid, that [z] Psal. 16. Christ [z] *beheld God alwaies at his right hand, that he should not be mooued*; but euen to [a] Iohn 16. the manifest assertion of Christ himselfe, who said to his Disciples, [a] *the houre is come, that*

that you shall be scattered, and leaue me alone; but I am not alone, for the Father is with me. Now if God were alwaies present with Christ, that he should not be shaken, God was alwaies well pleased with him. Yea God was ioyned to him, not in grace alone, as he is with vs, but in nature and person, as he is with no man else nor Angel. If then we haue comfort from Gods grace and spirit in our afflictions, how much more did *consolations abound in Christ*, euen as sufferings did? for since God is [b] *the God of all comfort, who comforteth vs in all our troubles, that as the sufferings of Christ abound in vs, so our consolation* (should) *abound through Christ*; how is it possible, Christ should comfort vs, if he were himselfe *all comfortlesse* in his paines? shall we deriue that from him, which he had not? or rather is it impietie so much as to thinke, that any inward comfort wanted vnto Christ, who was personally vnited to God, and on whom the [c] *Spirit of God rested*, (that is alwaies continued with all fulnesse of grace and truth) [c] *euen the spirit of wisedome, and vnderstanding, the spirit of counsell and strength, the spirit of knowledge, and of the feare of the Lord?* If this spirit neuer departed from him, he could want neither *peace* nor *ioy* in the holy Ghost, and so no comfort incident to mans nature afflicted, as he then was, and would be; yea that was the least degree of his comfort, which was common to him with vs, who yet deriue all our comfort from him: he had the *neerest, surest, highest, and plentifullest spring* of comfort in his owne person, that any creature was capable of. To make therefore his whole manhood *all comfortlesse* without any inward peace or ioy from Gods spirit, is a detestable doctrine, subuerting the communion of both Natures in Christ, and so dissoluing the vnion of his person, if neither part of his humane nature had any sense or feeling of his Godhead.

[b] 2. Cor. 1.

[c] Esa. 11.

[d] *I say not he wanted now all assistance of his deitie.*] If he wanted *peace* and *comfort* in the holy Ghost, if he had no longer any certaine knowledge, nor vnderstanding of his fathers will, and if he felt inwardly in his humane soule no perswasion, apprehension, nor expectation of his fathers presence, fauour, and promises; tell me what assistance he had of his Godhead, when all these things failed in him? [ioious assistance he had none.] Is it fit for such a wrangler, as you are, first to dishonour the sufferings of Christ with the leauen of your fansies, and then to sprinkle them with the holy water of your Phrases? how often hath it beene told you, that for obedience to the will of his father, the sonne of God would vse no power to repell his paines, nor to diminish his sense thereof, but only patience, whereby we might be assured, that he felt his afflictions on the Crosse with quicker sense and greater paines, then we are able with any patience to endure? And is this all that now you would say, that Christ found no ioy in his paines? what Cow-keeper doth not know, that paine is paine, and not ioy? but was Christes paine such that it excluded his soule from the remembrance or sense of all Gods graces so richly powred on him, and promises so faithfully made vnto him? you were best come in with your mooueable fittes of astonishment, and tell vs that in one and the same sentence, when Christ said, *My God, my God*, he was in full and perfect assurance and assistance of Gods fauour, whom els he could not call his God, if he felt no comfort in him, that is the God of all comfort; and when he pronounced the next syllable, *why*, he presently fell into a sudden pangue, where he was forsaken, and left all comfortlesse and alone according to your deuices. And if any man be so wise, to let you lead him through such thornes, as to graunt in Christ on the Crosse sometimes hope of glorie, and sometimes feare of confusion, sometimes comfort and suddainly distrust of his saluation, sometimes Gods fauour and full assistance, as in affliction, and by and by the second death and the paines of the damned; he may dally with faith and infidelity, with heauen and hell, with Christ and Beliall as you doe. But if it were not possible for Christ crucified, being the *wisdome and power of God*, to be tossed and tumbled with such contrarie blasts, then hath the forsaking, which he complained of, an other manner of sense, then you imagine.

[d] Defenc. pag. 108. li. 5.

Christ found no ioy in his paine, but comfort in his hope.

And whatsoeuer meaning you ascribe vnto it, you may not with a word, that admitteth diuers interpretations, impugne the plaine and open wordes and deeds of our

[c] Mar.14. Sauiour, in which is no queſtion. As when the high Prieſt asked him, [c] *art thou Chriſt the ſonne of the bleſſed? Ieſus ſaid I am; and ye ſhall ſee the ſonne of man ſit at the right hand of power, and come in the cloudes of heauen.* And when the Theefe, that was crucified
[f] Luc.22. with him, ſaid vnto him; [f] *Lord remember me, when thou comeſt into thy kingdome*; he anſweared, *Verily I ſay vnto thee, to day ſhalt thou be with me in Paradiſe.* As alſo breath-
[g] Ibidem. ing out his ſoule, he ſaid, [g] *Father into thine hands I commend my ſpirit.* If to be the ſonne of God, and to *ſit at Gods right hand in glory*, if to diſpoſe of Paradiſe at his pleaſure, and to commit his ſpirit into his Fathers hands, be no ſignes nor prooſes of comfort and ioy, then let your expoſition beare ſome ſhew: but if theſe be more then arguments of moſt excellent honour and glory, not onely reſerued for him, and confirmed vnto him, but aſſumed and profeſſed by him, euen when he was condemned and crucified; who that had any care of trueth, or reſpect to reaſon, would auouche,
[h] Defenc.pag. 108. li 9. that Chriſts [h] *godhead gaue him for that ſeaſon of his paſſion no ſenſe nor feeling of comfort and ioy neither in ſpirit, ſoule, nor body?*

[i] Defenc.pag. 108. li.16. [i] *This was that extreame humiliation and exinanition of nature, wherein God ſpared not his ſonne, and wherein Chriſt ſpared not himſelfe:*] If you may ſit iudge not only ouer Prophets and Apoſtles, but ouer Chriſt himſelfe, you will ſoone appoint him to ſuffer, what pleaſeth you; but when you come to make proofe thereof, you betray the violence of your ſpirits, that muſt haue all thinges giue way to your wills, and the weakeneſſe of your iudgements, that diſcerne not humility from infidelity, nor religious
[k] Philip.2. patience from helliſh aſtoniſhment. [k] *Exinanition* and *humiliation* the Apoſtle nameth in Chriſt, but either voluntary, and either in compariſon of his diuine glory and ma-

Chriſt emptied himſelfe of glory not of grace. ieſty; wherein being equall with his father, *he tooke on him the forme of a ſeruant, and humbled himſelfe, becomming obedient to the death of the croſſe.* The Apoſtle neither ſaith nor meaneth, that Chriſt emptied himſelfe of all grace or comfort in his whole humane nature, but laid aſide the vſe and ſhew of his diuine power and honour, whiles for loue to vs he performed the worke of our redemption in the ſhape of a ſeruant, and *became obedient vnto the death of the croſſe*, which was painefull and ſhamefull, but not aſtoniſhed with the paines of the damned, nor ſubiected to the ſecond death. This is your yarne, which you would faine weaue into the Apoſtles words, but truth and falſhood haue no fellowſhip; no more haue your dreames and the Apoſtles doctrine. As much it maketh for you, that *God ſpared not his owne ſonne, but gaue him for vs all*, whence you may as well conclude, that God adiudged his ſonne to euerlaſting deſtruction and damnation, for that were indeed not to ſpare him, as that he inflicted on him the true paines of hell, leaſt he ſhould ſeeme to ſpare him. The Apoſtles wordes expound themſelues; *God ſpared not his ſonne, but gaue him for vs*; This giuing him into the hands of ſinners for our ſakes was Gods not ſparing him, otherwiſe that God ſpared him in nothing, which either his power was able to impoſe, or our ſinnes did deſerue, this is doctrine for him that meaneth to be an Apoſtata from all faith and trueth, to ſet the father at as great enmity with his ſonne, as our ſinnes did deſerue, or could prouoke. The higth of Chriſts not ſparing himſelfe was, as the Apoſtle teacheth, his obedience vnto the death of the Croſſe; if you will haue Chriſts obedience ſtretch to the ſecond death of the damned, you muſt get you ſome new Scriptures; theſe that are already written, witneſſe no ſuch thing.

Howbeit you will lacke no Scripture. For rather then you will acknowledge your want in that behalfe, you will make euery Chapter throughout the Bible to ſpeake of
[l] Defenc.pag. 108. your dreames. For euen [l] heere you quote Deutero: 10:17 and Luc: 16: 17; in the
[i] Deut.10.17. firſt of which places the Scripture ſaith: [i] *The Lord your God is God of Gods, and Lord of Lords, a great God, mightie, and terrible, which accepteth no perſons, nor taketh rewards.* What is this to Chriſtes ſufferings or to the paines of the damned? was it after noone, or after midnight, when you quoted theſe places, you knew not why nor wherefore?
[m] Luc.16.17. So play you with Luc: 16: 17. where it is ſaid, [m] *It is more eaſie that heauen and earth ſhould paſſe away, then that one tittle of the Law ſhould fall.* Will you hence inferre, which is the thing that you ſhould prooue; *ergo* Chriſt was forſaken of all outward and in-

ward

ward comfort and ioy: beſides you no man hath the grace to make ſuch faire and cleare demonſtrations of your doctrine.

" *This forſaking or dereliction beſeemeth the time, place, perſon and cauſe of Chriſt our ranſome payer, and purchaſer of ſaluation with the price of his owne moſt direfull paines: not any other farre fet, or hardly applied, and ſtrangely deuiſed by the braines of men. As in trueth all thoſe other ſenſes hereof are which you rather embrace.*] Somewhat it was you muſtered foure places of Scripture ſo wiſely choſen, and well becomming your cauſe, before you would offer to determine the matter; and now puſt vp with pure pride, and prickt on with ſingular diſdaine, you cenſure the whole Church of Chriſt, and the chiefe lights and leaders thereof (I ſtill except the Apoſtles) as peruerters of the Scriptures, traducing their expoſitions, *as farre fet, hardly applied, and ſtrangely deuiſed by the braines of men.* But if you ſo much deſpiſe their learning, religion, and iudgements, who were Gods bleſſed inſtruments to maintaine his trueth againſt all hereſies, and his Church againſt all Schiſmaticks, and thinke your braines to be more than the braines of a man; take heed leſt your Reader begin to ſuſpect you haue the braines of ſome other kinde. If *Athanaſius, Hilarie, Chryſoſtome, Baſil, Cyrill, Epiphanius, Ierome, Ambroſe, Auguſtine, Origen, Tertullian* and *Leo* may not be thought, in the verdict of any wiſe or ſober man, as likely to vnderſtand the ſenſe of Chriſtes words on the croſſe, as your humorous and preſumptuous, ſhall I ſay braine, which you ſo much abaſe in others, or head without braine; then I muſt confeſſe my fault, who loue not to leane to mine owne wit in cafes of faith, but rather preferre the religious and laborious inquiries of others, chiefly of learned and ancient Fathers, where it concerneth matters of ſaluation, and the grounds of Chriſtian religion, which they carefully receiued, and faithfully deliuered to Gods people ſo many hundred yeeres before we were borne. And what maruell you be ſo bolde with the braines of men, as you terme it, when you take vpon you to ouerrule the words of the Holy Ghoſt? For where in the ſacred Scriptures the bloud of Chriſt ſhed for vs, is recorded to be the true price of our redemption, you controlling as well the Apoſtles as the Fathers, tell vs here that Chriſt ° *purchaſed our ſaluation with the price of his moſt direfull paines*; where by direfull paines you meane hell paines, that your ſpeech in this caſe may be as new as your faith. Belike then in your conceit Peter, Paul, and Iohn, though Chriſtes Apoſtles, were neuer well Catechiſed nor inſtructed in their faith, ſince they affirme, ᵖ *we were redeemed by the precious bloud of Chriſt*, and ᵠ *we haue redemption in Chriſt through his bloud*, and Chriſt ʳ *by* (his) *bloud redeemed vs vnto God*; which leſſon you like not, and therefore you ſay our ſaluation was purchaſed with the price of Chriſtes *direfull* paines, that is, of hell paines ſuffered in the ſoule of Chriſt; which hath no bloud, vnleſſe you can as eaſily deuiſe new bloud for Chriſtes ſoule, as you haue done a new hell for Chriſts ſufferings. Till you ſo do, giue me and other Chriſtians leaue to thinke, that the ſecond death which you dreame of, did neither *beſeeme the time, place, perſon nor cauſe of Chriſt our Redeemer*, and therefore his words on the croſſe could haue no ſuch reference, as you haue riddled in this place.

" Defenc pag. 108.li.21.

° Pa.108.li.23.

ᵖ 1.Pet.1. ᵠ Epheſ.1. ʳ Reuel.5.

ˢ *Your expoſitions are ſixe in number; the firſt is, that when Chriſt on the croſſe cried out, My God my God why haſt thou forſaken me, by this word* ME *he ſhould meane his Church: for which you haue no reaſon in the world, but the bare names of Auſten, Leo, Athanaſius.*] The moe the ſenſes may be of theſe words, and euery of them agreeing with Chriſtian pietie, as I profeſſed of them, the leſſe ſoundneſſe is in your concluſion, that would inferre vpon a ſtrange and needleſſe ſenſe of theſe words your paines of the damned to be then ſuffered in the ſoule of Chriſt. And in denying your *direfull* expoſition of Chriſtes words, I haue all the Fathers of Chriſtes Church for 1400 yeeres of the ſame opinion with me. And if your chiefe and capitall proofes were ſuch newes to them, what thinke you was the reſt of your new faith? [*They are ſixe in number*, you ſay, and they all can not ſtand together.] You are nimble in trifles, and in ſubſtance no bodie. Nor I, nor any man liuing may take vpon vs to determine, which ſhall be the meaning of Chriſtes words, when the words themſelues admit and allow manie

ˢ Defenc. pag. 108. li. 27.

senses. In this very case the *persons* and the *parts* forsaken; the *graces* and *degrees* wherein, and how farre that dereliction might extend, receiue diuers opinions; and though they be different, they are not repugnant the one to the other. And yet it is no newes in many places of holy Scripture, by reason of the different or repugnant significations of the words, circumstances of the sentence and degrees of extension and intension in many things, to finde contrarie iudgements of men euen of the same words and things in holy writ. Neither doe diuers expositions disgrace the word of God, so long as they containe nothing repugnant to the text it selfe in that or any other place; but shew rather the depth of Gods wisedome, which inclooseth many things in few words, and often passeth the reach and search of mans wit. But you, that carpe at euery thing besides your owne conceits, would faine make your Reader beleeue, that *fiue* fingers and one hand, *ten* toes and two feet can not stand together.

For the matter it selfe, as dereliction is confessed on all sides, because it is mentioned in the words of Christ, so it may be questioned; of *what persons*, to *what part*, and in *what things* Christ conceiued and intended that *forsaking* of which he spake. For as God is sayd in the Scriptures to be present with vs diuers wayes and to diuers effects, namely when he lightneth, strengtheneth, and inwardly guideth vs with the grace of his spirit, or outwardly blesseth our wayes, and heareth and helpeth vs in time of trouble; so when he withdraweth or withholdeth any of these things from vs, whether it be his helpe, his blessing, or his grace; he is sayd to depart, and to *forsake* vs. Now if we take forsaking in Christes words for the losing or lacking of Gods fauour, grace, or spirit; it was not possible that any such forsaking should at any time be found in Christ our head, though the members of Christ do all well deserue to be depriued of all these things, and were depriued of them, till by Christ they were restored. Since then this kinde of forsaking could neuer be verified of Christes person, but only of his members, and he suffered for vs, [t] *to reconcile vs to God by his Crosse*; these words of Christ on the Crosse some learned Fathers haue expounded to containe the reconciliation of man to God, who for sin had before forsaken vs, and was now pacified by Christes bloud, and an entrance giuen vs to the Father by vertue of Christes oblation and petition for vs. Wherefore in their iudgements, as Christ then suffered for vs, so he prayed in these words for vs, and the neere coniunction of Christ with vs, as the head with his members, made him couer vs, and present vs to God vnder his owne name, who was then and there no Redeemer of himselfe, but of vs. Examples of this speech they haue many and good: as where Christ sayd to Paul, [a] *Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me*; that is, my members? And againe; *I am Iesus whom thou persecutest*; that is, whose members thou pursuest. And in one [x] Chapter, where Christ foreshewth the separation that he will make betweene the sheepe and the goats, he calleth his brethren and seruants by the name of himselfe no lesse than two and thirtie times, saying: [y] I was hungrie, and ye gaue ME meat; I thirsted, and ye gaue ME drinke; I was a stranger, and ye lodged ME; [z] I was naked, and ye clothed ME; I was sicke, and ye visited ME: and so forth to the number that I named. And when the good maruelled how euer they affourded any of these things to him, he answereth them; [a] *Verily I say vnto you, in as much as ye did it vnto one of the least of my brethren, ye did it vnto me.* So that this exposition of Christes speech concerneth directly the worke that Christ had then in hand for vs, and wanteth not Christes warrant for the vse of his owne words; and this sense of that his prayer presenting and commending vs to God, that were forsaken of God, was of no lesse waight for vs than the rest of his sufferings.

What forsaking could not be found in Christ.

[t] Ephes. 2. 16.

[a] Acts 9.

[x] Matth. 25.

[y] Ibid. vers. 35.

[z] vers. 36.

[a] vers. 40.

[b] Defenc. pag. 108. li. 30. [b] *Shew me their reasons, presse not their authorities.*] So sayth he, that hath neither reason nor authoritie, and yet presseth his fansie vpon the whole Church against all reason and authoritie. Their reasons I haue shewed to stand on a better foundation than your direfull and infernall paines, or your astonished confusion and destitution of all inward and outward ioy and comfort. And could you with halfe that soundnesse

nesse make good your hellish exposition, you should not shew so great pride as you now doe. For I vtterly denie, that your exposition hath any ground in the word of God, but resteth onely on your single and sillie surmises in fauour of your owne fansies. And since you demand of all the Fathers a reason of all their expositions, how come you against all reason and trueth to conclude the paines of the damned to be suffered in Christes soule by pretence of this dereliction, when as the word thorowout the Scriptures neuer implieth the present state or paines of the damned? What defence can you haue for your desperate aduenture to plunge Christes soule into the second death, which the Scripture calleth the Lake burning with fire and brimstone, since you want all, as well diuine, as humane reason and authoritie?

Dereliction in the Scriptures neuer implieth the paines of the damned.

[e] *Your selfe reiect them when you list, though when you list againe, they must be your best, yea your only reason.*] A lie is a good shift with you, or els you would often lie in the mire. I do no where refuse the faith professed and preached in the primitiue Church of Christ by the learned and ancient Pastours and Guiders thereof; I openly confesse to God and this Realme, I should neuer sleepe quietly, if I saw my selfe to be of another faith than they were. In other things not pertinent to our saluation and redemption, where they themselues tooke libertie, either to dissent ech from other in some questions, or sometimes vpon better aduice to correct or moderate their former opinions, I thinke my selfe not burdened in conscience, if I with modestie make choise, what I like best. Neither doe I account it any disgrace, to make their faith deduced and confirmed by the word of God my best or only reason, since all hereticks haue subuerted themselues and their followers, whiles they would shew their inuentions, and with plausible reasons fasten their fansies on the sacred Scriptures, not contenting themselues with those sober and sound interpretations of hard places, which the Church of Christ with long experience and great diligence had examined and tried. And howsoeuer for want of knowledge in the Hebrew tongue they might sometimes come short, yet this was their generall care in all their expositions and applications, neuer to swarue from the Canons of the Christian faith, I speake of those, whom the Church accepted and allowed for truely Catholike. Yet to their interpretations I binde no mans conscience, farther than euident trueth shall appeare to be in them; onely I wish others, and euen you, Sir Inuentour, not ouerhastily to despise their iudgements, which the Church of God hath so many hundred yeeres reuerenced and followed. Howbeit, this is a bar sufficient to your bold deuices, that where you would deriue your hell paines from Christes complaint on the Crosse, I bring you fiue or six expositions of those wordes out of the auntient and catholike fathers, whereof you shall neuer be able to refute one, which no way touch your hellish torments, and thereby teach you, if you be capable either of verity or sobriety, that your conclusion more then halteth in the highest mysteries of christian Religion.

[e] Defence pag. 108. li. 31.

Wherein wee should follow the Fathers.

[d] *If these Fathers be vnderstood, as before I haue shewed Cyprians meaning to be, then they agree iust with our minde herein: for then doubtlesse it was for the infinite paines, which now he felt in our stead, that he so cried out, My God my God why hast thou forsaken mee.*] After you haue plaied your part with reuelling at their expositions, will you now flatter them afresh, & ioyne hands with them, so they will be of your minde? In vaine do you striue to bring them to that which they neuer intended, but euer detested. What kinde of dereliction Cyprian confesseth to haue beene in Christ, is euident by his words: [f] *Quod pro eis voluisti intelligi, qui deseri à Deo propter peccata meruerant, quorum reconciliationis causam agebas, in qua allegator subtilis pro seruis seruilem non dedignaris accipere personam,* ET IN TANTVM *infirmis compateris, vt nec crucifigi, nec mori, nec erubescas, nec formides, altitudinem tuam derelinquens ad tempus, gloriæ tuæ maiestatem euacuans, vt redeant dispersi, & respirent derelicti.* The words of thy complaint on the Crosse (sayth Cyprian to Christ) *thou wouldest haue to be vnderstood for th[illegible]n, who had deserued by their sinnes to be forsaken of God; whose cause, to reconcile them, [illegible]u then vndertookest; and as a most skillfull Patron for seruants thou didest not disdaine to take the person of a seruant, and* SO FARRE *thou didst compassionate the weake, that thou wast neither*

[d] Def. pag. 108 li. 33. li. 38.

[f] *Cyprianus de passione Christi.*

ther afraid, nor ashamed to be crucified and to dy, leaning for a time thine owne higth, and emptying the maiesty of thy glory, that the dispersed might returne, and the forsaken might take breath, (or comfort). The *forsaking*, which Cyprian here describeth in Christ, consisteth in leauing of his diuine power and glory for a time, and in abasing himselfe SO FARRE, as to dy the death of the Crosse for their sakes, but no farder. And these wordes he saith Christ would haue vnderstoode to be a cause of their Reconciliation to God, who had deserued for their sinnes to be forsaken of God, and therefore he addeth presently [f] *I consider thee Lord, on that crosse, where thou seemedst without helpe* (or forsaken), *how with an Emperiall power thou didst send the theefe before to thy kingdome by assuming of whom it is manifest how much thou hadst preuailed for those, that were forsaken.* You would faine so wrest Cyprians wordes, that he should say Christ vndertooke our cause and no more, but he withall affirmeth, that Christ tooke vpon him our person, and that his *carefull complaint were the wordes of his beloued.* If the wordes were spoken as well in our person, as in our cause, then we were indeed forsaken, and Christ by laying downe his glorie for a time, and obeying his fathers will, did by those wordes declare, that he reconciled vs to God, when we were forsaken, and in signe thereof with full power made the theefe partaker of his kingdome, that had deserued, and was condemned to die the death of a forlorne and forsaken malefactour.

[f] *Ibidem.*

[g] *If you thinke they ment that Christ spake this by some strange metonimy, naming himselfe, but meaning his Church, that can haue no good sense.*] I shall not need to tell you what I thinke, let them speake themselues, what they ment, and when you haue heard their meaning out of their owne wordes, you shall see how much you abused Cyprian to make him speake that he neuer ment. It is plaine enough which Athanasius saith. [h] *Christ spake those wordes in our person, for he was neuer forsaken of God.* and Austen is as euident. [i] *why disdaine we to heare the voice of the body by the mouth of the head? to me, that is to my body, my church, and my litle ones. So was it said, why hast thou forsaken me; euen as it was said he that receaueth you receaueth me. No doubt we were in those wordes, and the head did speake for his body.* And likewise Leo [k] *Christ spake those wordes in the voice of his Redeemed.* Neither are they alone in this opinion. Theodoret satith [l] *because Christ was the head of mans nature, he speaketh for the whole nature of man.* So Bede [m] *Quare dereliquisti me, id est meos? ideo scilicet quia longè te fecerunt peccata esse à salute mea, id est meorum. Hec verba plane innuunt caput non in persona sua hic loqui. Quomodo enim derelictus, vel longe à salute factus posset esse ille? Why hast thou forsaken me, that is mine? because sinne did put thee farre from sauing me, that is mine. These words do plainly proone, that the head doth not here speake in his owne person. For how could he possiblely be forsaken, or remooued from saluation?* And Euthymius [n] *The Lord taketh vnto him the person of mans nature, as linked to him; and saith, why hast thou forsaken me (now) a man, that is the whole nature of man?* And Damascene. [o] *Christ was neuer forsaken of his owne Godhead, but we were those that were forsaken and despised. Wherefore appropriating our person, he prated in that sort.* And expresing what it is to appropriate, or assume an others person, he saith. *As when a man doth put on an others person of piety or charitie, and in his steed vseth speach for him μὴ δὲν αὐτῷ προσήκοντας, which agreeth not vnto himselfe.* If then we take derelict̃ion for the want of Gods fauour, spirit, and grace, as these Fathers doe; it is euident Christ could not so be forsaken; and consequently these wordes in that sense, which is proper to the Children of Gods wrath, could not agree to the person of Christ, though it were true in his members, that they by nature were forsaken and destitute of grace, till he reconciled them to God, and diffused his spirite into their harts to make them partakers of his holinesse. And as for the strangenesse of the metonimy, count you that strange, which Christ vseth in one Chapter more then thirty times, and find you no strangenesse in your conceits, which are no where throughout the Scriptures either expressed, or so much as coherent with the continuall speach and plaine rules of the Scriptures?

[g] Defenc. pag. 109. li. 2. *The first sense of Christs complaint on the Crosse.*

[h] *Athanasius de incarnatione Christi.*

[i] *August epist. 120.*

[k] *Leo Serm. 16. de Pass. Dom.*

[l] *Theodoret. in Psalm 21.*

[m] *Beda in Psal. 21.*

[n] *Euthymius in Psal. 21.*

[o] *Damascenus Orthodoxæ fidei. li. 3. ca. 24.*

[p] *That can haue no good sense. For how can it be that we were forsaken of God, when Christ was on the Crosse? Nay euen then and there we were purchased vnto God, not forsaken*

[p] Defenc. pag. 109. li. 5.

ken by God.] Doth any man vse, when he would make reasons for his opinion, to refute himselfe, as you doe? we were purchased you say on the Crosse vnto God; you must adde, *by the bloud* of his sonne, which was also God, for that Saint Paul in the place, which you cite, nameth as the true and right price of this purchase. *God purchased (his Church) with his owne bloud*, and not by the direfull paines of hell, as your braine hath lately broched. Now if we were purchased on the Crosse, then till we were purchased, we were enstranged from God, and so forsaken of him. And what hindreth this complaint or prayer of Christs to beare witnesse, that we were now reconciled and purchased vnto God, which before were forsaken and separated from God? For those words doe not imply, that we still continued forsaken, but that formerly without Christ we were vtterly forsaken, and now by him restored to fauour. And the goodnesse of this sense, I doe not thinke but any man of meane capacitie will soone conceaue, and iudge it more fruitfull for vs to know, that by Christs mediation and oblation on the crosse we are now no longer strangers vnto God, nor forsaken of him, as before we were for our sinnes; then that Christ suffered the direfull and infernall paines and death of the damned in his Soule, before we could be freed from our sinnes. For of the first there can be no question, and of the second, you neither haue, nor euer shall be able to bring one line or letter of holy Scripture.

[q] *Againe your owne rule is, which I like well, that no figure is to be admitted in Scriptures where there is no ill nor hurtfull sense following litterally. But I haue shewed a little before a plaine, easie and Christian sense hereof taking it litterally.*] The rule is most needfull to preserue the right sense of the Scripture. For if euery man may elude with figures that, which liketh not his humour, we shall haue little truth left in the word of God. But euen by that rule your sense of Christs complaint is quite ouerthrowen, because your exposition plainly fastneth desperation for the time to the Soule of Christ. For all hope hath ioy and comfort in it. [r] *Reioycing in hope*, saith the Apostle. If then Christ for that season of his Passion were all comfortlesse, as you pretend, and *had no sense nor feeling of any comfort or ioy*, he had no hope; for hope bringeth ioy and comfort. And what is no hope, but despaire? that therefore the litterall sense of these words neither is, nor can be true, taking dereliction for the inward forsaking of Gods grace and spirit, as well the Scriptures, as the Fathers, whom I haue produced, doe with one voice confirme. Saint Austen may serue to shew the reason, that led him and the rest so to thinke. [s] *Ille caput nostrum, vocem de cruce non dixit suam, sed nostram. non enim vnquam dereliquit eum Deus, sed propter nos dixit hoc, Deus, Deus meus vt quid me dereliquisti. Christ our head vttered not his owne words, but ours. For God neuer at any time forsooke him. But for vs he said, My God my God, why hast thou forsaken me?*

[t] *Finally this first sense is contrarie to your second and third following: also to your fift and sixt senses. If either of these be taken as the true meaning of this place, it cannot possibly stand with the rest.*] I did not professe to discusse the likeliest sense of those words; It sufficed me to let you see the weaknesse of your cause in deriuing your hell paines from Christs complaint on the crosse, by this that twelue auncient and learned Fathers did diuersly sift and examine those words, and yet none of them euer lighted on your second death, or on the forsaking, which you labour to establish in the soule of Christ. Now if the words doe tolerably beare so many interpretations, what assurance had you thence to conclude your hellish confusion, which you imagine in the Sauiour of the world? yea graunt the expositions were contrarie, which indeed are somewhat different, according as the word of dereliction is applied and intended, that maketh the more against you, and hindereth not me. For still I vrge the words, which you stand on, do necessarily inferre no such sense, as you would fasten to them. The thing, that I presse, is this, that there are many other senses of these words approoued and preferred by the consent of the best writers old and new; and yours of all others, as it hath no consent of Christs Church, ne was euer heard of before our age, so hath it no foundation in the Sacred Scriptures. You would disgrace the Fathers as inuentors of strange and new senses, but you little remember all this while, that

[q] Defenc pag. 109. li. 7.

[r] Rom. 12. *Christ neuer forsaken of hope and comfort.*

[s] *August. in Psal. 43.*

[t] Defenc. pag. 109. li. 19.

that of all others yours is the lateſt, abſurdeſt, and leaſt likely ſenſe of that complaint. And yet if you wreſt it to the loweſt ſtep of dereliction, that this life knoweth, or the Scripture here threatneth, it may amount to deſperation, but neuer to reall and actuall damnation.

[a] Defenc. pag. 109. li. 23. [a] *Your ſecond ſenſe what is it? euen this that Chriſts humane Nature was left helpleſſe to the rage of the Iewes, which is a kind of forſaking. This ſeemeth to come neereſt indeede to your liking, but as I ſaid this is directly contrarie to your firſt ſenſe, and to the reſt following.*] They that giue diuerſe ſenſes of any places in Scripture, doe not meane they ſhall be wholy like, or the ſame; for then they were not diuerſe; but according to the varietie of ſignifications, and circumſtances offered by the words, they varie their expoſitions. So here, if we take dereliction for *loſſe of grace*, then that ſenſe of the word could not agree to Chriſt, but to the reprobate without Chriſt, or to the reſt before they be engraffed into Chriſt, and conſequently *me* in Chriſts words muſt ſignifie *my Members*, that were one body with him. If we take it for *lacke of helpe* in time of trouble, then it might well agree vnto the perſon of Chriſt, who was forſaken, that is left in his affliction, and not deliuered from it, till he died, that we might euer after be reſtored, and reconciled to the fauour of God. Which commeth neereſt to my liking, I neuer acquainted you; the places which you quote, prooue no ſuch thing; they onely ſhew, that this expoſition hath ſufficient foundation in other places of Scripture, where the word *forſaking* is vſed to the like intent. Howbeit there is no cauſe that I, or you ſhould miſlike this expoſition; and the trifles, which you obiect againſt it, will confirme as much.

The ſecond ſenſe of Chriſtes complaint on the croſſe.

[a] Defenc. pag. 109. li. 29. [a] *There is ſurely no reaſon, nor ſhew of Reaſon, that Chriſt ſhould here ſo mournfully and ſo vncomfortably complaine, that God had forſaken him, if it were onely, but for ſuch diſtreſſes as the godly alſo doe equally ſuffer at the hands of euill men.*] Had you but peruſed the places, by which you conclude my liking of this Expoſition, you ſhould haue ſeene Reaſon, and reaſon enough for Chriſt to be thus affected in his extreame miſeries, as well as his Church is in the like, or leſſe. Had the Church of God no reaſon to ſay in the Prophet Eſay. [f] *The Lord hath forſaken me?* or did God want reaſon in his anſwere, when he ſaid; [g] *for a while I forſooke thee, for a moment in* (mine) *anger I hid my face from thee?* If then God had Reaſon to ſay to his Church, [h] *the Lord hath called thee a woman forſaken, and afflicted in ſpirit*, could Chriſt want reaſon in his intolerable paines on the Croſſe to complaine, that he was now a long time *left* in them without *helpe* or *eaſe?* as for the *equall ſufferings* of the godly at *the hands of men*, on which you would take aduantage. I haue ſhewed the difference before. When paines in others grow ſharpeſt, then ſenſe decaieth, and death approcheth; in the paines whereof men cannot expreſſe how much nature miſliketh and abhorreth the paine. In Chriſt it was otherwiſe: his bodie being in exquiſite paines on euery ſide, and in euery part from top to toe, and hanging in that plight now three houres on the croſſe, when the paine was greateſt, and himſelfe weakeſt, his ſenſe was quickeſt, which could not be ouerwhelmed in him, as it is in vs; but he endured moſt horrible anguiſh all that time, and therefore when his patience was at the higheſt proofe, he had more than reaſon to complaine, that he had long beene *left* in that extremitie without aſsiſtance or deliuerance; and he that doubteth thereof, ſheweth that his fanſie doth ouerrule his reaſon, and his will doth vndermine his wit.

[f] Eſa. 49.
[g] Eſa. 54. ver. 7.
[h] Ibid. ver. 6.

Chriſts patience was at the higheſt proof before he complained on the croſſe.

[b] Defenc. pag. 109. li. 35. [b] *Note this well, that no godly man nor martyr did euer aſcribe this forſaking of themſelues to God in the time of their martyrdomes.*] But note this better, that you auouch a notable falſehood euen againſt the expreſſe witneſſe of the Holy Ghoſt. When the Angel of God [c] *appeared* to Gedeon, and ſayd *vnto him, The Lord is with thee thou valiant man; Gedeon anſwered, Ah my Lord, if the Lord be with vs, why then is all this come vpon vs? did not the Lord bring vs out of Egypt? but now the Lord hath forſaken vs, and deliuered vs into the hands of the Midianites.* So the godly by the mouth of Ieremie; [d] *O the hope of Iſrael, the Sauiour thereof in the time of trouble, why art thou as a ſtranger in the land, and as a ſtrong man that can not helpe? thy name is called vpon vs, forſake vs not.*

[c] Iudg. 6. v. 13.
[d] Ier. 14. v. 8. 9.

not. And speaking of the captiuitie of Gods people, sayth, [e] *Our necks are vnder persecution, we are wearie and haue no rest. Wherefore doest thou forget vs for euer, and forsake vs so long time?* Yea the godly in farre lesse afflictions than was Christ on the crosse, haue vsed farre more grieuous complaints. [f] *Thou hast reiected and abhorred thine aneinted, thou hast broken the couenant of thy seruant, and profaned his crowne to the ground. Lord how long wilt thou hide thy selfe, for euer? shall thy wrath burne like fire?* Now if martyrs doe not confesse before their enemies and persecuters, that God hath forsaken them, what is that to this purpose, so long as they in their prayers to God desire him not to forsake them; and their flesh in their torments strugleth and striueth, as neither willing nor able to beare the burden?

[e] Lament. 5. vers. 5. 20.

[f] Psal. 89.

Againe Christs praiers made with so loud a voice in the eares of all his aduersaries, had an other meaning, then to acknowledge, as they obiected vnto him, that he was indeed forsaken of God; which was to hasten now the time of his death for an end of his paines, and to beseech his father, that had all this while forborne to shew any open signe of liking and loue towards him being so much afflicted and reproched by the Iewes, now when he should leaue this life, to let them all see how much God regarded and glorified the person of his Sonne: both which God accordingly performed: for straightwayes with a second prayer Christ commending his spirit into his Fathers hands, did voluntarily, but miraculously breathe out his soule; and [g] BEHOLDE (sayth the Scripture, that is, immediatly, and to all their admirations) *the vaile of the Temple did rent in twaine, the earth did quake, the stones did cleaue,* [h] *and the graues did open*; which things were so fearefull and wonderful, that *when* [i] *the Centurion, and they that were with him watching Iesus, saw the earth Quake, and the things that were donne, they greatly feared, and said, truely this man was the sonne of God.* Here is the intent and effect of Christes complaint on the crosse expressed, that when he had now three howres endured most extreame paines in all parts of his body, and heard the insolent and pestilent reproches of his persuers obiecting to him, that he did falsely call himselfe the sonne of God, since in his greatest necessity God did neither deliuer him, nor any way regard him; he at the time appointed by his father, made his complaint to God with a loude voice, that they all might heare him, that he was now a long time forsaken, that is LEFT in this anguish and ignominie without any shew of his fathers loue towards him. Whereupon presently Christ before [k] *Knowing all that should come vnto him*, and so knowing what should be the issue of this his praier to his no small comfort was permitted to breath out his soule with greate power, and the *temple*, the *earth*, the Rockes *renting, shaking and cleauing* asunder gaue manifest testimony to those that watched him, that he was the son of God, for so much as all these thinges were done at his petition, to declare that God had not forsaken his sonne, though he suffered him to dy that death on the crosse for causes then to them vnknowen. And so this praier, which you would haue to be a most *mournefull and vncomfortable complaint* of inward forsaking in soule and spirit, was an effectuall and powerfull praier prouoking God his father to demonstrate by most maruailous signes and wonders the exceeding loue and honour, that he bare to the tormented and despised person of his sonne. This Athanasius obserued before me. *Loe* (saith he) *vpon Christes speach, why hast thou forsaken me, the father shewed himselfe to be euen then in Christ, as euer before. For the earth knowing her Lord to speake, straightway trembled, and the vaile rent in twaine, and the Sunne did hide himselfe, and the Rocks claue insunder, and the Graues were opened, and the dead in them rose. And that which was* (no lesse) *marnailous, the standers by, which before denied him, seeing what came to passe, confessed him truely to be the sonne of God.* This Bernard saith was the dereliction, that Christ ment in his complaint. [m] *Quasi quædam ibi derelictio fuit, vbi nulla fuit in tanta necessitate virtutis exhibitio, nulla maiestatis ostensio. There was* (on the Crosse) *a kind of forsaking* (of Christ,) *where there was in so great necessity no demonstrance of his power, no declarance of his maiesty.*

[g] Matth. 27. vers. 51.

[h] 52.

[i] Vers. 54.

[k] Iohn 18.

[l] *Athanasius contra Arianes oratio 4.*

[m] *Bernardus de verbis Esaiæ Serm. 5.*

[n] *It is a great shame to imagine that Christ was lesse able to endure such a dereliction, or that*

[n] Defens. pag. 110. li..

that he would thus complaine and mourne for it onely. ¶ It is a greater ſhame and ſinne firſt to miſtake, and then to diſgrace the wordes of Chriſt. What rule either of reaſon or pietie could hinder our Sauior (when his time drew neere, that he would die, and eaſe himſelfe of his exceeding paines on the croſſe,) earneſtly to call to God, euen now to declare, which he had all this while refrained, what account he made of that perſon, whom the Iewes and Gentils ſo much deſpiſed and oppreſſed? was it any ſhame for the manhood of Chriſt to ſay, *my God, my God, why haſt thou* (ſo long) *forſaken me*; without any publike ſigne or ſhew, that thou loueſt and fauoureſt me, whom this nation had ſo much wronged and blaſphemed? or is it of late become ſo ſhamefull a thing with you, that Chriſt ſhould complaine he was forſaken and left in the hands of his perſuers without help or eaſe? both old and new writers euen of the beſt learned, that haue been in Chriſts Church, haue thought it no ſhame for Chriſt in that very reſpect ſo to ſpeake. [o] *Marualle not* (ſaith Ierom) *at Chriſtes complaint of being forſaken, when thou ſeeſt the ſcandall of his croſſe.* [p] *He ſpeaketh as a man*, ſaith Ambroſe (which was no ſhame for him to doe) *becauſe being in danger we thinke our ſelues forſaken of God.* The ſame wordes [q] *Bede*, [r] *Rabanus*, and [s] *Aquinas* repeat and follow. Theodoret ſaith; Chriſt [t] *calleth that a dereliction, which was a permiſſion of the diuinity, that the humanity ſhould ſuffer. Chriſte would endure* (ſaieth Auſten) *this vnto death in the ſight of his enemies, that they might take him as one forſaken.* Lyra. [u] *Dixit Chriſtus ſe derelictum a deo Patre, quia dimittebat eum in manibus occidentium.* Chriſt *ſaith he was forſaken of God his father, becauſe he was left in the hands of thoſe that ſlew him.* And ſo our new writers. [x] *Hic queſtus eſt ſe in manibus impiorum ad omnem ipſorum libidinem a patre derelictum. Chriſt heere complained* (ſaith Bucer) *that he was forſaken of his father* (or left) *in the hands of the wicked to endure all their rage.* Bullinger. [y] *Derelinquere ſiue deſerere in preſenti eſt permittere. To forſake or leaue* (in Chriſtes wordes on the Croſſe) *is to permit. So that this was Chriſts meaning, why doeſt thou ſuffer me to be thus afflicted? why doeſt thou permit theſe things to mine enemies? when wilt thou deliuer me?* Munſter: [z] *hæc Chriſti verba non impatientiam aliquam, aut diffidentiam præ ſe ferunt &c: theſe words of Chriſt,* (My God my God why haſt thou forſaken mee?) *ſhew no impatience, or diffidence, but declare that he was a true man, and that he had truely ſuffered.*

And what if, as ſome learned Fathers conceaue, Chriſt did not grieuouſly complaine in thoſe wordes, that he was forſaken, but thereby led his enemies to looke and ſearch in the Pſalmes & Prophets for the cauſe, why the meſsias ſhould be ſo forſaken & deliuered into the hands of ſinners, as they ſaw he was? [a] *Chriſt doth not ſay* (ſaith Auſten) *my God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me, ſed cauſam commonuit requirendam, cum addidit, vt quid dereliquiſti me, id eſt propter quid, quam ob cauſam? but he admoniſhed the cauſe to be ſearched, when he added, why haſt thou forſaken me, that is to what end, and for what cauſe? for truely there was a cauſe, and that no ſmall cauſe, why God would not deliuer Chriſt from the handes of the Iewes, but leaue him in the power of his perſecutors, till he died.* Leo likewiſe. [b] *Therefore Chriſt cried with a loud voice, why haſt thou forſaken me, that he might make it knowen to all, for what cauſe he ought not to be deliuered, nor defended, ſed ſæuientium manibus derelinqui, but to be left in the hands of his purſuers, which was to be made the Sauiour of the world, and the Redeemer of all men, non per miſeriam, ſed per miſericordiam, non amiſſione auxilij, ſed definitione moriendi; not by any miſerable neceſſitie, but of mercie; not for lacke of helpe, but of purpoſe to die* (for vs). Whether then Chriſts meaning in thoſe wordes (if we apply them to his owne perſon) were to haſten the time of his death, which he knew was at hand, and ſhould bring him eaſe of his exceſsiue paines, or to mooue his father to demonſtrate by thoſe ſignes, which followed, what fauour and affection he bare to the perſon of his ſonne, though for our ſakes he ſuffered him thus to be vſed: or to teach his perſecutors, that there was a cauſe, which they knew not, why himſelfe being their meſsias ſhould die this death on the croſſe, or laſt whether his manhood conformed it ſelfe to the deſires and grones of his church and members, whom the Prophets teach in this wiſe to pray, when they were oppreſſed with any great calamity or miſery: none of theſe waies I ſay are the wordes of Chriſt

How many meanings Chriſtes words on the croſſe might haue.

[o] *Hieronym. in Matth. ca. 27.*
[p] *Ambroſ. de fide li. 2. ca. 3.*
[q] *Beda in Mar. ca. 14.*
[r] *Aquinas in Matth. ca. 27.*
[s] *Theodoret. in Pſalm. 21.*
[t] *Auguſt. epiſt. 120.*
[u] *Lyra in Mat. ca. 27.*
[x] *Bucerus in Matt. ca. 27.*
[y] *Bullingerus in Matth. ca. 27.*
[z] *Munſterus in Pſalm. 21.*
[a] *Auguſt. epiſt. 120.*
[b] *Leo de Paſſione Domini Serm 17.*

Chriſt on the croſſe chalengeable, but they ſtand well with the piety, patience, confidence and expectance, that were in Chriſt, and haue better foundation in the ſacred Scriptures then your paines of the damned, or your ſecond death to be then and there ſuffered in the ſoule of Chriſt.

[c] *The bare names againe of Auſten, Ambroſe, Ierom doe here likewiſe no good, this is but a weake kind of reaſoning for ſo learned a Diuine as you are.*] I like better this kind of weakeneſſe in matters of faith to haue the conſent of the learned and auncient fathers for that I teach, then your kind of ſtrength, which is to be ſo ſtiffe in your priuate conceits, that you will delude the Scriptures with your figures, and deride the fathers as ſeely fooles not vnderſtanding the firſt principles of Religion, rather then you will forgoe the leaſt of your fanſies. If you light on any Reader of the ſame mind let him know, that the choice wilbe hard for him to make, whether all the fathers in Chriſtes Church did erre in the chiefe grounds of their faith, or he himſelfe be out of the trueth. If Chriſtian Religion were not ſince Chriſtes time before our age, this is a greater forſaking of Chriſt, then any was on the Croſſe. For then hath God forgotten all his purpoſes and promiſes ſo often mentioned in the Prophets, and confirmed to Chriſt; if there were neuer Church of Chriſt ſince the Apoſtles death till our dayes. And he that is of that humour, it skilleth not greatly of what ſide he be, for certainly he can be no member of Chriſts Church, that reiecteth all perſons, places, and ages before his birth, as none of Chriſts. I wiſh no wiſe nor ſober Reader ſo farre to venture his ſoule. If then to the Primatiue Church of Chriſt next after the Apoſtles we yeeld but ordinary knowledge of the Chriſtian faith, we may not take from ſo many learned fathers and Paſtours, as God hath for ſo many hundred yeares adorned his Church withall, the common vnderſtanding of their Catechiſme and Creed, how we were ſaued, and what is the price of our Redemption, ſpecially the Scriptures going ſo cleare with them, and they teaching ſo cloſely and ſoundly the trueth there expreſſed.

[c] Defenc. pag. 110. li. 7.

[d] *Theſe very ſentences of the fathers I can eaſily admit, if they import no more, then that thoſe outward afflictions on the Croſſe were* SOME CAVSES (AND THAT NO SMAL) *of his complaint, alwaies remembring that ſome greater cauſe alſo did concurre and was conioined with them.*] Then by your owne confeſsion haue the fathers ſpoken trueth, and there was ſmall or no cauſe, giuen you, to make ſo light regard of them. As for your other greater cauſe, when you prooue by Scripture, as you intend, that Chriſts ſoule on the croſſe ſuffered the ſecond death, and the paines of the damned, you ſhall haue a ſpeciall reſeruation, that your fanſies may be conioined with Chriſts praiers: otherwiſe your reaſons be like your reſolutions, they haue neither proofe nor ſtrength beſides your owne priuate and preſumptuous perſwaſions.

[d] Defenc. pag. 110. li. 9.

[e] *Your third ſenſe if I conceiue it aright, is; that his being left to bodily death cauſed him thus to mourne, which is but as the laſt before. And yet you ſeeme to meane not only that, but alſo becauſe his fleſh now ſhould want all feeling of his heauenly comfort for that while that it ſhould remaine dead. A marualous exquiſite and farre fet cauſe.*] The ſenſe is neither mine, nor ſo farre fet as you would make it. I tooke it out of *Tertullian*, *Hilarie*, and *Epiphanius*, whoſe wordes I produced to that purpoſe; and howſoeuer you gibe at it after your ſcornefull maner, I ſuppoſe it will prooue ſounder then your helliſh death, which you haue ſo learnedly deuiſed out of their words. The difference betwixt this and the former ſenſe is not great. For there the fathers ment Chriſt was *forſaken*, that is not deliuered from the rage of his perſecutors, whiles he liued; and theſe doe adde, that he was left vnto death, preſuming death to be the greateſt and moſt grieuous of all outward afflictions, which in this life befall the nature of man.

[e] Defenc. pag. 110. li. 14.

The third ſenſe of Chriſts complaint on the croſſe.

[f] *Yet me thinks as this croſſeth your other expoſitions here, ſo it is flat contrarie to the Scripture alſo.*] If the expoſitions were contrary each to other, ſo long as they be ſundrie mens, and repeated onely by me to ſhew how many ſenſes haue beene deliuered in the Church of Chriſt by learned and auncient Fathers touching that complaint or praier of Chriſt, which you would faine abuſe to hatch your hell-paines;

[f] Defenc. pag. 110. li. 19.

what els note you by their contrariety, but the diuerſity of mens iudgements vpon theſe words; all which conioined in this againſt you, that Chriſtes complaint on the croſſe may diuerſly be conceaued according to the different acceptions of forſaking, and yet your paines of the damned haue no place in that variety or contrariety of ſenſes? But this *third ſenſe* you ſay, *is flat contrarie to the Scripture.*] That were worth the hearing indeed, if your fooliſh conceits were not farre more likely to croſſe both themſelues & the Scriptures, then iuſtly to controle the iudgements of ſo learned fathers. But what is this great ouerſight, that is ſo much repugnant to the Scripture? the Scripture [i] *giueth after a ſort to Chriſtes dead fleſh this* LIVELY AFFECTION, *my fleſh ſhall reſt in hope.*] The ſoule of Chriſt, which was repleniſhed with life, trueth, and grace, as being perſonally vnited vnto God, and of whoſe fullneſſe we all haue receaued, you affirme died on the Croſſe, and none other death then the ſecond death: and Chriſts fleſh lying dead in the graue you imagine not only to haue life, but to be a liuing ſpirit. For you giue vnto it the *liuely affection of hope*; which nothing hath, that is not a liuing and reaſonable ſoule, or more. You doe it, you will ſay *but after a ſort.*] That ſort is abſurd inough, of figuratiue ſpeaches in the Scriptures to make poſitiue doctrines. For if you defend, that the dead fleſh of Chriſt in the graue had indeed any liuely *affection of hope* in part or in whole, it is a brutiſh hereſie denying that Chriſt was truely dead, and that his body was truely fleſh; ſince a liuely hope importeth not only life, but vnderſtanding and faith. If you graunt theſe ſpeaches to be figuratiue, then doe you betray your folly, to thwart the fathers aſſertions with figuratiue floriſhes, as if they were proper; and to pronounce their ſayings *flat contrary to the Scriptures*, becauſe you can pike out a word, that in outward ſhew ſoundeth ſomewhat ſtrangely. Hope in theſe wordes of Dauid is either applied to the ſoule of Chriſt in reſpect of the reſurrection of his body, which he beleeued and hoped for as moſt aſſured; or if we apply it to the body, it noteth ſafety from corruption, and promiſe made by God of ſpeedie reſurrection, which was the thing wherewith Chriſts bodie might be inueſted. But we ſhall haue mainer proofe for this matter.

[i] Ibid. li. 21.

[k] Defenc. pag. 110. li. 24. [k] *Is it likely, is it poſſible, that he ſhould ſo dolefully mourne that either he ſhould bodily dy, or that his body ſhould want the ſenſe of his diuine preſence ſo little a while, when as in* HIS MIND HE SPEAKETH SO TRIVMPHANTLY *of his* CONSTANT *and* CONTINVALL IOY IN GOD: *yea not excluding euen his body though dead from participating in ſome ſort therein: as we read in the former place at large?* I BEHELD *the Lord alwaies before me, for he is at my right hand, that I ſhould not be ſhaken. Therefore did mine heart reioice, and my tongue was glad, and moreouer my fleſh ſhall reſt in hope. Now can a man in this* EXCEEDING GENERALL *and* CONSTANT IOY *ſo vncomfortably mourne in that ſenſe as you vrge, My God, my God why forſakeſt thou my fleſh? it cannot be.*] I would not thinke it likely, nor poſſible, if I did not ſee it before mine eies, that ſuch a pert Proctour ſhould ſo proudly deſpiſe all auncient writers and fathers, that fauour not his faction, and yet ſo palpably confound himſelfe and his whole cauſe with ouermuch prating. For (Chriſtian Reader I pray thee) take no more but his owne confeſſion or aſſertion in this place, by which he thought to ouerbeare all that ſtood in his way, and obſerue both how deſperatly he contradicteth himſelfe, and how ſenſibly he ſubuerteth his whole doctrine and his deuice of this new found hell. But the leaſe before he told vs peremptorily, that [l] *Chriſtes Godhead as it were withdrawing and hiding it ſelfe from him for that ſeaſon of his paſſion gaue him* NO SENSE, NOR FEELING OF COMFORT OR IOY *in ſpirit, ſoule, or body.* Now ſuddainly whiles he eagerly hunteth after his hell paines, he not onely falleth ouer head and eares into the myre of contradictions, but he clearely confeſſeth before hand, that all which himſelfe will ſay touching the ſecond death of Chriſtes ſoule on the croſſe, is apparantly falſe doctrine, and euidently repugnant to the ſacred Scriptures. Thou wilt maruaile much at this, and ſo doe I; but that Liars are often ſo carneſt to ſerue their turnes and not the trueth, that they forget their former tales, whiles they inuent newer. As here for example.

[i] Act 2. 26 27. *The Defender flatly contradicteth his owne doctrine.*

[l] Pa. 108. li. 8.

He

He that would before allow to Christ on the crosse NO SENSE NOR FEELING OF COMFORT OR IOY, *in spirit, soule or body*; Now vrgeth, to promote another purpose, Christs EXCEEDING GENERALL AND CONSTANT IOY euen at the same time, when he spake these wordes, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me:* and not content with this, he addeth, that Christ euen then IN HIS MIND SPAKE TRIVMPHANTLY OF HIS CONSTANT *and* CONTINVALL IOY *in* GOD; and prooueth it by the words of the holy Ghost, where Dauid being a Prophet spake concerning Christ on the Crosse, that he [1] *beheld the Lord alwaies before him at his right hand, that he should not be shaken. And therefore did Christs hart reioyce, and his tongue was glad.* Vnderstand you, sir faith-maker, the difference or repugnance betweene NO SENSE NOR FEELING OF COMFORT OR IOY, *in spirit, soule, or body, and* EXCEEDING GENERALL, CONSTANT, *and* TRIVMPHANT IOY *in* GOD in the mind of Christ? can you read this, and not thinke you reele, as your reasons doe to and fro? can you salue this sore without sweating? or make vp this breach without blushing? and I pray you since the ground of these wordes is true, in that it is the holy Ghosts, and you may not flie from your owne inference, which you presse so violently against the fathers to beate downe their exposition, how could Christs Soule on the crosse IN THIS EXCEEDING GENERALL, CONTINVALL, CONSTANT, *and* TRIVMPHANT IOY OF MIND suffer also the paines of the damned and the second death, wherein IS NO SENSE NOR FEELING OF ANY COMFORT OR IOY IN *body, soule, or spirit?* Can you hang these gymmoes together, that the one shall not crie shamefull and intolerable falsehood against the other? the best excuse, that I can make for you, to saue you from ebriety or frensie, is that these things were posted ouer to you from diuers, that saw not each others fansies, and so without due perusing or remembring, where they crossed ech other, you patched their papers together with more hast then good speed. Howbeit surely I take it to be a iust iudgement of God, when you are diuided from the trueth, to diuide either your tongues from your harts, or your harts from themselues, that all men may learne to take heed how they dally with the Christian faith, or delude the Scriptures. I thanke God I hate you not so much, but for your owne sake I could wish, you had beene silenter, or circumspecter.

[1] Acts 2.

A most shamefull contradiction.

And see how euill your lucke, or at least your cause is. For heere haue you spoken enough to confute all that you formerly haue said, and afterward will say, and yet you haue brought nothing to infringe that which I said. For a naturall feare and mislike of death, as also griefe and sharpnesse of paine in the body may well stand with a continuall and constant comfort in God; yea where grace is present and preuaileth, *the* [m] *perishing of the outward man* bringeth *the renewing of the inward man*, and bitter affliction maketh vs seeke after God, and call vpon him the more earnestly for his assistance; in which case it is most true, that Gods [n] *power is perfected in our infirmity.* For, *when I am weake* (saith the Apostle, in body,) *then I am strong*, in spirit. And if Paul could [o] *delight in reproches, persecutions and anguishes for Christes sake*, and yet feele the smart of them, could not Christ retaine comfort in his afflictions, though his flesh were pressed with extreame paine?

[m] 2. Cor. 4.

[n] 2. Cor. 12.

[o] 2. Cor. 12.

Many thinges more may be strongly alleaged against this opinion. With such strength as you haue already shewed, where neither words nor matter shall hang together. [p] *As first: that seeing he perfectly knew that as his flesh should now quietly rest, so his soule should enioy perfect glory and comfort more then before it did.*] That doth not quench the detestation, which mans nature hath of death euen by Gods ordinance; though it comfort and courage the soule in hope of future blisse to indure the paine and horrour of death. S. Austen saith, [q] *Nemo vnquam carnem suam odio habuit, et praterea non vult anima vel ad tempus ab eius etiam infirmitate descedere, quamuis eam se sine infirmitate in aternum recepturam esse confidat. Tantam habet vim, carnis & anime dulce consortium. No man euer hated his owne flesh, and therefore the soule is not willing to depart euen from the weakenesse of the body for a time, though she beleeue, that she shall receiue her flesh againe for*

[p] Defenc. pag. 110 li. 37. *Was there no comfort in all this?*

[q] *August. epistola 120.*

euer without infirmity. Of so great force is the sweet consort betwixt the soule and the body.

[t] *Idem tract. in Iohannem 123.*

And so againe [t] *This affection of mans weakenesse, whereby no man is willing to die, is so naturall, that age could not take it from blessed Peter, to whom it was* said *(by Christ,) when thou art old, thou shalt be led whither thou wouldest not.* And *to comfort us our Saviour himselfe* (assumed and) *shewed this* (affection) *in himselfe, when he said, Father if it be possible, let this cup passe from me.* So that these respects made Christ the more comfortable in death, but by no meanes did vtterly quench the naturall dislike, that Christes manhood had, and lawfully might haue of death, knowing it to be the punishment of sinne, and dissolution of our creation, though by Gods goodnesse it be now made a passage in his to a better life. Your next reason is of the same stamp. The resurrection of the body maketh no man willing to die, if he could with Gods liking decline death, but obedience ouerruleth the naturall instinct, that God hath impressed in vs to abhorre death. And where you take it for a mighty pillar in your building, that

[f] Pa. 111. li. 6.

Christ [f] *would not so extreamly mourne and complaine only for this cause, as my fansie importeth,* you build but on sand, which will haue the greater fall. For I shew you many more causes and senses of those words, then *this only*; all which you kindly skippe, and pretend *this only* which I neuer professed, calling it my fansie, that I cited out of auncient and reuerend writers.

[g] Defenc. pag. 111. li. 8

[g] *Further he knew perfectly, that this was the very appointment of God for the obtaining of his most desired purchase of our health, for the more aduancing of Gods glorie, and for the aduancing of his very manhood. Finally, it was his owne most free and fore-determined will: would he then so mournefully grieue and complaine thereat? It hath no reason nor likelihood in it.*] You runne your selfe out of breath, and quite besides the way. You shall not need to perswade me, that Christ was resolued and willing to die; I perfectly beleeue it, and easily confesse it: but how? as he himselfe declared, *the spirit* was *willing, the flesh* was *weake*. The minde of Christ apprehended and persued all these things which you mention, but that excludeth not the naturall dislike which Gods will is all men should haue of death. This imperfection of mans nature, since it pleased Christ to taste, as well as the rest of our infirmities and affections, you may by no respects nor rewards, make the weakenesse of Christes flesh, to which he submitted himselfe, the same or equall with the willingnesse of his spirit, which had and shewed the abundance of all grace. Wherefore I maintaine both in Christ, a voluntarie sense of the weaknesse of our flesh, and an heauenly strength of the inward man, which expressed, but ouerballanced the naturall desire of the outward man in Christ. And still you harpe on that one string, which is vtterly out of tune, that he would not do it So *extreamly and* So *mournefully*. This extremitie is only your fansie; for I say Christ did it meekely, obediently, and faithfully, assuring himselfe, that his Father, who all this while had tried his patience, would at his prayer not onely end his paine, but make heauen and earth to witnesse, what account God made of him, though for a season he left him in their hands to be made a sacrifice for our sinnes.

Weaknesse appered in Christs flesh, but willingnesse in his spirit.

[h] Defens. pag. 111. li. 15.

[h] *Lazarus when he was returned from the ioyes of heauen to take againe his rotten carcase, yet he grieued not at it, nor ought he so to haue done.*] When you sincke in reasons, you ascend to reuelations. Who tolde you, that the soule of Lazarus *was in the ioyes of heauen*, when Christ raised his bodie from the graue? Christ placeth the soule of the other Lazarus, that died at the rich mans doore, in Abrahams bosome to be comforted; and doe you take vpon you to place this Lazarus, that was brother to Marie and Martha, in the very ioyes of heauen? *Where was his soule those foure dayes*, you will aske? It is not for you to aske, nor for me to answere. The things after this life, and out of this world, it is not lawfull for me or you farder to enquire, then the Scripture reuealeth. That such as are raised from the dead should be able by experience to report the ioies of heauen or the paines of hell, or the secrets of Gods kingdome; is a thing not permitted by God, as we find by Abrahams answeare to the rich man praying that Lazarus might be sent to his fathers house. God hath places and Angels enough to keepe the soules of such, as he meaneth shalbe returned to this life, though

it

it be neither in hell nor in heauen. From hell no man is releaſed, and from heauen no man is diſmiſſed that hath once ſeene God *face to face*. When [x] *that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part ſhall be aboliſhed*, ſayth the Apoſtle. And will you aduenture to aboliſh perfection after it is come, and to bring men backe to this mortall life, that haue ſeene God in the fulneſſe of his glory, whom no man liuing can ſee, depriuing them of that viſion, perfection, and brightneſſe, which the ioyes of heauen haue in them? It is an enterpriſe meet for ſuch an encounterer as you are. Paul liuing was taken vp *into* [y] *the third heauen, euen into Paradiſe, where he heard wordes which he might not vtter*. Was Paul then in the ioyes of heauen? I trow not. For he ſayth; *Leſt I ſhould be exalted out of meaſure through the abundance of reuelations, there was giuen vnto me a ſting in the fleſh, euen the meſſenger of Satan, to buffit me*. If the abundance of reuelation would ſo exalt Paul when he was but taken vp into Paradiſe, that he needed the meſſenger of Satan to humble him, how would the ioyes of heauen, and cleerenеſſe of Gods face beheld in his glory, exalt men that ſhould afterward liue againe in this wretched world? And therefore this is like the reſt, euen a bolde aſſertion of things vnknowen; whereas God wanteth no meanes nor places extraordinarie to detaine the ſoules of ſuch as ſhall in his counſell returne to this life, without knowing the ſecrets or poſſeſsing the ioyes of heauen.

[x] 1.Cor.13.

[y] 2.Cor.12.

[a] *If your Fathers proue any thing towards your meaning, it is this, becauſe that he complained of his bodily dying. Howbeit, they ſay not, that he thus complained only and meerely for that. Neither do I thinke will you plainly holde this*, NEITHER DO VVE DENIE THE OTHER.] If the Fathers meaning be, which you now confeſſe, that Chriſt on the croſſe *complained becauſe of his bodily dying*, then proue they as much as I produced them for: and your admitting this expoſition of theirs ſheweth, that all this while you idlely ſought to ſubuert their aſſertion with your ſtrong allegation (as you ſuppoſed) to no purpoſe, ſince now you *denie it not*. And where you pretend, they ſay not ONLY *and meerely for that*, you come too late with your exception: For ſince Chriſt made no complaint on the croſſe but this, *My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me*; if in that he *complained becauſe of his bodily dying*, as you do not *denie*; then all proofe for your hell paines out of thoſe words is quite excluded, aſwell by their opinion, as by your owne confeſsion. And your making Chriſts complaint on the croſſe to be [a] *improbable*, yea *vnlawfull*, conuinceth you by your owne mouth, that within the compaſſe of fiue lines you are contrary to your ſelfe, and charge Chriſt with *vnlawfull* mourning, which amounteth to as much as *ſinfull*. As for mine opinion, what reſpects Chriſt might haue in that complaint of his, I haue before deliuered, ſo that your *ſo grieuing* and *ſo mourning only and meerely for that*, is but a fillie refuge, when you can not otherwiſe reſiſt the trueth.

[a] Defenc. pag. 111. li. 22. *The Defender confeſſeth the Fathers proue my meaning.*

[a] Pa. 111. li. 22

[b] *Theſe Fathers had no purpoſe here to exclude the ſuffering of Chriſtes ſoule, but only to denie that his Godhead ſuffered. They ſtroue here with heretikes, whoſe controuerſies were farre from our queſtion.*] Indeed the heretikes againſt whom they wrote, tooke great holde of theſe places on which you build your hell paines; and becauſe they were ſomewhat darke and doubtfull, they ſtumbled many weake Chriſtians with them euen as you doe. Their purpoſe I know was to proue Chriſt no God in nature, becauſe he *feared and ſorowed in the Garden*, and *complained on the Croſſe*, as if he were *forſaken*; which things they thought vnfit for him that was God. The Fathers to repell their hereſie, and to open this obſcuritie, inſiſt plainly on theſe points, that the Mediatour muſt be God as well as man, and that the Godhead of Chriſt incarnate was impaſsible, and could not ſuffer any violence or change; but his manhood might and did ſuffer ſomethings in ſoule, as *feare and ſorow*; and ſomethings in bodie, as *paines and death*. But generally when they ſpeake of death, they neuer intend as you doe, the death of Chriſtes ſoule as well as of his bodie, but they meane plainly the death of the Croſſe deſcribed by the Euangeliſts, which is farre from the ſecond death or the death of the damned.

[b] Defenc. pag. 111. li. 32. & 28. *Heretikes alwayes vrged the ſame places which the Defender doth.*

[c] *The very ſame doth Hilarie alſo, where he ſayth, that this in Chriſt was Corporis vox,*

[c] Defenc. pag. 111. li. 36.

The outcrie of his bodie, he plainly meaneth it of his whole manhood, the oppoſition being betweene it and his Godhead, as the Scripture often doth.] If your authoritie be ſuch, that you may take *bodie* for *ſoule*, and *life* for *death*, where you will, you may ſoone make a ſhew, that the Fathers intend nothing againſt your doctrine: but if you muſt proue it as well as ſay it, then is it the moſt riotous and moſt ridiculous courſe that can be, to take one contrarie for another: for ſo you may proue darkneſſe to be light, vice to be vertue, falſhood to be trueth, and infidelitie to be faith. What the Fathers taught touching the death of Chriſtes ſoule, when we come to the place we ſhall plainly ſee by their owne aſſerting, and not by your peruerting; in the meane time you were beſt bring ſtronger proofes than theſe, that you will take the bodie for the ſoule, if you meane to conclude any thing out of the Fathers for your croſſegged doctrine.

[d] Trea. pag. 9. [d] *The Scripture often doth the like*, you ſay, as you haue ſhewed in your Treatiſe.] There you haue childiſhly abuſed a number of Scriptures, and yet no way prooued, that any where the bodie ſignifieth the ſoule, or ſtandeth for the ſoule. That the ſoule is a conſequent to the bodie, and the bodie likewiſe a conſequent to the ſoule, whereſoeuer the Scripture ſpeaketh of men liuing heere on earth, is a ſure and ſafe rule; becauſe no man heere liueth, that doeth not conſiſt of ſoule and bodie: yet that is no proofe, that what is attributed to the bodie, muſt be verified of the ſoule, much leſſe that the one muſt be taken for the other. Looke but to your owne examples, where bodie is named: [e] *Let not ſinne reigne in your mortall bodies*, ſayth the Apoſtle. If here you will comprehend the ſoule vnder the name of the bodie, you muſt grant in exact words, that the ſoule is *mortall*, which is an open hereſie deſtroying the ſumme and effect of the Chriſtian faith. Againe: [f] *Euery ſinne that a man doth, is without the body, but the fornicator ſinneth againſt his owne bodie.* If in this place the bodie conclude the ſoule, then euery ſinne (ſaue fornication) is without ſoule and body, and conſequently no ſinne; which is a doctrine a man would thinke meet for no Diuine. The third inſtance which you bring, hath not ſo groſſe ſequels, but as plaine falſhoods: [g] *Sacrifice and burnt offerings thou wouldeſt not, but a bodie haſt thou ordained me*; whereof the ſacrifices offered by the Law were [h] *ſhadowes*. Now did the bodies of beaſts ſlaine, or their bloud ſhed, prefigure the Soule of Chriſt, or the death of his bodie? Theſe be the places, on which you build your vnſound obſeruation, that the Scripture doth often take the bodie for the ſoule, which are ſo ſenſibly falſe, that they need no Refuter. But we reaſon of death, which ſeuereth the ſoule from the bodie, and therein to ſay the bodie muſt be taken for the ſoule, is a very ſincke of ſottiſh abſurdities and falſities. For what can be more repugnant to trueth and ſenſe, than to take a dead bodie for a liuing ſoule, and when they are ſo farre ſeuered by nature, to ſay they muſt agree in name, and the one be called the other?

The ſoule is a conſequent to a liuing bodie, but no part of it.

[e] Rom. 6.

[f] 1. Cor. 6.

[g] Hebr. 10.

[h] Ibid. verſ. 1.

Peruſe now the Fathers, which you would faine wreſt to your purpoſe, and ſee whether they doe not flatly contradict your deuice, that the body in their ſpeaches muſt be taken for the whole man, and ſo the death of Chriſtes body for the death, as well of ſoule, as of the body. Epiphanius is the firſt, that you would fruſtrate with your deuices, and the firſt that ſhall conuince your falſhood. He ſaith the manhood of Chriſt ſpake theſe words, *Now ſeeing the deity together with the ſoule mooning to forſake his ſacred body.* What death call you that, where the ſoule moueth and forſaketh the body? then in that complaint of Chriſts the thing forſaken was his body alone by the iudgement of Epiphanius, and the deity [i] σὺν τῇ ψυχῇ *together with the ſoule did moone* ὅτι τὸ καταλεῖψαι τὸ ἅγιον σῶμα, *to forſake that ſacred body.* Which way doth this prooue the ſoule or the whole manhood of Chriſt to be *forſaken*, when Epiphanius expreſly ſaith, the *deity* with *the ſoule did moone to forſake the body?* Hilarie is the next, whom you would infect with your fanſie, but finding no words in him meet for your matter, you are forced ſhamefully to miſconſter the body for the ſoule, and the death of the one for the death of the other, which is all the hold you haue in Hilarie, though you luſtily would beare out the reſt with the copy of your countenance. Notwithſtanding Hilarie doth not only preuent, but alſo refute your miſtaking. For in plaine

[i] *Epiph. contra Arionanitas hereſ. 69.*

words

words he saith [k] *Querela derelicti morientis infirmitas est, traditio spiritus morientis excessio est, The complaint* (of Christ) *that he was forsaken was the infirmity of one dying, the yeelding vp his spirit was his departure hence, when he died.* And againe, *Tradens spiritum mortuus est; Christ died by deliuering vp his spirit. Sepultus est Christus, quia & mortuus est, mortuus autem est, quia & moriturus locutus est, Deus, Deus meus, quare me dereliquisti. Christ was buried because he was dead; and ready to die, he said, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me.* So that Christes death, when he spake those words, was not past nor present, but then to come, as Hilarie noteth by the future tence, and was the deliuering vp of his spirit into his fathers hands. I trust you dare not defend, that Christ in or after the deliuering vp of his spirit, suffered the paines of hell or the second death; and yet saith Hilarie those words Christ spake of his death, that was to come.

[k] *Hilarius de Trinitate li. 10.*

Tertullian is the last, whose words though you mightily mistake & mistranslate, yet make they nothing for you, but against you directly. Writing against Praxeas, that denied the Father and the Sonne to be two distinct persons, and taught that the Father became sonne to himselfe, [l] and *was made man and crucified*, after many proofes to shew the person of the sonne to be different from the person of the father, he citeth those words of Christ on the Crosse, *My God, my God why hast thou forsaken me*; and saith, [m] *hac vox carnis & animæ, id est hominis, non sermonis, nec spiritus, id est Dei propterea emissa est, vt impassibilem Deum ostenderet, qui sic filium dereliquit, dum hominem eius tradidit in mortem. Cæterum non reliquit Pater Filium, in cuius manibus Filius spiritum suum posuit. Denique posuit, & statim obijt. Spiritu enim manente in carne, caro omnino mori non potest. Ita relinqui a Patre fuit mori filio. This voice of the flesh and soule, that is of the man, not of the word, nor of the spirit, that is not of God, was therefore spoken to shew that God is impassible, who so left his sonne, whiles he deliuered his manhood to death. Yet the Father did not* (altogether) *forsake the sonne, into whose hands the sonne breathed out his spirit. For he breathed it out, and straightway died. Whiles the spirit remained in the flesh, the flesh could not die at all. So that to be forsaken of the Father, was in the sonne to die.* Here are the words of Tertullian in order as they stand. Where it is euident, that he affirmeth no death nor forsaking in Christ, but only that, when the spirit left the body. His words are plaine. *The Father forsooke not the sonne, into whose hands the sonne deposed his spirit. For he laid it downe, and died. So to be forsaken of the Father was* (this) *for the sonne to die*, by laying downe his spirit or soule, as before he prooueth Christ did. Then suffered Christ no death of the soule, since he died not, till he breathed out his spirit into his fathers hands; and other forsaking the sonne felt none, then so to die by the separation of his soule from his body.

[l] *Tertullianus aduersus Praxeanca. 2.*

[m] *Ibid. ca. 30.*

Now touching the voice of the soule and the flesh, whereof Tertullian speaketh; either he maketh three parts in man, as the Apostle doth Thess: 1: 5. verse: 23. *the spirit, the soule, and the body*, and then the soule noteth the operations of life and sense, which were to cease for the time by death; or els he affirmeth this voice came from both soule and body, because the soule was to be separated from her body by death, as well as the body to be left dead; both which are a kind of forsaking. Other death he nameth none here, then to die by breathing out the spirit. And so long as the spirit abideth in the flesh, the flesh he saith cannot die at all. Christ therefore endured no death whiles his spirit did abide in his body, and consequently no death of the soule; and when he breathed out his spirit he straightway died, which was the forsaking, that he complained of in those words. So that all your collections heere out of Tertullian are your additions to Tertullian, and not so much as one of them to be found or fet from his text. He speaketh not a word that Christ [n] *suffered in both these parts from his father*, nor that *this* (death or forsaking) [o] *was ment of the flesh and of the soule*, as you falsly translate him. And as for Tertullians confirming *that* [p] *heresie of Christes being no true naturall man*, except Christ suffered [q] *the stroke of Gods hand in his soule, as the proper vengeance of sinne*, this is your blinde deuice absurdly foisted into Tertullian, without any word or letter sounding that way.

What forsaking Tertullian speaketh of.

[n] Defenc. pag. 112. li. 20.
[o] li. 15.
[p] li. 26.
[q] li. 23.

[r] *This dereliction of which he speaketh, is more than the separation of the soule and bodie: euen*

[s] Defenc. pag. 112. li. 31.

euen the separation of the deitie from the whole manhood, which is the death of the soule. I speake nothing here but the Fathers words, yea the Scriptures.] Your setting vnto Tertullian your owne sense, is an impudent attempt, and the weakest argument that can be, when you tell vs he meaneth so, though he speake not one word touching the death of the soule, but as exactly as he can or should, nameth the death of the bodie, by this that he sayth: *Denique (spiritum) posuit, & statim obijt. Spiritu enim manente in carne caro omnino mori non potest. Christ layd downe his* (spirit) *and straightway died. For whiles the spirit remained in the flesh, the flesh could not die at all.* What was it to lay downe his spirit into his fathers hands, as the Scripture speaketh of Christ on the crosse, but to die the death of the body? Those very words Tertullian here citeth and vseth, and thereby prooueth the Father had not inwardly forsaken the sonne, since the sonne by the manifest words of himselfe reported in the Euangelist, commended and yeelded his spirit to his fathers hands. So that against the death of the soule, Tertullians words are pregnant:) for how did the soule die, that was commended into Gods hands?) and other death Tertullian nameth nor meaneth none, but only this. *Denique* (spiritum) *posuit, & statim obijt. Christ laied downe* (his spirit into his fathers hands) *and straightway died.* As for your speaking nothing heere but the fathers and the Scriptures words, beware you take not vp the Diuels trade, to keepe their words, and peruert their sense. It is no great mastery to abuse mens words, yea the word of God, which all Hereticks haue euer drawen to their owne false and wicked purposes.

Tertullian nameth no death but of Christes bodie.

[f] Defenc. pag. 112. li. 34.

[f] *Your owne place of Epiphanius saith, that now his deity departed from his manhood. So saith your owne Hilarie also. Corporis vox contestata recedentis a se Dei diffidium. So saith Ambrose, clamauit homo diuinitatis separatione moriturus. The man Christ did crie being about to die by the separation of his Godhead.* You alleage three places to this purpose, and either corrupt, or peruert all three most apparantly. Epiphanius saith, that Christs deity TOGETHER WITH THE SOVLE *departed from his sacred body*, which is as plaine a description of bodily death, as may be vttered. You leaue out the words, TOGETHER WITH THE SOVLE, as crossing your course, and turne the body into the soule, meaning by this corruption to load Epiphanius with a sense cleane contrarie to his owne. Hilaries words spoken of Christes body, you enlarge to the whole manhood of Christ, and thence conclude directly against Hilaries meaning and words, that the deity departed from both, where as Hilarie professeth of Christ;

[t] Hilarius de Trinitate li. 10.

[t] *Derelinqui se ad mortem questus est, sed* TVNC *confessorem suum secum in Regno Paradisi recepit. Christ complained that he was* (forsaken or) *left vnto death, but* EVEN THEN *he receiued the Thiefe that confessed him, into the kingdome of Paradise iointly with himselfe.* Ambroses words are [u] *Clamauit homo diuinitatis separatione moriturus. The man Christ cried* (not then dead in soule, when he cried as you would haue it, but) *ready to die*, or that after should die, when he yeelded his spirit into his fathers hands. The very next sentence before sheweth that this departing was of the diuinity from the body, to leaue that vnto death. [x] *Euidens manifestatio contestantis Dei secessionem diuinitatis & corporis. A manifest speach of God witnessing the departure of his diuinity from his bodie.* So that by no meanes Ambrose euer imagined that Christes soule died, but as he expresseth himselfe in the same Chapter; [y] *Caro moritur, vt resurgat, spiritus Patri commendatur, vt pax fuerit in Cælo. The flesh dieth, that it might rise againe; the spirit is commended to (God) the father, that peace might be established in the heauens.* Thus shortly haue you taken the paines to produce three Fathers for the death of Christes soule, and haue as shamefully peruerted and inuerted euery one of them, which is no newes with you; and yet all that you can conclude out of them may amount to a pestilent heresie, if you will, that the vnion of Christes person was dissolued for the time of his death, but it can neuer inferre any thing pertinent to your purpose.

[u] *Ambros. in Luc. li. 10. de commendatione spiritus in manibus Patris.*

[x] *Ibidem.*

[y] *Ibidem.*

[z] Defenc. pag. 113. li. 4.

[z] *Here the Fathers do shew indeed that Christ died, but more than a meere bodily death; euen the death of the soule also.*] Heere the Fathers are exquisitly belied and falsified, otherwise that Christes soule died, they offer neither word nor syllable sounding that way. And though you can not speake trueth in so false a cause, yet you should learne

to

to speake coherently. You grant they auouch here, that Christ died the death of the *bodie, and more, euen the death of the soule also*; whereas it is euident by the words of the holy ghost, as also by your owne positions, that Christ neither did nor could die these two deaths at one time. For by the manifest witnesse of the Euangelist, Christ [a] *commended his spirit into his Fathers handes, and so died*. Then most certeinly the soule of Christ was accepted and receiued into the hands of God, which I trow is life, and not death, when the bodie was left to death. Wherefore if their words concerne his bodily death, they by no meanes admix the death of the soule, since they all affirme as the Scripture doth, that Christ committed his soule to his Fathers hands, and so died; of which death they say he spake in those words, *Why hast thou left me*, that is, to die, as they expound it. Now if you affixe any death to the soule of Christ, I hope you will free him from it, before he commended his soule into his Fathers hands. And so the one must be ended, before the other could enter; and consequently, if they spake of the latter, their words haue no intent to implie the other. But what dispute we of their meaning, when their words are so manifest, that you can not hale them to your hell-paines, but by shamefull corrupting of their sentences, and wilfull misconstruing the bodie for the soule?

[a] Luc. 22.

[b] *What is the separation of the deitie from his soule els but the death of his soule?*] Which of these Fathers doth auouch the separation of Christes deitie from his soule? Is it so small a mote in your eye, that Christes deitie was separated from his humane soule, that you may loosely and lightly surmise it by disordering and altering other mens words? At this speech of Ambrose you could not so grosly haue stumbled, had you but read the Master of the Sentences, who long since in one whole distinction of his third booke examined those words, and answered as the trueth is, that separation in that place was taken for want of protection, and withholding Christes power, whiles the bodie died. [c] *Separauit se diuinitas, quia subtraxit protectionem. Separauit se foris, vt non esset ad defensionem, sed non intus defuit ad vnionem. Si non ibi cohibuisset potentiam, sed exercuisset, non moreretur Christus. The deitie seuered it selfe, because it withdrew protection. It separated it selfe outwardly not to defend, but it failed not inwardly to continue the vnion. If it had not refrained, but exercised power, Christ could not haue died.* Theodoret calleth this dereliction, [d] *The permission of the deitie, that the humanitie might suffer.* And Isychius sayth, [e] *Diuinitas abijsse dicitur, cohibens propriam virtutem ex humanitate, vt daret spacium Passioni.* Christs *deitie is sayd to depart by withholding his owne power from his humanitie, that he might giue time to his Passion.* Otherwise it is a certaine truth which Fulgentius teacheth: [f] *Licet in Christi morte carnem morientem fuisset anima desertura, diuinitas tamen Christi nec ab anima, nec à carne posset separari suscepta. Though in Christes death the soule were to forsake the bodie dying, yet the deitie of Christ could not be seuered from the soule, nor from the bodie once assumed.*

[b] Defenc. pag. 113. li. 6.

[c] *Sententiarum li. 3. dist. 21.*

[d] *In Psal. 21.*

[e] *Isychius in Leuit. li. 5. ca. 16.*

[f] *Ad Trasimundum lib. 3.*

[g] *Howbeit note, I pray, that neither the Fathers nor I do meane any separating of the vnion of both natures in Christ, nor the separating of any holinesse or habituall grace of God from his soule, nor the separating of Gods loue from him, but the separation of all comfortable feeling and assistance of the Godhead. This separation is meant and may be called the death of the soule.*] If you separate none of these, what then is it that you separate from the soule of Christ to proue it dead? [*All comfortable feeling and assistance of the Godhead.*] He knew himselfe to be personally God and man, he saw his soule full of all truth and grace, he was assured, the loue of God towards him could neither faile nor change; he knew that his obedience and sacrifice were acceptable to his Father, and should be the redemption of the world, and he was most certaine, that the third day he should rise againe into immortall and celestiall glory, hauing men, diuels and angels, euen all things in heauen and earth subiect to his manhood. Were all these no comforts? or was there no assistance of the Godhead in these? Nay take but your owne words a little before, that Christ on the crosse, euen when he complained of his forsaking, was in [h] *exceeding generall and constant ioy*, and had as Dauid forepropheſied of him, [i] *constant and continuall ioy in God*; was there no feeling of all this triumph and ioy so *exceeding*,

[g] Defenc. pag. 113. li. 7.

[h] Pag. 110. li. 28. [i] 34.

ding, conſtant, and continuall? May a man be ſo franticke, as to confeſſe that Chriſt felt all this, and yet to ſay he had *no comfortable feeling?* [*This may be called the death of the ſoule.*] To him that calleth light darkneſſe, good euill, faith feare, ioy diſcomfort, this may ſeeme death; which by all the rules of the ſacred Scriptures is called the life of the ſoule heere on earth; but by no man that vnderſtandeth or careth what he ſayth, can this be called or defended to be the death of the ſoule.

[k] Defenc. p. g. 113. li 15.

[k] *As it is life to the ſoule to feele and to enioy the glory of God, Pſal: 16.21. ſo it is death to feele the want and abſence thereof vtterly.*] Hauing abuſed the Fathers at your pleaſure you offer now the like, if not worſe, to the Scriptures. The ſixteenth Pſalme verſ: 11 not 21 as you quote it, ſheweth vs, that there is *a way to life* reuealed here on earth, but *the fulneſſe of ioy is in Gods preſence*, when we ſhall behold his face, as the Angels doe in heauen. The way to life is *grace*, wherewith Chriſt was repleniſhed from his mothers wombe, and in greater meaſure then all his members. For he had the fullneſſe thereof in this life, where the perfectest men haue but a meaſure thereof, and we

[l] Iohn 1.

[l] *all haue receaued of his fulneſſe.* The plenty of pleaſure, which is at Gods right hand, is *euerLaſting glory* both of ſoule and body, into which Chriſt entred after his Reſurrection. How doth this prooue, that Chriſts ſoule was dead during the time of his Paſion? if a man would ſeeke out a place to confirme the contrarie, he cannot light

[m] Pſal. 16. v. 11

on a better. For theſe words pertaining directly to Chriſt on the croſſe conclude, that euen in the midſt of his ſufferings [m] *the waies of life were made knowen to him* by God, and that after his riſing againe, God would *Repleniſh him with the ioy of his countenance*, which was euerlaſting glory in the heauens. The one he poſſeſſed, the other was promiſed, more then which the ſoule of man cannot enioy in this life. Now except this be your rage rather then your reaſon, that all mens ſoules are dead, till they come to behold God face to face in the heauens; I ſee not what you can hence collect touching the death of Chriſts ſoule. The contrarie may be ſoundly concluded out

[n] Iohn 14.

of this place. For the *wayes of life* were made knowen to him here on earth, and by him to all men liuing, ſince he profeſſed himſelfe to be the [n] *Way, and the Truth, and the Life*; and the promiſes of God to him as farre exceeded all honour and glory reſerued for men, as it was poſsible for the head to excell his members.

[o] Defenc. pag. 113 li. 18.

[o] *This heauenly life Chriſt taſted a while in his tranſfiguration, this death he felt beſides his bodily death on the Croſſe.*] If Chriſt neuer taſted an heauenly life but in his tranſfiguration, then all the time of his conuerſing heere on earth he felt your helliſh death, and not in his paſsion only: but what madneſſe is this to affirme either of Chriſt, or of his members, that their ſoules are dead, till they come to behold Gods face in the glory of his Kingdome? If theſe be your beſt proofes for the death of Chriſts ſoule, take heed you be not *eſtranged from the life* of God through the ignorant wilfullneſſe of your heart, that thus confound heauen and earth, life and death, to maintaine your fanſies againſt both Fathers and Scriptures. But of the death of Chriſts ſoule we ſhall haue better occaſion afterward to ſpeake, when we come to handle it at large, where I will by Gods grace let the Reader ſee, how reſolutely and abſolutely the Fathers ioyning with the Scriptures repell the death of Chriſts ſoule as a peſtilent point of falſe doctrine; vnleſſe we take it as a figuratiue kind of ſpeach, which is nothing to the principles of our faith, nor to the true price of our Redemption, ſince we muſt not conuert the truth of Chriſt to figures and phraſes.

[p] Defenc pag. 113 li 24. *The fourth ſenſe of Chriſts complaint on the croſſe.*

[p] *Your fourth expoſition for any thing I ſee, may be granted, for it ſeemeth to be the ſame in effect that we hold.*] If the fourth expoſition be granted, then two of your chiefe grounds, on which you raiſe your hell paines ſuffered in the ſoule of Chriſt, vtterly ſincke. For then Chriſt ſpake theſe words of his members, not of his owne perſon, and it was no ſuch dolefull and vncomfortable mourning and bemoning his owne ſoule as you ſuppoſe, but a praier full of power, fauour, and grace; whereby the ſonne of God auerted from vs the ſeparation, that was betwixt God & vs, and made peace in heauen and earth, reconciling man to God, that before was forſaken of him. [q] *Was it remooued from vs? then ſurely it was laid on ſome body els. Now that muſt needes be vpon himſelfe,*]

[q] Pag. 113 li. 28.

himſelfe.] You fall to rouing in ſteed of reaſoning. *Euerlaſting death and hell fire* it ſelfe were remooued from vs. On whom then were they laid? *Deſperation, confuſion, reiection* were likewiſe remooued from vs. Were they therefore laid on Chriſt? *Pollution* of ſinne, and *corruption in* the graue ſhalbe likewiſe remooued from vs. Were theſe alſo laid on Chriſtes perſon, or did he ſuffer the very ſame, that we ſhould? keepe ſuch reaſons for your helliſh myſteries, they haue no force in true religion, nor I think with any ſober or well aduiſed reaſoner. The puniſhments of this life impoſed on all mankind Chriſt ſuffered for vs, and by them freed vs from euerlaſting damnation and deſtruction, which were the due wages of our ſinnes. He therefore paied a price for vs, which was the ſhedding of his bloud vnto death on the Croſſe, and by that raniomed vs from the captiuitie and miſerie, that otherwiſe were appointed for ſinne.

[r] *Where you obiect Athanaſius, that he could not be forſaken of his Father, who was alwaies in his Father, it is meerely wreſted. Athanaſius ſpeaketh againſt Arius alſo, that Chriſts deity could not be forſaken of his Father, and ſo was not inferiour to his Father.*] What talke you of wreſting, that neuer yet conceaued any Fathers words rightly, no more then you doe that of Athanaſius, which I brought? You catch at a piece, and runne your way, as though you were cleerely acquited; but returne to the text, and looke on the reſt with ſhame enough. Who was he, that ſpake thoſe words, *Why haſt thou forſaken me?* I truſt he was *the ſonne of God*, though now *incarnate*, who before his incarnation was equall with his father in the forme of God. Els Peter was much deceaued, when he ſaid vnto him, that ſtood there in preſence, *Thou art the ſonne of the liuing God*; and Chriſt himſelfe was more then deceaued, when he anſwered, [t] *Bleſſed art thou, for fleſh and bloud hath not reuealed it vnto thee; but my Father which is in heauen.* Then ſpeaketh not Athanaſius of Chriſts diuine nature, but of his perſon, which was [u] ALWAIES in his father, that is *before he ſpake thoſe words and after.* And *euen when he ſpake thoſe words, the father declared*, ſaith Athanaſius, by the miracles preſently following, that he was THEN ALSO *in his ſonne* (incarnate,) *as euer before.* Doth not this directly conclude, that Athanaſius intended God was in the ſpeaker of thoſe words, euen when he ſpake them, and that at no time the father forſooke the perſon incarnate, no not when he ſpake thoſe words, ſince God to ſhew that he had not forſaken him, who then ſpake vnto him, made heauen and earth to witneſſe, how much he eſteemed the perſon, that ſo complained?

[r] Defenc. pag. 113. li. 30.

[t] Matth 16.

[u] *Athanaſius contra Arianos ſerm. 4.*

[x] *Touching Chriſts humanity Athanaſius denieth not, but God might forſake it: for ſo the Scripture ſaith.*] The queſtion is not for the word, but for the ſenſe. You finding the word of forſaking to be vſed in the Scripture, put what ſenſe you liſt to it, and thence would prooue the death of Chriſts ſoule with as ſtrange poſitions, as the maine error it ſelfe. For you grant Chriſts manhood was not forſaken neither of Gods FAVOVR, nor GRACE, nor of *continuall and conſtant ioy in God*, much leſſe of the fulneſſe of Gods ſpirit, which reſted on him; and yet you ſay, he died the death of the ſoule for want of comfort. As if there were no comfort neither in the grace, nor in the fauour of God, nor in the ioies of his ſpirit, nor in the hope of his promiſes, all which were moſt aſſured to him to the higheſt degree, that any creature was capable of. Did you meane, that he had no *eaſe* of his paines, nor *end* of reproches, whiles he liued, as alſo *no deliuerance* from the hands of his perſecutors, nor *protection* from death, all theſe might be borne with, ſince the Scriptures giue manifeſt teſtimony, that theſe things he ſuffered till he died; but theſe things, that are true, will not ſerue your turne, you vrge his ſoule died: becauſe he had no heauenly life, ſuch as he taſted in his transfiguration, where [x] *his face did ſhine as the ſunne, and the clothes were as white as the light*, which prooueth his ſoule to be no more dead in his paſsion, then it was all his life long beſids, and that will no man in his right wits auouch of Chriſt, or of his Saints here in earth.

[x] Defenc pag. 113. li. 35. *What contrarieties the Defender is driuen to.*

[x] Matth. 17.

[y] *Your fift expoſition is Leos conceit, without warrant, farre fetcht, hardly applied. Origen is alſo here as weake.*] Pricke on in your pride, deſpiſing all the world beſids your ſelfe, and

[y] Defenc pag. 114. li. 1. & 4.

The fift sense of Christes complaint on the crosse.

and skorning euery mans opinion, that hitteth not right with your fansie; though few men speake or write so absurdly, and falsly as you doe. Leos exposition vtterly subuerteth your hellish assertion, and that maketh you fling it away with such disdaine as you doe. Otherwise it hath more vicinity with the circumstances of the text, then yours by many degrees. For there is nothing in Leos interpretation, which accordeth not with the Christian faith, and hath his foundation in the very words of the sacred Scriptures; in both which your hellish and harrish application faileth. He saith; [z] *Vox ista doctrina est, non querela; those words were an instruction, not a lamentation.* And his reason is past your refuting. *Cum in Christo Dei & hominis vna sit persona, nec potuerit ab eo relinqui, à quo non poterat separari, pro nobis trepidis & infirmis interrogat, cur caro pati metuens exaudita non fuerit. Since in Christ there was but one person of God and man, & he could not be forsaken of him, from whom he could not be seuered, he* ASKETH *for our sakes, that are fearefull and weake, why flesh fearing to suffer was not heard.* Which of these things can you refell with all the witte in your head? the coniunction and communion of both natures in one person of Christ you were not best meddle with, lest you sowe damnable heresies as thicke, as you haue done notable absurdities. He saith further, *Cur* for *quare*, and *non exauditus* for *relictus*. Aske the Boyes in Pauls schoole, what difference betwixt *cur* and *quare*, both signifying WHY, and being both interrogatiues, as Leo rightly obserueth, concurring with that of Saint Austen, who said, as we haue heard before, [a] *Causam commonuit requirendam, cum addidit, vt quid dereliquisti me. Christ warned* (them) *to search for the cause, when he added,* WHY HAST THOV FORSAKEN ME? His exposition of the word forsaking, he taketh out of the very Psalme, whence Christ cited the rest. For so Dauid ioined them together. *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? and art so farre from sauing* (or deliuering) *me. I crie by day, and thou heares not.* So that *not to heare, and not to deliuer*, is the forsaking which Dauid ment in that place, and which in all likelihood our Sauiour intended, (as Saint Austen thinketh) if he spake of his owne person. [b] *Quare me dereliquisti, tanquam diceret, relinquendo me, hoc est, non me exaudiendo, longè factus es à salute mea, præsenti scilicet salute huius vitæ. Why hast thou forsaken me, as if he should haue said, leauing me, that is, not hearing me, thou art farre from sauing me, to wit from the present safety of this life.* So saith Leo. [c] *In ipso tantæ victoriæ exaltatus triumpho, causam & rationem, qua sit relictus, id est, non exauditus, inquirit. Christ exalted in the triumph of so great a victory, inquireth the cause & reason why he is forsaken, that is, not heard.* The reason thereof he giueth soberly, learnedly, and truely, howsoeuer your humour like it not. [d] *That the Lord should be deliuered to his passion, it was as well his Fathers will, as his owne; vt cum non solum Pater relinqueret, sed etiam ipse se quadam ratione desereret; That not only the father might leaue him, but that after a sort he should forsake himselfe, not by any fearefull shrincking, but by a voluntary cession. For the power of Christ crucified contemned it selfe from those wicked ones, and to performe his secret disposition, he would not vse any manifest power. He that came by his passion to destroy death, and the author of death, how should he saue sinners if he would haue resisted his pursuers?* And touching that kind of forsaking, which you dreame of, he saith; [e] *Iudæorum hoc fuerit, vt Iesum crederent a Deo relictum, in quem tanto scelere sæuire potuissent, qui sacrilega illusione dicebant, alios saluos fecit, seipsum non potest saluum facere. Let vs leaue this to the Iewes, to thinke Christ forsaken of God, on whom they could execute their rage with such wickednesse; who sacriligiously deriding him saied, he saued others, he cannot saue himselfe.* He was then forsaken of his father, when he was deliuered into the hands of the wicked, that is, he was not defended from them; yea he would forsake himselfe, that is, he would vse no manifest power against them, but willingly yeelded himselfe into their hands to suffer what they would. This is the forsaking, saith Leo, which the Scripture alloweth. That other sort of forsaking, that God indeed had left him & would not help him in his good time, that is rather the perfidiousnesse of the Iewes, which obiected so much vnto him, then the faith of Christians.

Origen, you say, *is here as weake*;] and why? becausse you say the word? you take vpon you like a Iudge to set downe your vnwise censure on euery mans words, you take not

[z] *Leo de Pass. Dom. serm. 16.*

[a] *August. epist. 120.*

[b] *August. Ibid.*

[c] *De Passione serm. 16.*

[d] *Idem de Pass. Dom. serm. 17.*

[e] *Ibidem.*

not the paines to refute them by any colour or ſhew of reaſon. Origen ſaith, that [f] *Chriſt was forſaken of his Father, when he tooke vnto him the forme of a ſeruant, and came to the death of the croſſe, which amongeſt men ſeemed moſt ſhamefull. Then maieſt thou plainly vnderſtand, what he ment, when he ſayd, why haſt thou forſaken me; comparing that glory, which he had with his Father, to this ſhame, which he deſpiſed enduring the Croſſe.* Tell vs not what you will miſlike, but what you can refute in this ſaying. And ſince you require the reaſons of all other mens ſpeaches, and thinke your ſelfe priuiledged to ſpeake without all reaſon, what ſay you, which was the greater abaſing or forſaking, for God to lay aſide the power and glory of his maieſty and to take vnto him the ſhape of a ſeruant, and therein to die the ſhamefull death of the croſſe; or for man to want comfort in his affliction? which was the greater emptying, or humbling himſelfe in Chriſt? If Origen in this point be weake, the Apoſtle is as weake, who nameth this as the greateſt [g] EXINANITION, that Chriſt endured; ſaying, he *being in the forme of God* (that is equall with God) *emptied himſelfe, and tooke on him the forme of a ſeruant, and humbled himſelfe, and became obedient to the death, euen the death of the Croſſe.* Origen goeth right with the Apoſtles words, and ſaith this was the greateſt *dereliction*, or humiliation that Chriſt ſuffered; and before you can with any reaſon controle this ſpeach you muſt correct the Apoſtles text, and in ſteed of the death of the Croſſe, put in the death of the damned, which is a myſtery the apoſtle neuer heard, nor ſpake of. Origen therefore concludeth. [h] *Vnde non eſtimes more humano Saluatorem iſta dixiſſe propter calamitatem, quæ comprehenderat eum in cruce. Wherefore thinke not our Sauiour ſpake this after the maner of men for the calamity, which apprehended him on the croſſe. For ſo if thou take it, thou ſhalt not ſeeke for things worthy his diuine voice.*

[f] Origen. in Matth. tract. 35.

[g] Phil. 2.

[h] Origen. vt ſupra.

[i] *Alſo theſe ſenſes be contrary to all the reſt here obſerued.*] If they were, what is that to the goodneſſe of your cauſe? Is it ſuch newes, that diuers men ſhould make diuers ſenſes of ſome places in holy Scriptures? If there be ſo abundant and different meanings of theſe wordes, then your concluſion of hell-paines out of that complaint is more than crackt. What warrant haue you, but your owne will, to make any ſuch conſtruction of Chriſtes words? And the word forſaking hauing ſo many degrees, reſpects, and diuerſities, as wee ſee by theſe learned Fathers, you muſt proclaime your ſelfe more than a Patriarke, euen a Pope, that muſt haue, and will haue the ſenſe of holy Scripture ſhut vp in the cloſet of your owne breſt, before your inference of hell-paines ſuffered in the ſoule of Chriſt will be conſequent to theſe words.

[i] Defenc. pag. 114. li. 6.

[k] *Your ſixth and laſt ſenſe is likewiſe contrary to the reſt, and as improbable in it ſelfe (or more) than the former: That Chriſt ſhould here cite the beginning of that Pſalme, onely to ſhew the Iewes, that their wrongs towards him were propheſied of before. This alreadie I fully anſwered, which you refute not.*] What ſhould I refute a brainſicke Preſumer of his owne ignorant conceit, and a proud deſpiſer of all other mens words and reaſons? This, you ſay, you haue *alreadie fullie anſwered* in your Treatiſe.] If you had ſayd *foolely*, I might the ſooner haue beleeued you: for what is there in that anſwere, but extreame pride and follie? All your anſwere is, [l] *Which ſenſe is moſt abſurd.* What patch can not preſently giue this anſwere to any thing? But more *fully*, you ſay, [m] *This is too fond to be ſpoken.* Such liquor doth relliſh well your lippes. All mens ſayings are fond to a foole, ſaue his owne, which are moſt fooliſh of all. I brought you the iudgements of *Ierom* and *Chryſoſtom*, and all the anſwere you vouchſafed vnto them, is that which I now repeat; which whether it ſauour of any ſobrietie, I relinquiſh to the Reader. [But you adde a reaſon thereof in your Treatiſe.] Such as would make a man ſicke to heare an idle companion prate ſo boldly and looſely. Your reaſon forſooth is, for ſo you will haue it called; [n] *As if when they had mocked and reuiled him at noone or before, he would then three whole houres after tell them of ſuch an anſwere in the Prophet.*] As if you ſtood by and kept the Regiſter, when they left mocking and deriding Chriſt on the croſſe. That he was crucified about mid-noone, and ſpake theſe words about the ninth houre, which was three of the clocke after noone, the Scripture doth witneſſe, but how long they continued their ſcorning and ſcoffing at him,

[k] Defenc pag. 114. li. 7. *The ſixt ſenſe of Chriſts complaint on the croſſe.*

[l] Trea. pa. 66. li. 31.

[m] Ibid pag. 67. li. 7.

[n] Ibid. pag. 66. li. 32.

[o] Matth.27. verſ.41. [p] 44. [q] 39. [r] 40. [s] Luc.22.v.35.

no Scripture doth limit. Saint Matthew nameth *the high* [o] *Prieſts with the Scribes, Elders and Phariſes, the* [p] *theeues that were crucified with him*, and ſuch as [q] *paſſed by reuiled him, wagging their heads, and* [r] *ſaying, Thou that deſtroyeſt the Temple, and buildeſt it in three dayes, ſaue thy ſelfe. If thou be the Sonne of God, come downe from the croſſe.* S. Luke addeth, *That* [s] *the people which ſtood and beheld, mocked him*, as well as the Rulers, and the *ſouldiers alſo mocked him, and came and offered him vineger.* How long this continued from all ſorts ſtanding and paſsing by, if you take vpon you to tell, you muſt conſult with Balaams beaſt; for no man can tell you, vnleſſe you finde by the ſtarres how long that ſturre dured. For my part I thinke, as they were neuer ſatisfied with his torments, ſo neuer left they taking all occaſions to deride him, as we may perceiue by the very ſpeaking of theſe words; vpon which ſome ſayd, Let be, *Let vs ſee if Elias will come and ſaue him.* Now if the very paſſengers did not refraine their tongues from inſulting on him, ſhal we thinke the ſtanders by did ſo quickly leaue with mouth to deride, with heart to diſdaine him, and condemne him as forſaken of God, in the midſt of ſo many ſhames and miſeries? And the poiſon of their hearts accounting him to be wicked and reiected of God, was the thing which Chriſt reſpected, as well as the whip of their tongues. But what if their mocks did ceaſe at twelue of the clocke, as you peremptorily preſume without all good ground, might not Chriſt therefore in this ſort anſwere their ſpightfull words and hatefull thoughts three houres after, when now he was readie to giue vp the ghoſt, though whiles life did laſt, he was content with all quietneſſe and ſilence to endure them? Was it ſo fond and abſurd as you talke of, to warne them with the beginning of that Pſalme, that all theſe things which he had ſuffered, and they had vſed towards him, were forepropheſied of the Meſsias and Sauiour of the world? Who but a man deſtitute of wit or ſenſe would giue ſuch entertainment to two ſo learned and ancient Fathers for ſo ſaying?

[t] Defenc.pag. 114.li.16.

[t] *Your authorities are bare arguments. Ierom bringeth no reaſon, but his owne word. Chryſoſtome I ſee not what he ſayth to your purpoſe at all.*] Your abſurdities and contrarieties hatcht out of your owne head are farre worſe arguments. Ieroms bare word is as good as your bare will, or bold face, in any place in Chriſtendome. Howbeit, Ierom is not alone in this minde: S. Auſten ſayth, [u] *Pſalmum, cuius prophetiam Dominus ad ſe pertinere demonſtrans, eius primum verſum exclamauit, cum penderet in ligno. To ſhew the propheſie of that Pſalme to pertcine to him, the Lord repeated the firſt verſe thereof with a loud voice as he hung on the croſſe.* [You ſee not how Chryſoſtome maketh to this purpoſe.] Chriſt ſpake theſe wordes, ſayth Chryſoſtome, that thereby the Iewes [x] *might learne he honoured his Father to the laſt breath, and that* (his Father) *was no aduerſarie to him. Therefore he ſpake the Prophets words, confirming the ancient Scripture, that they might perceiue him to be of the ſame will with his Father.* Had he beene forſaken of his Father, and conuicted thereof by his owne confeſsion, as you interpret Chriſts words, he had declared by his ſpeech, his Father to be an *aduerſarie* to him, ſince to *forſake* is no ſigne of loue, but of diſlike. But he ſpake theſe words of the Prophet, to proue that his Father was not oppoſite to him, but of the ſame will with him. What els can Chryſoſtome meane by this, but that the Prophet by this Pſalme foreſhewed the Sonne of God and Sauiour of the world ſhould ſpeake theſe words on the croſſe, and thereby not only affirme, that God was *his God, and not his aduerſarie*, but *ratifie the ancient Scripture*, euen that whole Pſalme, as foreſpoken of him; whereby the Iewes might plainely learne, that nothing befell him, which the Prophet in that Pſalme did not before declare ſhould befall the true Meſsias and Sauiour of the world.

[u] *Auguſt.epiſt. 120.*

[x] *Chryſoſt. in Matth.homil. 89.*

[y] Defenc.pag. 114.li.18.

[y] *Finally, theſe kindes of dereliction which you mention beſides, pag.32, 33, 38, &c. are nothing fitter than the former.*] You ſit like a ſupreame Iudge ouer Fathers and Scriptures, and caſsiere all beſides your owne conceits, vpon the warrant of your owne will, without any farther trouble or proofe. It is vrged in thoſe pages which you paſſe ouer, that forſaking thorowout the Scriptures neuer ſignifieth the ſtate or paines of the damned. You care not for that, your will muſt haue way, and your word muſt ſtand.

ſtand. It is there alſo auouched, that whenſoeuer the godly complaine in the Scriptures, as they often doe, that they are forſaken; they meane of helpe in time of need, and of deliuerance in the day of trouble. Nor Scriptures nor Fathers haue any power to preuaile againſt your pleaſure, you will haue forſaking in Chriſtes words to note the paines of the damned, though there be no example thereof in any diuine or humane writings. You are belike ſome Prætor or ſome Pilate, that what you haue written, you haue written, and other reaſon you will yeeld none.

[1] *Six or ſeuen diuers yea contrary ſenſes you haue brought of a few words, and of them all you ſay, they are all godly expoſitions, and all theſe interpretations are ſound, and ſtand well with the rules of Chriſtian pietie. How ſound and fit they are, it hath beene ſeene.*] And what haue you found in any of them diſſonant from the rules of Chriſtian pietie, for which I commended them? They fit not your fanſie, I know it well; but they ſwarue neither from the faith of Chriſt, nor from the word of God. For where all good Expoſitions ſhould haue theſe foure conditions; the right vſe of the words, the circumſtances of the place, the coherence with other Scriptures, and concordance with the maine grounds of pietie and charitie, which by no pretence of any ſpeech in Scripture may be impugned; theſe expoſitions of the ancient Fathers tranſgreſſe in none of them. And where the Iewes falſely, wickedly, and blaſphemouſly obiected to Chriſt, that he was forſaken of God, you out of the abundance of your wit and faith, will haue Chriſt on the croſſe publikely and plainly to confeſſe and confirme their ſacrilegious obiections, and to iuſtifie their impietie for trueth, by acknowledging with a loud voice, that he was forſaken of God. A worſe expoſition than which, the diuell himſelfe could not deuiſe. For whatſoeuer was inwardly betweene him and his Father, he would neuer ſo openly ratifie their impious and ſlanderous cogitations and imputations with his owne mouth, nor leaue ſuch a confeſsion preſently before his death in the eares and hearts of all his enemies, as that he found himſelfe to be truely and inwardly forſaken of God; but rather calling that a forſaking, which they miſconſtrued to be ſo, he complained that God had ſo long with ſuch patience left him in their hands without any ſhew as yet of loue and fauour towards him, which made his enemies thinke God had indeed forſaken him.

[1] Defenc pag. 114. li. 22.

The true rules how to expound the Scriptures.

[2] *Verily you haue a good head, if you can reconcile all theſe, and make them ſtand together.*] Doth any man, that hath ſo much as a head, require to haue all expoſitions reconciled, before they may be tolerated? When they are diuers, the Reader may make his choiſe what he beſt liketh; but there is no cauſe nor reaſon to reiect all that can not be reconciled. Neither did I tell you, they might all ſtand together; but I ſayd they ſtood well with the rules of Chriſtian pietie. And ſince they had in them no contradiction to the text, nor to the faith, I ſaw no ground to depriue the Reader of them, much leſſe to reiect or diſdaine the authours of them, as you do. And yet truly it were no ſuch hard matter, as you imagine, to make the ſubſtance of them ſtand together. For why might not Chriſt on the croſſe, as the head and Sauiour of his bodie, in his owne name make his complaint, or inquire the cauſe why both he and his were ſo long and in this wiſe forſaken; as namely, the head to be left to the paine, ſhame and death of the croſſe, and his members to the poiſon of ſinne, and rage of Satan: and therefore pray that his members might be freed and reſtored to Gods fauour, and himſelfe be eaſed of his anguiſh with depoſing his ſpirit into his Fathers hands, and honoured with the ſignes of his Fathers loue and liking towards him, when he ſhould depart this life, that all his enemies might know there was a great and good cauſe, euen the glory of God and mans ſaluation, why he was thus martyred and mocked on the croſſe? Here are the effects of thoſe ſixe or ſeuen cauſes layd together; what ſo great repugnancie finde you betwixt them, that becauſe they are manie, therefore your hell-paines ſhould be the likelier to be the true meaning of theſe words?

[2] Defenc pag. 114. li. 26.

[3] *A very badde opinion of the holy Scriptures you ſeeme to haue, if you thinke they may be handled by Interpretations and Expoſitions thus, that a man may take them in ſixe or ſeuen diuers*

[3] Defenc. pag. 114. li. 27.

diuers senses, and all iustifiable.] I honour them more in not reiecting the manifolde expositions of considerate and godly Interpreters, than you do in fastening them to the leauen of your sower humour, and affixing such senses to them, as shall contradict the maine grounds of faith and religion deliuered in them. And who but you, did euer hinder Expositors olde or new, to labour in them, and scant to reach to the depth of them; since, as you seeme to be affected, no man may offer diuersly to interpret them for feare of hauing a badde opinion of them? But such is your stiffe and proud presumption, all things that like not you, are vaine and friuolous; and your fansies, be they neuer so vnreasonable or irreligious, must be weighty and holy.

[b] Defenc. pag. 114. li. 34. [b] *Now it resteth, that I gather some reasons from the expresse Scripture, to shew you that indeed very paines, and the vehemencie of sorrowes, namely, which he now susteined by way of yeelding satisfaction and sacrifice for sinne, were the principall and only proper cause of his most dreadfull agonies and complaint. Which truely though it need no reason for proofe of it (the matter being so cleere in it selfe) yet your vnreasonablenesse is such, that it draweth somewhat from me about it.*] Your Art of carping hath fayed but ill-fauouredly with you; you will now proceed to your trade of prouing, and that by expresse Scripture: wherein you shew your selfe to be right your selfe, that is, take all your owne fansies for expresse Scripture, and though your conceits be such, that are more worthy to be derided than answered; yet *the matter*, you say, *is so cleere in it selfe*, that it *needeth no reason for proofe of it*. The expresse Scriptures on which you so much stand, are the name of the *Agonie*, the *Houre*, and the *Cuppe*, with this one sentence, *My soule is on euery side heauy vnto death*. About these you brabble, going neither backeward nor forward, but heaping vp a few generall phrases of *mightie sorowes and excessiue paines*, you iterate the very same that you often sayd before, and adde not so much as a piece of a reason, that should stumble a man of any vnderstanding. And touching your hell paines, or the second death, you lay that on soaking till your prooving be ouerpast, and then we shall heare of it at Lands end, when you are lightned of your burden.

[c] Defenc. pag. 115. li. 3. [c] *First no Christian doubteth (I suppose) much lesse denieth that Christs most wofull agonies and complaining, belonged properly and directly to his Passion and sacrifice: and that they expressed a part thereof, yea as I thinke not the least part, but his whole sacrifice consisted in afflictions. The prince of our saluation was consecrated through afflictions. Therefore, afflictions, sorrowes and paines were the cause of his agonies and complaint: not his religious feare, not his pietie or pitie.*] Somewhat it was, this geere was *Drawen* from you; it commeth not so vnwillingly, but it commeth as vntowardly from you. First to the forme, and then to the matter of your argument. Your conclusion is a strange kind of creature, it hath to much, and yet it hath too little. For before you can exclude *religious feare, pittie and pietie* from the cause of Christs agonie or complaint, you must adde (*onely*) to your inference, and say, *Afflictions, sorrowes, and paines, were the onely cause of Christs agonies and complaint*. Otherwise with one part you exclude another, as if a man would say, that your head is not part of your bodie, because your heele is; which would put all your reasons in daunger to be drawen out of your heele, and not out of your head. And yet as defectiue as your conclusion is one way, it is as excessiue another way. For these words (*were the cause*) are stollen into this conclusion, of which there was no mention in your premisses; and so your precedent propositions are of one countrey, and your conclusion of another, they haue not so much as entercourse eche with other; where by the rules of reason and Art, there should be nothing in your conclusion, which is not exactly specified in your premisses. Your maior beginneth with (*belonged to*) your minor proceedeth to (*consisted in*) and your conclusion huddleth (*was the cause of*) which are rather like forkes to skatter, then rakes to gather the parts of your syllogisme together. If to hale in your conclusion, you will amend your assumption, as you must; and say, that *afflictions were the onely cause of Christs sacrifice*, we shall more wonder at this monster, then at the former. For besides the falsenesse of it, in that it is vtterly repugnant to all truth, since the causes of Christs sacrifice, were *sinne* in vs, needing it, *Loue* in Christ proferring

The Defenders maner of reasoning is as illogical as his matter is false.

it,

it, and *Iustice* in God requiring it; how come the parts of any thing to be the causes thereof? Afflictions suffered were parts of Christs sacrifice, and not the causes. And therefore you must pray the Printer to stampe you a new conclusion before any part of this argument will haue passage.

The premisses be as good, as the conclusion. For they haue neither any certainety nor veritie in them. [*Christs agonies and complaint belonged directly*, you say, *to his Passion and Sacrifice.*] *Belonged*, what is that? as an Antecedent, Adiunct, or Consequent? as a necessary, or a voluntarie pertinent? It will be long before you draw any good conclusion from this *belonging*. Againe, Christs agony, if you take it for all that Christ did or suffered in the Garden, how diuers and how different parts had it, as inward affections of feare and sorrow, desire, and zeale; humble, often, and intentiue prayer, besides the comfort of an Angell, and sweate like blood, and sundry other things which I haue mentioned before? all these belonged directly to Christs action in the Garden. Wherefore hereafter, afore you professe such cleerenesse in your reasons, either vse such words as the Scripture doth, or foretell vs how farre you extend, and what you intend by the words which you bring. Your minor is worse where you say [*but Christs whole Sacrifice consisted in afflictions.*] For where is the *puritie* of the Sacrifice, which must be vnspotted; the *dignitie*, which must counteruaile the offence; the *voluntarie* presenting thereof to God, that it might be accepted as meritorious, and not inflicted as ignominious? yea, where is the *Sanctification* of this Sacrifice, which required not onely prayer, but pietie and charitie, as also humilitie to commend it to God? All these things were in Christs Sacrifice, as chiefe and maine respects; which you haue blotted out with expresely falsifying the Scriptures, to make roome onely for hell paines. For though we haue no doubt, but God in his secret wisedome and iustice did [d] *consecrate the prince of our saluation through afflictions*, yet the Scripture sayth not wholy, or onely through afflictions, as if neither *sanctitie*, nor *submission*, nor *pietie*, nor *pitie*, nor *obedience*, nor *willingnesse*, nor any thing else were requisite, but only to suffer affliction. The Scripture fairely intendeth, that God, who had tried the obedience of his Sonne in all kind of holinesse and righteousnesse, would now trie him by affliction, that the perfection of his graces and gifts might be sacred, and shewed to the vttermost in these things, wherein it is hardest for the nature of man quietly and willingly to endure the hand of God. Therefore God would also consecrate the prince of our saluation by affliction, but not onely by that, as if nothing else were needefull in the author of our saluation, but onely affliction; which assertion hath in it an heape of huge absurdities and impieties. This is your drawing of expresse Scriptures to serue your vnlearned and vnsetled fansies, that where you would professe to be strongest, there euery child may perceiue you to be weakest.

[d] Hebr. 2.

[e] *If you say these were afflictions in him, I answere, they properly belonged to his holinesse as parts thereof, and were not immediatly, directly, nor properly in him as the wages and price of sinne.*] You be soone wearie of your proofes, that you since come to your answeres, and there in steede of trueth you runne for refuge to your wonted termes, of *immediately, directly and properly, as the wages and price of sinne*. But leaue your termes for another time, and shew vs some proofe besides your owne preface, that either the sacrifice for sinne might haue nothing in it but onely afflictions, or that the religious feare of Gods power and wrath against sinne, and hartie sorrow for displeasing God with our sinnes, are no afflictions, or no necessarie parts of Christs sacrifice for sinne. For if you faile in those, your great promises of cleere cases & expresse Scriptures, are idle and emptie florishes. Your replying, that *these properly belonged to his holinesse, as parts thereof*, is meere trifling. For Christs affections and submission in all his sufferings, were parts of his holinesse, neither could any paines make any impressions on his soule, were they neuer so grieuous, which were not also religious. And so much the very words, which you bring in fauour of your cause, confirme. For God did *consecrate him through afflictions to be the prince of our saluation*. What is *consecration* by God, but *holinesse* deriued from God, and accepted of God? if then Christ were consecra-

[e] Defenc. pag. 115. li. 11.

ted by his afflictions, they wrought no impresions, nor affections in his soule, but such as were SACRED and religious.

Yf you doubt, whether the parts of holinesse may be painefull and greeuous vnto the soule of man, looke either on repentance, compasion, zeale or charity in vs, and see whether as well in our owne causes as in other mens, they may not be painefull and greeuous to the mind, euen when they be also faithfull & religious. Repentance doth or should worke in vs an inward, earnest, and harty sorrow, that we haue displeased and prouoked God with our sinnes. I aske whether penitent sorow be not painfull, because it is religious and faithfull? Were it not painfull, it were no sorow, much lesse repentance, or an acceptable sacrifice to God. [i] *A troubled spirit is a sacrifice to God, a broken hart thou (God) wilt not despise.* When we do voluntarily afflict our owne soules, because we haue displeased him, he is pleased in mercy [k] *not to iudge vs, since we iudge our selues.* Saint Iames saith, [l] *Clense your hands ye sinners, and purge your harts ye wauering minds; be afflicted* (inwardly in soule) *and sorow and weepe*; he meaneth in respect of their continuall and manifold sinnes. Is this affliction and sorow not greeuous to men, because it is religious? [It is no punishment of sinne, you will say. Saint Austen saith it is, whose iudgement I farre preferre before yours. [k] *Iniquitas omnis parua magnaue sit, puniatur necesse est; aut ab ipso homine pœnitente, aut a Deo vindicante. Nam & quem pœnitet punit seipsum. Prorsus aut punis, aut punit. Vis non puniat, puni tu. All iniquity, be it little or great, of necessity must be punished, either by man repenting, or by God reuenging. For he that repenteth, punisheth himselfe. Certainly then either thou must punish it, or God will punish it. Wilt thou not haue him to punish? punish it thy selfe.* Then in vs sorow for sinne is a voluntary, but a holy punishment of sinne, and is in all the godly both grieuous and religious, and the more grieuous the more religious. Since then voluntary sorow for sinne committed, which is repentance, is an higher and accceptabler sacrifice to God then vengeance, shall we thinke, that our Sauiour, who was to yeeld God his due for vs in all things agreeable to his person, did omit this excellent sacrifice of inward and infinite sorow, for that our sinnes so much displeaseth the holinesse of God, and that it was not grieuous to him, because it was religious in him? It worketh both in vs; and why should either want in him, who was farre better able to performe both, then we are? the like I say of the feare of Gods wrath when we haue prouoked it. We ought not only to reuerence that most excellent maiesty, but when we haue sinned, to feare and tremble before that power, which can doe with vs what he will. And though we hope in his mercy, yet that doth not breed any neglect of his power, which if we doe not feare, when we haue prouoked, we doe despice. And therefore Moses giueth this for a rule of true deuotion and submission vnder the mighty hand of God; [k] *Who knoweth the power of thy wrath? for according to thy feare*, (that is as thou art feared) *so is thine anger.* The lighter account we make of his anger, the heauier shall his hand be to vs. The more we feare it without distrust, the lesse we shall feele it. For submission and sorow doe mitigate the wrath of God, which carelessenesse and contempt do aggrauate. Since then no man knew the power of Gods wrath against sinne so perfectly, as Christ did; and yet the infiniteneesse of Gods power did passe the reach of Christs humane soule to comprehend, why might not the manhoode of Christ yeld greater feare and trembling to the power of Gods wrath against our sinne, for which he was to satisfie, then all men liuing were able to do, and yet together with the fearefull impression thereof retaine a religious submission thereto?

Inward and voluntarie sorrow of the soule is a sacrifice to God.

In compasion, when we feare for other mens dangers, or grieue for other mens harmes, is not this affection painfull to vs, because it proceedeth from mercy, and pity in vs? are you so hard harted, as well as hie minded, sir defendour, that you were neuer touched nor troubled with the sense of other mens miseries? [l] Did I not *weepe* saith Iob, *with him that was in trouble? Was not my soule in heauinesse for the poore?* When the Apostle willeth vs to [m] *mourne with them, that mourne*; Doth he meane we should make a pastime of it, because it is an affection of mercy and charity? Doth not daily experience

Compassion is affliction, though it be a vertue.

[i] Psal. 51.
[k] 1. Corin. 11. vers. 31.
[l] Iam. 4. v. 9.
[k] *August. in Psalm.* 58.
[k] Psal. 90.
[l] Iob. 30.
[m] Rom. 12.

experience teach vs, how much the miſeries of thoſe, whom we dearly loue do bite & pinch vs? Can we forget Dauids [n] affection aud affiction for Abſolon? Doth not the Scripture deſcribe all naturall mothers in thoſe words. [o] *In Rama was a voice heard; mourning, and weeping, and great Lamentation: Rachel weeping for her children, & would not be comforted, becauſe they were not.* In godly zeale and care we ſhall find the like. [p] *Who is weake,* ſaith the Apoſtle, and *I am not* (as) *weake? who is offended, and I burne not?* yea the [q] *zeale of thine houſe hath conſumed me,* ſaith Dauid. Then are feare and ſorow proceeding either from piety or charity no whit the leſſe grieuous, becauſe they are religious, but rather the more inwardly we are touched with either, the more acceptable is that affection to God, ſpecially when it concerneth his owne power or honor. And conſequently as the higheſt degrees of religious feare and ſorow were in Chriſt at the time of his propitiating the holineſſe and iuſtice of God for our ſinns, ſo were they in him as ſharpe and painfull, as any his afflictions, which otherwiſe he felt in his body.

The higheſt degrees of religious feare and ſorow were in Chriſt.

[n] 2. Sam. 19. ver. 1. & 4.
[o] Matt. 2. v. 18.
[p] 2. Cor. 11.
[q] Pſal. 69.

[r] *That theſe ſhould or could afflict Chriſt ſo much aboue his ſtrength and patience, is more then ſtrange.*] Eaſily they might aboue his ſtrength, ſince he would vſe no ſtrength, but weakened himſelfe of purpoſe to feele the ſmart and burden of our ſinnes; but not aboue his patience, ſince he did not repine at any of theſe, but requeſted by praier to haue the puniſhment of our ſinne proportioned to the weakneſſe of his humane fleſh, conſidering the infinite power of Gods wrath moſt iuſtly prouoked by our ſinnes.

[r] Defenc. pag. 115. li. 15.

[s] *It were no vertue but ſinne in any, to giue way to our affections (though about good things) immoderately beyond our patience and ſtrength of nature.*] It is no ſinne, but vertue, to preſſe both our ſtrength and patience to the vttermoſt for Gods glory in things commanded by him. As in louing God, [t] *modus eſt ſine modo diligere, the meaſure is to loue him without meaſure*; ſo in all the dueties which God requireth, the moſt that we can doe is not too much. Feare and ſorrow then, which are, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, [u] *κατὰ Θεὸν, according to God,* or for God, that is, obedient to Gods will, are neuer immoderate, neither bring they danger of life, or defect of grace, as worldly feare and ſorow do. But how commeth your diſcretion to charge Chriſtes affections with *immoderation?* For your hell-paines you are content to plunge his bodie, and chiefly his ſoule into aſtoniſhed and all comfortleſſe confuſion; and for ſubmiſſion to God, and confeſſion and apprehenſion of the iuſtneſſe and greatneſſe of his anger againſt our ſinnes, you will not giue him leaue being our Agent and Interceſſour in his owne perſon to preſent that to God, which is due from vs and for vs; euen inward ſorrow for Gods iuſt diſpleaſure, and an humble feare of his mightie power, thereby to honour the one and preuent the other, when he now addreſſed himſelfe to make full ſatisfaction for our ſinnes.

[s] Defenc. pag. 115. li. 17.
[t] *Bernardus de diligendo Deo.*
[u] 2. Corin. 7. verſ. 10.

[x] *Though they ſomewhat moleſt the minde, yet in trueth they are moſt pleaſing and delightfull to good men, not tedious, much leſſe painfull vnto death.*] The Apoſtle himſelfe anſwereth this obiection, and telleth you, that [y] *no chaſtiſement* FOR THE PRESENT *ſeemeth to be ioyous, but grieuous; yet* AFTERVVARD *it bringeth the quiet fruit of righteouſneſſe to them that are thereby exerciſed.* Our Sauiour by this example teacheth the ſame: Verily, [z] *Verily I ſay vnto you, ye ſhall weepe and lament, but your ſorow ſhall be turned into ioy. A woman when ſhe trauelleth hath ſorrow becauſe her houre is come; but as ſoone as ſhe is deliuered of the childe, ſhe remembreth no more the anguiſh, for ioy that a man is borne into the world.* To ſay that paine is pleaſure, and ſorrow is delightfull, fighteth againſt Nature, Scripture, and euen againſt common ſenſe; but God doth diuerſly comfort the affliction of his Saints with *ending, eaſing,* or otherwiſe *recompenſing* them, whereby the faithfull [a] *faint not, though their outward man periſh,* becauſe *our light affliction, which is for a moment, worketh to vs a farre exceeding and euerlaſting weight of glorie.* Though then our Sauiour was on euery ſide preſſed with ſundry ſorowes, which would not end but in his death, yet that doth not proue them to be either irreligious, or vtterly comfortleſſe, ſince [b] for *the ioy that was ſet before him, he endured the croſſe, and deſpiſed the ſhame; and* [c] *ouercomming ſitteth with his Father in*

[x] Defenc. pag. 115. li. 19.
[y] Heb. 11.
[z] Iohn 16.
[a] 2. Cor. 4.
[b] Heb. 12.
[c] Reuel. 3.

in his throne. By which confeſsion of our Sauiours we muſt learne, that he vſed no power to repell or rebate his paines, but that he had as ſenſible and tender feeling of all his ſufferings in the weakneſſe of his fleſh, which he with obedience and patience ſubiected to that burden, as any man could haue, and rather more, in that he willingly layd aſide his ſtrength, whiles he ſuffered for ſinne.

[d] Defenc. pag. 115. li. 21. [d] *You do very ill to make theſe parts of Chriſts holineſſe proper parts of his ſatisfaction, and the maine cauſes of his agonie and complaint. And woorſe you doe, if you aſcribe them not to any paines in him at all.*] And what doe you to acknowledge no cauſe in Chriſt of his complaint or agonie, neither religious, nor naturall, but only the paines of hell; and to ſeuer the inward ſacrifice of an afflicted ſpirit from the outward ſacrifice of his bodie, for the purgation of our ſinnes, ſince he wanted in no point that was required or accepted of God, but yeelded that to him, which was due from vs, in farre more excellent and perfect maner than we can comprehend? It is therefore voluntary blindneſſe and deafeneſſe in you, to ſhut eyes and eares at all ſorts of religious ſorowes and feares, when you reade that Chriſt teared and ſorowed in the Garden, and ſo to pitch on the paines of the damned, which haue no witneſſe in holy writ, that nothing can remoue you or content you, but your owne conceit.

[e] Defenc. pag. 115. li. 25. [e] *Secondly, the ſumme of theſe fore-noted texts muſt be conſidered, namely, that Chriſt expreſly wiſhed ſundry times in his dreadfull aſtoniſhment, ſuddenly euen againſt Gods knowen will in one reſpect: and here are expreſſed (with his ſtrange aſtoniſhment) his mightie ſorowes, and feare of them partly felt, and partly further to come.*] After a large promiſe of cleere proofs and expreſſe Scriptures for ſo great and weighty matters as theſe are, you trole out your owne falſe and abſurd conceits no way gathered from the Scriptures, but violently vrged on them with more rage than reaſon, and now ſo often refuted, that a man would be wearie, if not aſhamed, to ſpend ſo much time in theſe idle repetitions of the ſelfe-ſame miſapprehenſions and miſconſtructions of ſome words of the Euangeliſt. The ſumme of all theſe fore-noted texts is, that the Euangeliſts ſay, Chriſt profeſſed *his ſoule was heauie vnto death*; that the Apoſtle addeth, *he was heard in that he feared*, that himſelfe on the croſſe ſayd, *My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me.* All theſe places are already handled and cleered, and no paines of the damned or of the ſecond death found any thing neere to any of theſe words. What meaneth then this importunitie to obtrude them againe as freſh and new proofes, without any farder paines beſtowed on them, then barely the repeating of? only two poiſened rootes you haue added to them out of your owne ſtore, the one is the *dreadfull and ſtrange aſtoniſhment* during all the time of Chriſts praier in the Garden; the other is the *ſundry ſuddaine wiſhes of Chriſt in that aſtoniſhment euen againſt Gods knowen will*, which things, as your maner is, you proue by your owne authority painting them out with *dreadfull, ſtrange, and mighty* words, when your proofes be weake and childiſh. That Chriſt praied *ſuddainly and ſundry times againſt the knowen will of God*, is a falſe and wicked poſition, and as directly repugnant to the Scriptures, as any thing may be. Saint Luke ſaith his praier was [f] *Father, if thou wilt, take away this cup from me*; And the Apoſtle ſaith, *he was heard, in that he feared.* So that not only you auouch this thing againſt expreſſe Scripture, but you bring the ſonne of God within the compaſſe of vnaduiſed and faithleſſe praiers, which you excuſe with as falſe and lewd a deuice, becauſe he was paſt ſenſe and memory what he did: whereas he well remembred, mentioned, and reſerued his fathers will in his praiers, and warned his Apoſtles *to* [g] *watch and pray, that they entred not into temptation*; and conſtantly continued his praiers, till he was [h] *comforted by an Angell* from heauen, and [i] *heard in that he feared.*

[f] Luc. 22. v. 42

[g] Matth. 26.
[h] Luc. 22.
[i] Heb. 5.

As for his aſtoniſhment, neither doe the words vſed by the Euangeliſt Saint Mark import any ſuch ſtrange and dreadfull want of ſenſe and memory, as you imagine; neither doe the conſequents declare any ſuch continuance, as you pretend; but in both theſe you preſcribe your owne will ro be the rule of your faith. Firſt the word ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι ſignifieth either admiration alone, or els a mixtion thereof with ſome feare vpon any ſuddaine or ſtrange ſight. When the Creeple, that lay at the beauty-

full

full gate of the temple asking almes, was healed by Peter and Iohn; the people seeing him walking, and leaping, and praising God, were filled with admiration and astonishment, and flocked to Salomons porch ἐκθαμβοι, euen *amazed*. This affection in them Peter expresseth in the next verse after this sort. [k] *Ye men of Israell*, saith he, τί θαυμάζετε, *why wonder you at this? ἢ ἡμῖν τί ἀτενίζετε, or why looke you so stedfastly on vs?* so that *stedfast beholding, and inward admiring* are the force of this word in that place. When Christ returned from the mountaine, where he was transfigured, to his nine Disciples, that were disputing with the Scribes; [l] *All the people as soone as they saw him*, ἐξεθαμβήθη *were amazed, and came to him, and saluted him.* In neither of these places can we imagine, the people were stroken with such great feare, that should take their senses from them; and in this last it is expressely written; they *ranne and saluted him:* which argueth, that ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι importeth a sudden admiration sometimes without feare, and sometimes permixed with feare for the sight of some strange or vnknowen thing. So the people when they saw him cast out vncleane spirits with his word, [m] ἐθαμβήθησαν πάντες, *were all amazed*, and asked one of another, *What thing is this? What new doctrine is this?* And the *women* that went earely to Christes sepulchre, and [n] *saw a yong man sitting clothed in a long white robe*, ἐξεθαμβήθησαν, *they were afrayd*, and he sayd to them, [o] μὴ ἐκθαμβεῖσθε, *Be not afraid.* In none of which places the word signifieth any hellish paine, or confusion; but either admiration, or such sudden feare ioyned with some wondering, as a strange or vnknowen sight breedeth; though we feare no hurt towards our selues. And of these very words of Christes sorow, and feare or astonishment vsed by the Euangelists, S. Ierom saith; [p] *Capit contristari: aliud est enim contristari, aliud incipere contristari. Christ began to be sorowfull: for it is one thing to be sorowfull, and another thing to begin to be sorowfull.* And so Origen: [q] *Capit pauere vel tristari, nihil amplius tristitiæ vel pauoris patiens nisi principium tantum. Christ began to be afrayd or to be sorrowfull, suffering no more but onely the beginning of feare or sorrow.* And consider, sayth he, [r] *the Euangelist sayth not he was afrayd, or he was loaden with sorow, but he beganne to be afrayd and sorowfull. There is great difference betwixt sorow, and the beginning of sorow.* And so he expoundeth Christes words; *My soule is heauie vnto death; that is, Heauinesse is begunne in me, so that I am not altogether without some taste thereof.*

[k] Acts 3.v.12.
[l] Mar.9.v.15.
[m] Mar.1.v.27.
[n] Mar.16.v.5.
[o] & 6.
[p] Hieronym. in Matth.ca.26.
[q] Origen. in Matth.tract. 35.
[r] Ibidem.

The continuance thereof the Scripture noteth not to be such that either bereaued him of memorie, or hindred his prayers: for both he persisted in earnest and humble prayer, wherein he was heard, and carefully warned his Apostles that were with him, *to watch and pray, that they entred not into temptation.* Now prayer requireth not vnderstanding and memory alone, but faith also. Of euery man that would pray, Saint Iames sayth, [s] *Let him aske in faith, and wauer not: for he that wauereth is like the waue of the sea tost with the winde. Neither let that man thinke he shall receiue any thing of the Lord.* And where by these tastes and touches of feare and sorow you would insinuate your hell paines *partly felt, and partly further to come*; S. Austen telleth you that [t] *cognitu facile est, nullum metum esse nisi futuri & imminentis mali; it is easie to know there is no feare but of future and imminent euill.* As also: [u] *Nihil erat inter omnia genera mortis illo genere execrabilius, & formidolosius. Amongst all kindes of death there was none more execrable and formidable than that kinde of death on* the crosse, which Christ died. So that what Christ feared, was to come, and not present; as also he might haue a naturall mislike and feare of that kinde of death, respecting as well the paine, which would be intolerable, as the exactnesse of patience required more in him than in all men liuing, because he might admit no declining nor disliking the sharpnesse thereof in the weakenesse of his flesh, were it neuer so grieuous. This I speake of his bodilie paines, besides the feare and sorow that his soule might apprehend for the weightie worke of mans redemption then in hand.

Christ did not pray in astonishment.

[s] Iames 1.
[t] Augustin. 83. quæst. quæst. 33.
[u] Ibidem.

[x] *You skip this kind of feare, when you recken but foure kinds: for this was neither a religious care, nor doubtfull feare, nor desperate, nor damned feare, but a right naturall feare in Christ.*] As though the ground of all these were not a naturall feare and dislike of hell paines.

[x] Defenc.pag. 115.li.31.

paines. For why doe the faithfull decline them, the weake conflict with them, the desperate sinke vnder them, and the damned lie confounded in them, but because nature abhorreth and shunneth all kind of paine, and consequently the greatest, which is hell, with the greatest detestation that may be? You after your surly sort presume, that Christ really felt in the Garden the paines of the damned; I admitting no such deuice, did yet sufficiently comprise all kinds of feare concerning hell in that diuision of mine, since if they were presently felt of Christ, as they are of the damned, his feare of them must then needs be a damned feare, or rather paine, because he had, as you defend, a present sense of them, as the damned haue. And therefore if you misse no more in your conclusions, then I did in my partition, your reasons would passe without any iust reproofe.

[1] Defenc. pag. 116. [1] *Dauid wanted sometime the present feeling of Gods comfortable spirit, and mourned dolefully for the want of it, albeit yet he was not destitute of his spirit indeede: which also himselfe knew well enough. And thus did Christ euen in his greatest plunge of woe: for then he called God his God resolutely.*] The example of Dauid maketh nothing for your hell paines to be suffered in the soule of Christ, but very much against them, and yet betweene Dauids case in that Psalme and Christs, there is no comparison. For Dauid then was not pressed with any outward affliction, but stroken with an inward doubt of Gods fauour towards him, whom he had so greatly offended with adultery and homicide, and so long dallied with before repentance. Christ contrariwise was neuer pressed with any doubt or distrust of Gods fauour towards himselfe, but the weakenesse of his flesh was burdened with extreame and intolerable paynes. What affinitie then had Dauids feare of reiection with Christs sense of affliction? and yet were they like, what gaine you by that? Dauid was truely penitent, when he made that psalme; and true repentance I hope putteth not men into the paines of hell. Againe, Dauid you confesse *was not then destitute of Gods spirit, which also himselfe knew well enough.* But the spirit of God is life to the soule of man, and quickeneth it. Ergo Dauid, though he wanted the full peace and ioy of conscience, which he calleth saluation, yet he liued in soule, and was farre from the second death. How much more then was Christs soule free from all these things, in whom was the fulnesse of Gods spirit with all his gifts and graces any way needfull for the Sauiour of the world, though glory were differred, and ioy diminished for the time by excesse of paine? To wish ease of paine, or to grieue at the sharpenesse therof, is naturall vnto man, and therefore may well be graunted to haue bene in Christ; as also to lacke the fulnesse of ioy and comfort, till his sufferings were ouer past. But he neuer wanted the ioy of saluation, nor assurance thereof, and therefore he doubled his inuocation on the crosse, saying not onely, *My God, my God*, but *Father forgiue them*, and *Father into thine hands I commend my spirit*: and in the Garden he resolutely pronounced as often, if not oftner, [2] *O my Father*. Which words doe most apparantly prooue, that Christ had neuer any other perswasion, suspition, or feare, but that God was *his God*, and *his Father*, and therefore most certainly bare towards him a fatherly loue and affection; though he knew it was his Fathers will, he should inwardly and outwardly grieue a while for our sinnes, and so receiue ease by death, ioy by Paradise, and glory by his speedy and heauenly resurrection.

[2] Mat. 26. vers. 39 42.

[3] Defenc. pag. 116 li. 14. [3] *Thirdly adde hereunto Christs owne expresse wordes, when in this season he prayeth that this houre, and this cup might passe from him. That which this houre and this cup doe signifie, the same is the proper and principall cause of this agonie: but what can be ment by this houre, vnlesse the paines of his suffering set and appointed by God for him to beare at his determined time from Gods iustice for sinne? What is this cup, but the bitter taste of the same paines, aforsaid? this I hope was not his holinesse and sanctification, which so troubled and molested him, nor his piety, nor his pity.*] If you permit our Sauiour to be the interpreter of his owne wordes, as he was the speaker, then neither *this hower*, nor *this cup* import any thing suffered in the garden. After his agony past, and praiers ended in the garden, Christ said to his Disciples, [4] *Sleepe henceforth, and take your rest, behold* THE HOWER *draweth*

draweth neere, and the Sonne of man is giuen into the hands of sinners. And so to the Iewes, that came to apprehend him, [c] *this is your very hower and the power of darknesse.* And when Peter would with force haue defended him, he said; [d] *Put vp thy sword into thy sheath, shall I not drinke of the cup which my Father hath giuen mee?* So that *this hower* and *this cup* were to come, when his agony was ended; and were they not, why may not *this howre* and *this cup* conteine in them as well his painfull affections of *sorow and feare*, as his other sufferings? Was not the Cuppe mixed that he dranke; and the houre long enough to comprise all that he suffered? But what maketh either of these for your hell paines? Was there no Cuppe for him to drinke, nor time for him to suffer, except your hellish torments were interposed? His sufferings then are confessed, though no feare nor sorow might beseige him, but such as was ioyned with obedience and patience; and in the midst of his afflictions he neither neglected submission to God, nor compassion to men. You with the one would exclude the other; and I see no words nor cause, but both might be ioyned in one houre and one Cup, whatsoeuer you pretend to the contrary.

[c] Luc. 22. v. 53.

[d] Iohn. 18.

[e] *Nay finally he himselfe expresseth the true cause, euen his excessiue paines, his ouerabounding sorowes and anguish; saying, My soule is full of pames, or full of sorowes euen vnto death. Heere he nameth the cause.* | You are a man of much intelligence, that out of Christs words would conclude his sorow to be the cause of it selfe. For where by Christs agonie, if it be largely taken, you must meane his feare, and his sorow confessed in that speach, *My soule is heauy* (or sorowfull) *vnto death*; You make no more adoe but auouch, that Christ here nameth sorow to be the cause of his agony, that is of his sorow. For if by his agony you meane his bloudy sweat, from these words to that part of his action in the garden you shall neuer make any consequent. The Euangelist expressely saith, *There appeared an Angel from heauen comforting him, and* then *falling into an agonie he praied more earnestly*, and in that vehement praier *his sweat was like drops of bloud.* He was comforted before this last praier, and therein rather with the intention of spirits for zeale, then with the remission of them for feare, he did sweat, as the Scripture noteth. Now whereof receaued he comfort, but of his sorow? and what is comfort but a depulsion or mitigation of sorow? what sense then can it haue, to say, that after Christs sorow was eased and comforted from heauen, his sorow decreasing, his agony of sorow so much encreased, that he sweat bloud for very sorow? how hang these contraries together, which you would hale out of Christs owne words? In the former part of his action in the garden, wherein he praied the cup might passe from him, he said *his soule was heauy* (or sorowfull) *vnto death.* We enquire the cause of this sorow. You answere, that Christs owne words expresse and name sorow to be the cause therof. What is this, but to collude with Christs words in making his sorow to be the cause of his sorow, which in a more generall and confused word you call his agonie? but with vs the cause of his sorow is in question; to that you neither can, nor doe say any thing out of Christes words; out of your owne conceit you presume, that Christs [f] *excessiue paines (then felt,) and the intire want of feeling of Gods comfort, and nothing els* was the *proper and principall cause* of that sorow. But these be your additions and expositions, they be no part of Christs words, nor meaning.

[e] Defenc. pag. 116. li. 23.

[f] Pa. 116. li. 31.

And by what authority, to aduantage your error, doe you not only controle the translation vsed by all the Latin Fathers; *Tertullian, Cyprian, Hilarius, Ierom, Ambrose, Austen, Fulgentius, Bede and others*, but euen corrupt the words of our Sauiour rendered by the Euangelists Matthew and Marke? *Tristis est anima mea vsque ad mortem, My soule is heauie* (sadde or sorowfull) *vnto death*, say all the Latine Fathers saue Tertullian, who sayth, [g] *Anxia est anima mea vsque ad mortem, My soule is pensiue vnto death.* The Euangelists words are, περίλυπός ἐστιν ἡ ψυχή μου *My soule is heauie* (or on euery side heauy and sorowfull) *vnto death.* You translate it, [h] *My soule is full of paines*, meaning by paines present inherent and absolute paines, such as your hell-paines are; where the words import no such thing: for neither *tristitia* in Latine, nor λύπη in Greeke, either in prophane or diuine Writers, note any such actuall and absolute impression

[g] Tertullian. de carne Christi.

[h] Pa. 116. li. 25.

impreſsion of paine, as you would haue, but an affection troubling the minde, and riſing vpon opinion of euill paſt or inſtant. Of ſorow Saint Auſten ſayth right well:

[i] *Dolor animæ triſtitia dicitur, moleſtia quæ ſit in corpore, Dolor dici poteſt, triſtitia non poteſt, The griefe of the ſoule is called* (heauineſſe or) *ſorow, the griefe of the bodie is called paine, not ſorrow.* Λύπη in Greeke with prophane Writers is δόξα πρόσφατος κακοῦ παρουσίας; which Cicero tranſlateth, [k] *Opinio recens mali præſentis, A freſh opinion of preſent or inſtant euill.* The Scriptures in like ſort vſe the ſame word, oppoſing it to the affection of ioy, and expreſsing by it not any actuall or abſolute paine, but griefe and ſadneſſe of minde, which wee call ſorow. [l] *The world ſhall reioyce, and you ſhall be ſorrowfull,* ἀλλ' ἡ λύπη ὑμῶν, *but your* SOROVV *ſhall be turned to ioy.* So Paul: [m] *I would not come againe to you* ἐν λύπῃ, *in heauineſſe: for if I made you ſory, who is he that ſhould make me glad, but the ſame that was made* SORY *by me. And this very thing I wrote vnto you, leſt when I came, I ſhould haue* SOROVV *of them of whom I ſhould haue ioy.* When the reſt of the ſeruants ſaw what the euill ſeruant, that was pardoned of his maſter the great debt of 10000 talents, did to his fellow that ought him an hundred pence, [n] ἐλυπήθησαν σφόδρα, *they were very ſory.* And when Chriſt ſayd to his Diſciples, *One of you ſhall betray me,* [o] λυπούμενοι σφόδρα, *they were exceeding ſorowfull, and beganne euery one to ſay, Maſter is it I?* As alſo when he tolde them of his departure and their troubles; he added, [p] *Becauſe I haue ſpoken theſe things vnto you,* ἡ λύπη πεπλήρωκε, *ſorow hath filled your hearts.* And generally thorowout the New Teſtament λύπη doeth no where ſignifie actuall and abſolute paine, but griefe and ſorow of minde. And therefore your wreſting of our Sauiours words with a falſe tranſlation in ſaying, *My ſoule is full of paines,* intending thereby the paines of the damned inflicted by Gods immediate hand, is a falſe and lewd corruption.

[i] *Auguſt. in Pſal 42.*

[k] *Tuſcul. quæſt. libro 4.*

[l] Ioh. 16. v. 20.

[m] 2. Cor. 2.

[n] Matth. 18. verſ. 31.

[o] Matth. 26. verſ. 22.

[p] Iohn 16.

[q] *Here we will remember againe, what is taught by authoritie in England. The rather for that you take on as a man impatient, becauſe I doe affirme, that our doctrine (not yours) hath the publike authoritie for it. You call it an egregious lie, an inſolent and impudent ſpeach, well becomming an alehouſe, &c. and yet in the very next page in plaine termes you graunt the ſame to be taught in our homilie of Chriſts Paſſion.*] The way to mend a lie, is not to double it, and triple it, but to ſee your error, that you may acknowledge the trueth. If I had then cauſe to diſlike the egregious lie, which I iuſtly challenged, I haue now more, when to ſaue your ſelfe from ſome impudencie, you ſhew more then ſtupidity. You would needes in your treatiſe amongſt other vntrueths auouch, that *your doctrine was the* [r] *publike authoriſed doctrine of England*, deliuered *in the booke of homilies.* I told you then, which yet is true, that this as well as others, was an inſolent and impudent ſpeach. You aske [ſ] *who is that egregious lier now?* [t] *you hope you are cleare from it.*] Euen he that was before, and you are cleare from it, as Iudas was from betraying Chriſt, by ſaying *is it I maſter?* to cleare your ſelfe, you now ſay, your expoſition of thoſe words, *My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me*, is found in the booke of Homilies, and that I my ſelfe in plaine wordes confeſſe ſo much. Then are you the verier lyer to ſay, this is your doctrine which I impugned, or that our maine queſtion was about the expoſition of thoſe words. Chriſts complaint on the croſſe, I ſayd, did not proone your hell-paines, nor the ſecond death to be ſuffered in Chriſts ſoule, which way ſoeuer you expounded it, ſo you followed any example of Scripture vſing that word. To reprobation or deſperation, if your conſcience did thereto ſtretch, you might applie this word by ſome examples of Scriptures, but not to *reall and actuall* damnation, no not in the moſt wicked caſtawayes that euer were. The ſundry ſenſes, which I gaue out of the Fathers, ſhew the weakneſſe of your illation from thoſe words, they directly touch not the maine point of doctrine, queſtioned betwixt vs; and amongſt theſe ſenſes this was one, which the booke of Homilies ſeemeth to follow. The direct cauſe of Chriſts feare, ſorrow, and bloodie ſweate, ſince the Scripture concealed it, I ſayd could not be certainly concluded thence; what is that to Chriſtes complaint on the croſſe, whoſe words though they may be extended to expreſſe his paines, yet your doctrine is no whit the truer for all that, nor the more confirmed by the

[q] Defenc. pag. 116. li. 34.

[r] Treatiſ. pag. 89 li. 13.

[ſ] Defenc. pag. 117 li. 30. & [t] 35.

the lawes of this Realme. So that the lie by your leaue doth lye where it did, only you haue furniſhed the former lie with two or three freſher, and as your vſe is, you correct matters amiſſe by making them worſe then they were.

[a] *Here I am ſure you thinke not that our Homilie maketh Chriſtes pietie or pitie, nor yet his meere bodily paine to force him thus farre. Nor in theſe words next following there, O that mankind ſhould put the euerlaſting ſonne of God in ſuch paines for the grieuouſneſſe of our ſinnes.*] Are you ſure what I thinke? well fare your wiſedome yet, that when you ſhould prooue your doctrine to be receaued and authorized by the publike lawes of this Realme, you are ſure, I am of your mind. This is not onely a childiſh fainting, but fooliſh dallying, to cleere your ſelfe from a notorious lie by aſſuring your ſelfe what I thinke. If you will needes know what I thinke, firſt it is euident to him that readeth theſe homilies, that the whole ſumme and meane of our redemption being there purpoſely deliuered, neither of theſe homilies ſpeaketh one word of your hell-paines, nor of the ſecond death to be ſuffered in the ſoule of Chriſt. Againe it is as euident, that the ſuffering of a ſhamefull and painfull death in Chriſts body is there taught to be the only ſacrifice for our ſinnes. The wordes are. [x] *There is none other thing, that can be named vnder heauen, to ſaue our ſoules, but this only worke of Chriſts pretious offering of his body on the Altar of the Croſſe.* What paines Chriſt ſuffered on the Croſſe, whether the paines of the damned, or of his body bruiſed and broken on the Croſſe, the booke it ſelfe doth plainly witneſſe. [y] *Chriſt being the ſonne of God, and perfect God himſelfe, who neuer committed ſinne, was compelled to come downe from heauen, and to giue his* BODY TO BE BRVISED, AND BROKEN ON THE CROSSE *for our ſinnes. Was not this a manifeſt token of Gods great wrath and diſpleaſure towards ſin, that he could be paciſied by none other meanes, but* ONLIE BY THE SWEET AND PRETIOVS BLOVD *of his deare ſonne?* If you teach this, that the bruiſing and breaking of Chriſts body on the Croſſe, and the ſhedding of his pretious bloud was the ONLIE MEANE *to paciſie Gods wrath againſt ſinne*, then I did you wrong to call your ſpeach impudent; but if this be the new doctrine which I defend, and you impugne, then doe you deſerue not only the termes which I gaue, but worſe, ſo openly and obſtinately to reſiſt, deface, and belie publicke authority.

[a] Defenc. pag. 117. li. 6.

[x] 1. Sermon of the Paſſion. pa. 5.

[y] 2. Sermon of the Paſſion. pa. 9.

[z] *Adde hereunto the full and large declaration hereof in the authoriſed Catechiſme. Chriſt ſuffered not only a common death in the ſight of men, but alſo was throughly touched with the horror of eternall death, &c. When he did take vpon him and beare both the guiltines and iuſt paine of mankind damned and loſt, he was afflicted with ſo grieuous feare, trouble, and ſorow of mind or ſoule, that he cried out, My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me.*] I make good difference betwixt the Booke of Homilies confirmed as well by the publicke authority of Prince and Parliament, Anno Reginæ 13. ca: 12; as by the generall ſubſcription of the vpper and neather houſe in the conuocation Anno 1571 to [a] *containe godlie, wholeſome and neceſſarie doctrine*; and the Catechiſme then licenced to be taught in Schooles to yong ſcholers, but without any ſuch autoritie as the former is. Shew the like approbation. and you ſhall freely call it *the publike autorized doctrine of England*; till you doe ſo, giue me leaue to tell you, that the one is indeede by publicke authority receaued and ratified, euen as the articles are; the other was by priuate diſcretion permitted and tolerated to be taught in Grammar ſchooles, but publicke authority of the whole Realme you may chalenge none vnto it. And therefore I take my ſelfe in matters of faith not bound vnto it, farder then it accordeth with the manifeſt trueth deliuered in the ſacred Scriptures. Againe your ſelfe doe more impugne the Catechiſme, then I doe. For if your owne wordes be true that Chriſt, when he vttered thoſe [b] words, *ſpake in his mind of his conſtant and continuall ioy in God, and was in exceeding generall, and conſtant ioy.* What place leaue you for any of thoſe wordes, which you cite out of the Catechiſme, to haue any trueth in them, ſince they ſpeake of exceeding and horrible feares and ſorrows, which I thinke are contrarie to your triumphant, generall, and conſtant ioy? And although I thinke it no reaſon, that a thing priuatly permitted, ſhould abrogate the full and maine conſent

[z] Defenc. pag. 117. li. 12.

[a] In the 35. article of Homilies.

[b] Defenc. pag. 110. li. 28. & 34.

of the learned and auntient Fathers, as you would haue it to doe; and therefore make it free, when the Catechisme swarueth from their sense and interpretation, to be of another mind; yet I condemne nothing in it as wicked, but wish that some few places had been more cleerly and more particularlie deliuered and expressed, to auoid such cauillers, as you and some others are. But you with open mouth reiect euen those places, which now you produce, as *passing strange doctrine, and simply impossible.* For where the Catechisme here in these words, which you alleage, saith Christ was *Æternæ mortis horrore perfusus, perfused* (or wholy touched) *with an horror* (which is a trembling feare) *of eternall death*; you not only reason against it, that [c] *Christ could not feare that, which he perfectly knew concerned him not at all, and by no meanes could euer possibly come neere him*; but you make it [d] *passing strange doctrine, and simply impossible*, that Christ should *feare*, or *pray against the whole and intire cup of eternall death.* And yet the Catechisme saith, he trembled and was ouercast with the horror of it. You mislike that the Catechisme saith, except you may peruert it to your pleasure; and in steed of fearing eternall death, you say Christ suffered the second death, which is the death of the damned; and so refusing the Catechisme for saying so much, you say more, and thinke the Catechisme is of your mind. But sir, tell vs, how Christ could be stroken with the HORROR OF ETERNALL DEATH, for those are the wordes of the Catechisme, and not how he suffered your new made hell, which the Catechisme neuer speaketh of. I haue deliuered two senses to salue the Catechisme, which you impugne. The first, that Christ in respect of his members, to whom that death was due, might in loue and pietie towards them, inwardly tremble at the punishment deserued by them, since mercie maketh vs truely feele the very smart of other mens harmes and dangers, and where we hartily loue, no lesse then if they were imminent ouer our owne heads. The second, that Christ fearing the power of Gods wrath against sinne, which is infinite, may in a sort be sayd to tremble at the effects thereof, by reason he trembled at the cause thereof. And in this sense the consideration, and apprehension of Gods infinite power and displeasure against sinne might breede those horrible feares and sorrowes, which the Catechisme talketh of. Otherwise I must be plaine, the Catechisme sayth more, then can be prooued by any Scripture, or any learned and auncient Father; and more then you your selfe allow or like, saue that you would out of his vehement speaches make some aduantage to your cause, though in substance you wholy dissent from the maker thereof. For he speaketh of *feare and sorrow*, you of *reall and absolute suffering*; he of eternall death due to sin, you of a new found hell from the immediate hand of God, which is no part of the Catechisers meaning, since he plainely nameth *future and euerlasting* death due to sinners, and not a present and temporall hell, which is not the full wages of sinne, nor of the damned.

[c] Defenc. pag. 99. li. 13. [d] li. 12.

The like I say for the notes added by the Printer or correctour to the great Bible, whose text is authorized to be read in the Church, but not the notes to be of equall credit or authoritie with the text. And if you may turne of the whole aray of auncient and Catholike Fathers, because they dissent from your conceits, how much lesse am I bound to correctours or Printers, adding often times to other mens workes and labours, what pleaseth themselues? Though the note be not such, but that it may receiue the former construction, and be tolerated well enough. Wherefore I meane euen the same giddy spirit (which before I did) buzzing in the eares of the people his owne fancies against the Scriptures, against the Fathers, and against the doctrine of this Realme confirmed by publike authoritie of Prince and Parliament. The recollecting of your former reason so lately and largely answered, I omit as tedious trifling; and since you say no more then is before refuted, what should I trouble my selfe and the Reader with repeating the same things so often iterated?

[e] Defenc pag. 118. li. 10. *'You haue yet heere and there some exceptions against this our doctrine, which are not to be cleane neglected. First you say I extend Christs agonie to farre: because I will haue it proceede from the intolerable sorrowes and horrors of Gods fiery wrath equall to hell. I shew*

not

not there the cauſe of Chriſts agonie and feare, I ſhewed it of purpoſe in the beginning. Why did you not refuſe that?] You extend it ſo farre according to my wordes, yea your maine purpoſe is to make that the cauſe of Chriſts agonie in the garden and on the croſſe; onely you would vſe ſome cunning in the carriage of it, firſt to make ſorrowes and feares the cauſe thereof, and at the next ſtep to aske what ſorrowes and feares could thoſe be, but *the intolerable ſorowes and horrors of Gods fierie wrath equall to hell.* And to this end you quote both the Catechiſme, and the notes in the great Bible here, to ſhew the cauſe of Chriſts agonie to be theſe horrible ſorrowes and torments, as the Catechiſme ſayth, of *future and euerlaſting death.* Why then are you ſo nice, when you fully intend it, in ſhew to denie it? [*why did you not refuſe that in the beginning?*] The cauſes, that might concurre in Chriſts agonie, I ſhewed in my ſermons out of the auncient Fathers agreeing with the Scriptures; why ſhould I repeate it againe in my concluſion, you bringing nothing againſt it, but a few voluntarie and emptie words, which I know no man ſo vnwiſe as to regard without better proofe? [[f] *There is no other ſorrow in the world to be found, which can be imagined to be the cauſe poſſibly.*] You erre as well in aggrauating Chriſts agonie aboue that the text auoucheth, as in aſſigning a falſe cauſe thereof out of your owne fanſie. Feare and ſorrow the Scripture affirmeth in Chriſt, if we ſo interprete the words, as you doe; but ſuch feare, and ſuch ſorow, as *cannot be found in the world,* except the feares & ſorowes of the ſecond death, this is your bold aſſertion no way mentioned, nor purpoſed in the Scriptures, nor grounded on any ſound reaſon or experience. For where the paines of ſome kinds of bodily deaths be often greater then mans nature can endure, and therefore violently part the ſoule from the body; what did hinder the paines of Chriſts body on the croſſe, to be ſuch, that they preſſed his patience to the higheſt degree, ſince he would not ſtrengthen his fleſh to ſuſtaine the paines of hell, as you pretend, but layd downe all power, that he might feele the ſmart and anguiſh of his bodily torments as tenderly, as any man could? Now what paines in others ouerwhelme the ſenſes, and haſten death, as paſſing the ſtrength of mans nature, why might not euen the ſame bodily paines in Chriſt ſo preſſe his humane weakeneſſe; that he felt himſelfe able with patience to ſupport no more, and ſo prayed on the croſſe for an end thereof; and foreſaw ſo much in the Garden, which made him earneſt, if it were poſsible, to decline it? What can be ſayd againſt this ſharpeneſſe and bitterneſſe of bodily paine, ſince in all Martyrs and malefactours their deaths declare, that paine in the end doth ſo preuaile, that the rage thereof is vtterly intolerable to mans nature, and therefore ſundereth the ſoule from the body with extreme violence, as exceeding all humane patience and ſtrength?

[f] pa: 118.li.32

[g] *My other words alſo, which here you cruelly condemne, ſhall ſtand well enough, that Chriſt as touching the vehemencie of paine, was as ſharpely touched, as the reprobates themſelues, yea, if it may be, more extraordinarily; though you labour with might and maine to make them amount to hereſie and open blaſphemie.*] My words were more moderate, then your dangerous compariſons deſerued. [h] *I prayed you in ſo waightie matters, as might amount to hereſie and open blaſphemie, not to play with generall termes,* ſuch *as you neither vnderſtood your ſelfe, nor any man elſe could conceiue your meaning.* You would needs tell vs, that Chriſt in ſoule *was as ſharpely touched, and with as great vehemencie of paine, euen as the reprobates themſelues, and more if it might be.* I asked you not where you found this written in the word of God, which is the rule of our faith; an vnwritten creede muſt needs haue vnwritten concluſions; nor how you prooued it, for your owne will is your beſt warrant for your new faith: but what you ment thereby. The *terrors* of the reprobates in this life, which we might collect by the Scriptures, were [i] *remorſe* of ſinne, *reiection* from Gods fauour, *deſperation* of mercie here, and of all ioy and bliſſe in the world to come, and a dreadfull *expectation* of horrible confuſion, and euerlaſting fire. [k] *I thought you durſt not, I hoped you would not offer ſo much as the mention of the leaſt of theſe to be found in the ſonne of God.* What wrong did I here vnto you, were it not with too much ſparing you? and how plainly did I prouoke you to expreſſe your

[g] Defenc. pag. 118.li.34.

[h] Concluſ. pa. 290.li 35.

[i] Ibid. pa. 291.

[k] Ibidem.

selfe, but that your cunning is such, that then you did, and yet you doe forbeare to vnfold your generall and ambiguous speaches. You persist still in your old song, and say that touching the vehemencie of paine, this is true. As though *remorse, reiection, desperation*, and *expectation* of euerlasting confusion, and fire were NO PAINES to the soules of the reprobates. Why play you with the name of paine to and fro after this sort? Why role you sometimes to feares, sometime to sorrowes, sometime to paines, as the causes of Christs agonie; and those sometime apprehended by the mind of Christ, sometime really inflicted by Gods immediate hand? what Christ did, or might apprehend, you neuer declare; you thinke it enough to tell vs, his [l] *vnderstanding chiefly conceiued the furie of that hand, which principally strooke those blowes vpon his humane nature:* and thus with Metaphors you delude vs, when you should distinctly deliuer, what Christ conceiued of those afflictions, which he suffered from the counsell and power of God determining them for mans redemption. Yea besides apprehension and conception of mind, you bring in your hell paines at your pleasure, as an inherent and absolute torment really inflicted on the soule of Christ by Gods immediate hand, as it is on all the damned after this life for the vengeance of their sinnes; and when you are asked the proofe of these things, you affourd vs figures and phrases to stuffe out your wallet.

[l] Defenc. pag. 52. li. 35.

[m] *Why doe you not bend your odious outcries and accusations against the authoritie before truely cited, which maintaineth the same so fully and amply, as I deliuer it?*] The Catechisme hath some generall words, that Christ *conflicted with all the powers of hell, not as* suffering them, but as resisting them, and that *he endured horrible feares and griefes of mind to satisfie the iudgement of God, and to pacifie his wrath.* These words if you will stretch to what please you, they may seeme to haue some seedes of your error, though not the buds and branches thereof: but as they be generall, so if we reuoke them to the grounds of the sacred Scriptures, which was no doubt the writers and the allowers meaning, then may we extend them no farder, then we haue warrant in the word of God to iustifie them. The feares and horrors, which you would conuert to the reall suffering of the temporall hell, the Catechisme referreth to the *feare and horror of euerlasting death*; which you confesse Christ [n] *most perfectly knew concerned him not at all, and by no meanes could euer possibly come neere him.* How then doe you concurre with the authoritie, which you cite, saue that you peruert some generall words there vsed by misapplying them to your fansie? Otherwise feares and sorrowes, to satisfie and pacifie the wrath of God against our sinnes, Christ might haue, and yet be farre from the paines of the damned, and the second death, yea from the terrors and confusion of the wicked; since he knowing the iustnesse and greatnesse of Gods anger against sinne, and how impossible it was for him with patience to support the power thereof, either in soule, or in body, might giue God his due by inward and euident sorrow for sinne, and feare of Gods power, by which the fiercenesse of Gods indignation against sinne was rebated and calmed, and so much paine proportioned to the weakenesse of Christs flesh, as should not exceede the patience of his humane nature. But this doth no way further your hell paines suffered in the soule of Christ, since these religious feares and sorowes, which mitigate the wrath of God, though they be painefull in themselues, yet haue they no communion with the feares and sorrowes of the reprobate, much lesse of the damned.

[m] Defenc. pag. 119. li. 1.

[n] Defenc pag. 99.

[o] Defenc pag. 119. li. 5.

[o] *What reason haue you against our assertion? Verily only this you oppose, because all the sorowes of the reprobate are but sinfull guiltinesse of conscience, or feares of iudgement foreseene, which is executed onely in the next life; you meane onely in the definite and locall hell. Which is no refutation of my assertion, that Christ was as sharpely touched with paine, as the very reprobate.*] When men affirme strange and new positions in Christian religion, they must not aske what reason can be brought against them, but they must shew where that they teach is written in the word of God, or ineuitably concluded from that which is written: for [p] *faith is by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.* So that if you take vpon you to be a Coiner of new Creeds, we must not beleeue you, till by reason

[p] Rom. 10.

reason we can refute you, but you *ought* [q] *not to adde to the word of God, lest you be found a liar.* Shew then, where these comparisons and positions are written; if not, feare the plagues appointed for such as adde their lies to the Trueth of God. And yet to exclude all comparison betweene Christ and the reprobate in this case, what better reason can be brought, than that Christes feares and sorowes had no societie nor affinitie with the feares and terrours of the reprobate? for no rule of reason alloweth you to compare things together, that haue no likenesse betwixt themselues. You make Christ and the reprobate, yea and the damned, equall in paine, and Christes paines superiour to the sharpest of theirs, and yet when all is sayd, there is no kinde of likenesse betwixt their paines. [q] Prou. 30.

[r] *Though the wicked in this world did neuer suffer any reall effect of Gods burning wrath working actuall vengeance on their soules for sinne, but only some guiltie remorse or feare, and nothing els, yet this letteth not but that Christ whom God ordained extraordinarily and alone to be in this life a whole and absolute burnt sacrifice for all sinne, did feele and suffer the same truely, properly, and perfectly.*] You were of opinion in your Treatise, and set it downe resolutely for one of your new-made Maximes, That *the* [r] *paines and sufferings of Gods wrath did* ALVVAYES ACCOMPANIE THEM *that are separated from the grace and loue of God.* And euen there you also affirmed, [s] *Christ suffered the horror of Gods seuere iustice* LIKE THEM, *who be separated indeed from the grace and loue of God.* If you stand to these words, you must confesse that Christ suffered the horror of reiection, confusion, and desperation, LIKE to the reprobate, which is euen as the reprobate doe suffer it; and then ineuitably you fasten on the soule of Christ a plaine persuasion, and inward feeling, that he was for the time *reiected, confounded, and seuered from God,* as the reprobate be, which whether it will amount to open impietie, I leaue to the Christian Reader to iudge. Your cunning in two leaues after, with *as touching the vehemencie of paine,* is a giddie deuice, when you haue made their horrors like, then to restraine it to the sharpnesse of paine: for thereby you doe not intend to make their horrours vnlike, which before you pronounced to be like, but that their horrours being LIKE, their paines can not be vnlike. Since then paine and griefe of minde is a necessarie consequent to horror, as it is to feare and sorow, you doe not recall, but confirme your former impietie, That Christ hauing the same horrour of Gods iustice and wrath, which the reprobate haue, must needs haue the same paine; forsomuch as that horrour is not without paine answerable to it in the soule of man despairing the goodnesse of God, and beholding nothing in God but his terrible and fierie indignation against sinne. That the wicked haue ALVVAYES *these horrors accompanying them in this life*, is a great and grosse vntrueth; the 73 Psalme doth auouch the cleane contrarie: [t] *Loe these are the wicked, yet prosper they alway.* So that they for the most part liue here in pleasure and abundance, *neither are they plagued with* (other) *men, but* [x] *receiue their good things in this life*, saue when the wisdome and iustice of God is pleased to make some of them examples vnto others: for then these inward terrours of minde raised with remorse of sinne, and feare of iudgement to come, doe desperately, finally, and vtterly ouerwhelme them. This now you begin to see, which before was not within your thoughts, and therefore you now affirme, that though the wicked did suffer no such thing as you before sayd they ALVVAYES suffered, yet *this doth not hinder, but Christ did feele and suffer the same.* What doth *not hinder*, is not the question, but what doth helpe you to proue that Christ did suffer your new-made hell from the immediat hand of God in the garden, or on the crosse. I hope you bring it not for an argument, that the wicked do not suffer it in this life; *ergo* Christ did suffer it. That were very strange both Logicke and Diuinitie.

[r] Defenc. pag. 119. li. 11.

[r] Trea. pa. 77. li. 5.

[s] li. 9.

[t] Psal. 73. ver.

[x] Luke 16.

[y] *Second: how I haue alwayes expresly excluded from Christ all sinfull adherents and consequents in paines and feares which are in the wicked, and doe resemble his to theirs onely in sharpnesse and vehemencie of paine, I haue often declared before.*] In generall words you would seeme to exclude them, but by your positions and comparisons you conclude the contrary: for if you exempt from Christ all feare and doubt of his Fathers loue

[y] Defenc. pag. 119. li. 18.

towards him, and confesse he had perfect and full assurance of all Gods promises in the midst of his paines; tell vs then how the horrours of the reprobate could inuade his soule? Shew vs how the fulnesse of trueth and grace alwayes dwelling in him, he could be so confounded and amazed, as to feele or thinke himselfe forsaken of God, when he neither was, nor could be seuered from the loue, life, fauour or spirit of God? Absolute and inherent paine not deriued from feare or sorow, but only discerned by the naturall powers and faculties of the soule, if you put in the mind of Christ, it must neither exceed his patience, nor euert his obedience: for if you make him faile or faint in either of these, you presently close him within the compasse of impatience and disobedience, which are more than sinfull consequents. Now that the true paines of hell or of the damned may be suffered of men or angels, or of Christ himselfe with patience, you must looke to proue, before you take libertie to affirme. You may suppose what you list, but afore any Christian man may giue credit to your dreames, he must see them soundly proued, not by your owne headie and hastie positions, but by the vndoubted word of Trueth, which onely is the meet measure to direct things in and after this life. And for feares and sorowes, which sometimes beset the godly by the weakenesse of their faith, and remembrance of their sinnes, and subuert the wicked in the middest of their peace and pleasure, when their destruction draweth neere; neither of these can be either in the Elect or Reprobate in this life without some sinfull defects in Gods seruants, and desperate impieties in his enemies: for these feares and sorowes doe shake the faith and hope of such as should beleeue and trust in Gods promises and mercies; and in the wicked they worke an vtter relapsing and recuiling from all affiance and expectance, that God will be gracious vnto them. In Christ then these were more sinfull than in any other, if after so cleere and constant promises and oaths secretly decreed, formerly reuealed, and lastly proclaimed by God from heauen, the Sonne of God should stagger, and wauer in the full and immoueable persuasion and resolution of Gods most gracious purpose and promise, faith and fauour towards him. Wherefore his apprehension of Gods wrath against our sinnes must be such as might nõt call the loue that God bare towards him in any question; but he might well beholde the iustnesse and greatnesse of Gods displeasure against our vncleannesse, and knowing full well the power of Gods wrath to exceed infinitely the strength of his humane nature, with sorow and feare due to so great, and yet so iust indignation against our sinnes, he might assuage and pacifie the fiercenesse of that anger, which we had prouoked; and by most humble confession and submission quench the flame thereof, which otherwise would burne to euerlasting destruction of all resisters and neglecters of Gods holinesse and righteousnesse.

The vehemency of hell paines passe the patience of men and angels.

[a] Defenc. pag. 119. li. 21. [a] *Thirdly the case is cleere enough that the reprobate many times in this life doe not only feare the iudgement to come, but also doe feele some reall and actuall impression of Gods burning wrath, and euen of hell torments, though not being yet in the locall hell.*] Is it cleere enough, that the paines of the damned are sometimes executed here in this life on the reprobate, and that by Gods immediate hand? what Scripture haue you for it? that horrible feares and terrors doe sometimes besiege them, and that the Diuell doth now & then possesse and torment some of them, who are out of Gods protection, the Scripture witnesseth, as well by rules, as by examples: but that the paines of the damned are no greater, then are felt in this life, or that this mortall flesh is able to endure the true torments of hell, vnder which the Diuels themselues doe sinke, what rule or reason leadeth you to that presumptuous error? Cain was afflicted with the terror of his owne conscience, Saul was *vexed with an euill spirit sent from the Lord*, and into Iudas the diuell entring draue him with desperation to confesse his sinne, and to hang himselfe. Other examples of men possessed and tormented by Diuels, are many in the Gospell. Which of these whom you name, did not eat, sleepe, and manage other affaires of this life, as time did permit them, notwithstanding their inward torments of mind? Saul was eased with musicke, when the *euill spirit of God vexed him*, and liued as king of Israel in that case almost forty yeeres. Cain liued a long time after

after he was caſt from Gods preſence, and begat children on his wife. Can men haue leaſure or liſt to doe or deſire any of theſe things in the true torments of hell? you will make an eaſie hell, if the torments there be no greater, but that men may eat, ſleepe, beget children and delight themſelues with melody. The greateſt feare that euer afflicted Saul for ought that we read, was when he that appeared in ſhew of Samuel, ſayd to Saul, [a] *To morow ſhalt thou and thy ſonnes be with me, and the Lord ſhall giue the hoſt of the Iſraelites into the hands of the Philiſtines:* for then *he fell ſtraightway all along on the earth, and was ſore afraid*, and at firſt *refuſed* to eat, but after at the perſwaſion of the witch and his ſeruants, he [b] *aroſe from the earth, and did* [c] *eat*. Prate of this ſo long as you will, no wiſe man will wander ſo farre from the trueth, as to thinke they haue ſuch leaſure, and eaſe in the paines of hell.

[a] 1. Sam. 28.
[b] Ibid. ver. 23. [c] 25.

[d] *For proofe whereof that which before I alleged out of Iob and others, that euen the godly heere want not experience of the ſorowes of hell ſometimes, you paſſe ouer anſwearing nothing thereunto. Which being ſo in the godly, it muſt needes be in Cain, Iudas, and the reprobates, farre more direfull and intollerable ſometimes.*] Such proofes doe well become ſuch a cauſe. The godly are ſometimes afraid of Gods diſpleaſure, and are perſued with the tentations and ſnares of Satan. *Ergo* they feele the very torments of the damned. What ſhew of reaſon is in this which is worth the anſwearing? and yet how often haue I repelled this peeuiſh preſumption; and obſerued, that if deſperation which is the greateſt torment of this life, be but a [e] *fearefull looking for of iudgement and violent fire, which ſhall deuoure the aduerſaries*, The difference is great betwixt the expectance, and the experience of that terrible iudgement, at which the Diuel himſelfe trembleth. Which may ſoone be gathered, though not ſo ſoone be meaſured. For the deſtruction and confuſion of the damned may better be feared then knowen, forſomuch as the Scripture threatneth that, as the full wages of wickedneſſe, and higheſt degree of Gods diſpleaſure againſt ſinne. But you are vnanſweared you ſay.] Some weighty reaſons belike, that require ſo exactly an anſweare. Euery trifle with you muſt haue a ſpeciall anſweare, when you skip leaues by the doſen, and ſpeake to no more then you miſtake, or miſconſter. But let vs heare your proofes, which want anſweare, as you pretend.

[d] Defenc. pag. 119. li. 25.
[e] Heb. 10.

[f] *The members of Chriſt doe wraſtle with the power of darkneſſe, and endure the fierie darts of the diuell.*] A learned reaſon, and like the maker. Doth the Apoſtle there ſpeake of hell torments, or of the temptations to ſinne, buſily offered by Satan to all the godly? if your conceit of hell paines be true, we muſt wreſtle, not with the powers of darkneſſe, but with God himſelfe, by whoſe immediate hand, as you imagine, the paines of hell are inflicted on all mens ſoules. As wiſely you quote, that the members of Chriſt *endure the fierie darts of the diuell*, where the Apoſtle willeth them to take *the ſhield of faith, wherewith they may quench all the fierie darts of the Diuell.* Whence if your corruption and miſconſtruction of the text were true, may be drawen a good argument againſt your hell paines to be ſuffered in the ſoule of Chriſt. For the *ſhield of faith* (as the Apoſtle noteth) *quencheth all the fierie darts of the Diuel*, which you preſume to be the fierie paines of hell. Chriſt then, who wanted no perfection of faith, endured none of theſe fiery darts of the Diuel, ſince they are all quenched by faith. Chooſe now, whether by your owne reaſon you will charge Chriſt with infidelity, or diſcharge him from enduring your fierie darts of the Diuel, which you ſuppoſe to be the paines of hell, except you play with this place to no purpoſe. Howbeit in theſe words the fierie darts of the Diuel are not the torments of hel, but either dangerous tentations, which quenching our faith conſume and waſt our conſciences, as fire doth where it taketh hold; or els ſinnes, which inflame our harts with wicked and worldly deſires, making them burne with vnlawfull and vngodly luſts.

[f] Treat. pa. 46.

[g] *Iob crieth out, The arrowes of the almighty are in me, the venom whereof doth drinke vp my ſpirit, and the terrors of God ſight againſt me.*] Out of theſe metaphors, wereby Iob deſcribeth the vehemency of that diſeaſe, wherewith the Diuel ſtrooke him [h] *from the ſole of the foot vnto the crowne*, You ſhall neuer conclude any thing for the paines of hell.

[g] Treat. pa. 46 li. 2.
[h] Iob. 2.

hell. Metaphors make no direct concluſions in doctrine, but ſerue to reſemble, or amplifie the things, to which they are applied. Then as venemous arrowes doe not only teare and wound the fleſh, but the poiſon added doth inflame the whole body, and conſume the vital ſpirits; ſo Iob complaineth, that his diſeaſe did not only rot, but burne his fleſh, and waſt his ſpirits, ſo that the paine thereof was intolerable. By the *terrors of God, he* meaneth the terrible and bitter affliction ſent from God, and not the paines of hell, as you fondly conceaue. For that theſe wordes are applied to the greeuouſneſſe of his diſeaſe, appeareth both by Iobs ſpeach and wiſh. [i] *Is my ſtrength,* ſaith he, *the ſtrength of ſtones? is my fleſh of braſſe,* that it can endure the rage of this diſeaſe? Wherefore he wiſheth, [k] *that God would deſtroy him* (with this ſickneſſe) *and cut him of* (by death,) [l] *then ſhould I yet haue comfort, though I burne with ſorow, let him not ſpare.* [m] *What is mine end, that I ſhould prolong my life?* Iob wiſheth not here deſtruction of body and ſoule, that were more madneſſe; but he deſireth an end of his life, that he might haue reſt and comfort. Then doth he not meane the terrors of conſcience, which bring with them a moſt vncomfortable end, but the terrors of his [n] *fearefull plague,* which death would eaſe, & not augment. Not that I thinke Iob wanted dangerous tentations in his greeuous afflictions; but that this may be referred either to the greatneſſe of his plague, or to the vnquietneſſe of his mind, though he alwaies truſted in God, and was forced with extreamity of paine to deſire eaſe. He may alſo meane, as he after ſaith, [o] *Thou feareſt me with dreames, and aſtoniſheſt me with viſions;* but none of theſe three terros were the paines of hell, neither did Iob deſperately rage in his mind, but felt violent torments in his fleſh, as he himſelfe confeſſeth. [p] *My fleſh is clothed with wormes, and filthineſſe of the duſt, my skinne is rent, and become horrible.*

[i] Iob.6.ver.12
[k] Iob.6 ver.9.
[l] verſ.10.
[m] verſ.11.
[n] Ibid.ver.21.
[o] Iob.7.v.14.
[p] Iob.7.ver.5.

And touching the *terrour of God,* that word in the ſacred Scripture doth not neceſſarily import the paines of hell, nor the conflict of conſcience with doubt or deſpaire of Gods fauor, but the greatneſſe of his power, and righteouſneſſe of his iudgements, which we muſt confeſſe with feare and trembling. [q] *From my youth* (ſayth the Pſalmiſt to God) *I ſuffer thy terrours.* Shall we thinke, that he was all his life long in the paines of hell, or that he liued in perpetuall affliction, which continually humbled him, and made him afrayd of the mighty hand of God? [r] *Bleſſed is the man* (ſayth Salomon) *that is alwayes afrayed* (of God): where he doth not account the paines of hell to be bleſſed, but he meaneth as the Apoſtle doth, that we ſhould worke our ſaluation [ſ] *with feare and trembling.* And ſo the Saints at the ſight of Gods preſence are afrayd, not with an helliſh paine, or perfidious feare, but with a quaking and trembling at ſo great Maieſtie, knowing that *power* and [t] *terrour is with him,* though they truſt in his mercie.

[q] Pſal.88.
[r] Prou.28.
[ſ] Phil.2.
[t] Iob.25.

[u] Treat.pa.46. [u] *The like terrors doth Ionas ſeeme to feele in the fiſhes belly, when he cryed to the Lord out of the bottome of hell.*] You doe well to ſay it ſeemeth, for indeede neither haue the words any ſuch force, neither had Ionas any ſuch meaning. The word Sheol noteth the graue as well as hell, as I haue elſe where ſufficiently prooued; and in this caſe the Whales bellie may reſemble the graue by the very direction of our Sauiour. [x] *As Ionas* (ſayth he) *was three dayes and three nights in the Whales belly; ſo ſhall the ſonne of man be three dayes and three nights in the hart of the earth.* Where Chriſt expreſſeth his buriall, and not his diſcent to hell, by the Whalles belly, in which Ionas lay. And Ionas himſelfe ſheweth by his prayer, that he ment the preſent danger of death, wherein he was, and not the paines of hell, of which he ſpeaketh not. For beſides the diſcription of his danger, when he ſaith, [y] *The flouds compaſſed me about, all thy ſurges and all thy waues paſſed ouer me, the weeds were wrapt about mine head, and I went downe to the bottome of the mountaines*: His praier declareth his faith in the beginning, middle, and ending thereof. *I cried in mine affliction vnto the Lord, and he heard me; I ſayd, I am caſt out of thy ſight,* (not to be amongſt the liuing any more) *yet will I looke againe toward thine holy temple. Thou haſt brought vp my life from the pit, ó Lord my God.* [z] *When my ſoule fainted, I remembred the Lord, and my praier came vnto thee into thine holy temple.* So that Ionas fainted with feare of death, but not with the paines of the damned, who I troe do not

[x] Matth.12.
[y] Ionas 2.
[z] Ibid.ver.7.

pray

pray in their paines, much leſſe truſt in God, or are heard of him, as Ionas was.

[a] *Dauid wanted not the like in his manifold and fearefull agonies many times.*] Though I exempt neither Dauid, nor any of Gods ſaints here on earth, *from* [b] *feares within, and fights without, and troubles on euery ſide*, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of himſelfe, yet is there no proofe, that Dauid euer ſuffered the paines of the damned; his words conuince no ſuch thing. Sheol which you would now turne to ſignifie hell, though in the words of Dauid applied to Chriſt by Peter in the acts you ſtiffely refuſe it, ſtandeth indifferent to note the pit prouided for the body, which is the graue; or prepared for the ſoule, which is hell. So that out of a word admitting this double ſignification, you can neuer inferre which ſenſe you pleaſe, but by ſome other ſound and ſufficient circumſtances. Againe, there are but two places, which cleerly confeſſe, that Dauid was compaſſed or ouertaken with the ſnares, dangers, or troubles of Sheol, the 18 Pſalme, and the 116. In the firſt of which it is more then euident, as well by the occaſion of the Pſalme, as by the variation and coniunction of other words, that Dauid ment the danger of death, which often beſet him vnder the perſuit of Saul, and other his enemies, as the manifeſt words of holy writte do witneſſe. For this is the inſcription of the Pſalme. [c] *Dauid ſpake vnto the Lord the words of this ſong in the day, that the Lord deliuered him from the hand of all his enemies, and from the hand of Saul.* So that the *ſnares and ropes of death*, which he ſpeaketh of in that Pſalme, were apparantly the manifold dangers of life, which his enemies, and chiefly Saul put him in. Secondly, the titles, that he there aſcribeth vnto God, proue that in his perſecutions Dauid neuer doubted of Gods goodneſſe towards him, but in all his troubles held that for his chiefe hope and help. [d] *I will loue thee deerly* (ſaith he) *ô Lord my ſtrength.* [e] *The Lord is my Rocke, and my fortreſſe, and my deliuerer, my God, my Rocke, in him will I truſt; my ſhield, the horne of my ſaluation, and my refuge;* [f] *I will call vpon the Lord, which is worthy to be praiſed, ſo ſhall I be ſafe from mine enemies.* Thirdly, the words there declaring his dangers, and yet at laſt the deſtruction of his enemies, argue as much. For he ſaith, [g] *The ropes of death compaſſed me, the floudes of vngodlineſſe* (that is of the vngodly) *made me afraid. The* [h] *ropes of Sheol enuironed me, the ſnares of death ouertooke me.* And ſo for the perſons of his enemies he ſaith, [i] *They preuented me in the day of my trouble, but the Lord was my ſtay; the Lord rewarded me according to my righteouſneſſe, becauſe I kept the waies of the Lord.* His ſeuering his enemies from God, and iuſtifying himſelfe, not in the ſight of God, but in reſpect of them, proueth all his intention in that Pſalme to be touching his enemies, whom by Gods aide and might *hee* [k] *perſued and conſumed, wounding them, that they fell vnder his feet, and whoſe necks were giuen him, that he might deſtroy them that hated him.* [l] *They cried vnto the Lord* (ſayth he) *but there was none to deliuer them.* This no way concerneth the diuell nor his tentations, much leſſe any paines of hell from the immediate hand of God; but moſt euidently the plots of men that were his enemies, and ſought his deſtruction. The other Pſalme maketh the like profeſsion vpon the like occaſion, and affirmeth, that God heard Dauid, and inclined his eare vnto him, when *the* [m] *ſnares of death compaſſed him*, when *the ſtraights of Sheol found him out*, when *troubles and griefe tooke hold on him.*

In other places, where Dauid ſaith, that his life or Soule was *deliuered and ſaued* from [n] Sheol, and euen from the [o] *loweſt Sheol*; it is indifferent, which ſenſe wee follow, ſince no doubt he did aſcribe the euerlaſting Saluation of his Soule from Hell vnto Gods goodnes and mercie, no leſſe then he did the preſeruation of his life from the Graue. And therefore I ſhall not neede to diſcuſſe any of thoſe places, which admit both conſtructions, and yet bring not your hell-paines into this life any whit the ſooner. Againe when Dauid ſpeaketh of *feares, ropes & ſnares* of hell, if it were graunted, that Dauid intended as well the inward aſſaultes of Satan to ſubuert his ſoule, as the outward perils of his life to ſhorten his daies, it helpeth not your cauſe. For the *gates* euen *of hell*, (that is the power thereof) *preuaile* in this life againſt all that are not of Chriſts true church, and often compaſſe and beſiege the faithfull; and [p] *the roaring lion, (that) goeth about ſeeking whom he may deuoure*, is neither idle, nor vna-

[a] Trea. pa. 46.
[b] 2. Cor. 7.
[c] 2. Sam. 22.
[d] Pſal. 18. v. 1.
[e] 2. & [f] 3.
[g] Ibid. verſ. 4.
[h] 5.
[i] Ibid. verſ. 18.
[k] verſ. 37.
[l] verſ. 41.
[m] Pſal. 116.
[n] Pſal. 30. & [o] 86.
[p] 1. Pet. 5.

ble

ble to take hold of mens ſoules by ſundrie ſinnes, tentations, deceits, and ſnares, (if he be not ſtedfaſtly reſiſted by faith) and to make them the *children of hell*, not by the preſent ſuffering thereof, but by preparing, and obliging them to the wrath to come. Of the Scribes and Phariſes Chriſt ſaith, [q] *You compaſſe ſea and land to make one Proſelyte*, (that is a nouice of your profeſsion) *and when he is gotten you make him, filium gehennæ, the child of hell double to your ſelues.* Shall we hence conclude, that the Scribes, and Phariſes, and all their Proſelytes were heere on earth in the true paines of hell, and of the damned, becauſe our Sauiour, who can not erre, pronounceth them THE CHILDREN OF HELL? or ſhall wee rather accept Chriſtes owne Expoſition, where he ſaith, [r] *O Serpents, generation of Vipers how ſhould you eſcape the* (future damnation or) *iudgment of hell?* Laſtly as the name of God is added figuratiuely to manie things, to ſignifie the beautie and excellencie thereof in their kindes, as the [t] *hilles of God*, and the [u] *Ceders of God*, for faire and goodlie hills and trees; ſo the name of hell is vſed in deteſtation for that, which is fearefull and intolerable, as the *ſorowes of hell and ſtraights of hell* and ſuch like. Whereby it is euident, that you may dreame of Dauid, as you doe of others, that he felt in this life the paines of hell or of the damned, but if you ſett your ſelfe to prooue it, you muſt bring ſtronger ſtuffe then ſuch wordes, as beſides their diuers ſignifications, haue manie figuratiue tranſlations and applications, which will not ſerue you to conclude any thing for your hell paines ſuffered in this life. Theſe are the mightie proofes, that were vnanſwered, which indeed I neglected, as prouing nothing, and ſo would yet haue donne, had not you ſo mouthly called for an anſweare, as if the things had beene verie materiall, which in truth are weake and faint.

[q] Matth.23. verſ.15.

[r] Ibid ver.33.

[t] Pſal.36. [u] 80.

[s] Defene.pag. 119.li.31. [s] *The confeſſion and behauior of the reprobate do ſundry times in this life teſtifie ſo much.*] What is their confeſsion in things, which they know not? euen as much as your aſſertion. That they are ſomtimes inwardly and fearefully either tormented by ſatan, or by their owne conſciences, I eaſily admit; but what is the feare of hell either in the elect, or in the reprobate, to the true paines thereof, which the wicked after this life ſhall feele? that they feele an horror confounding them, I neuer denied; as alſo the godly may feele a terror purſuing them; but if you determine this to be all the torment the wicked ſhal find in hell, you were beſt take heed of deluding Gods iudgments againſt ſinne, and playing with fiery words in ſteed of euerlaſting fire. It is another manner of torment, that there abideth the damned, then this guilt of conſcience, remorſe of ſinne, and a fearefull expectation of iudgement and fire; in which the wicked ſometimes lead their liues with horror and confuſion; and yet it is open blaſphemy to aſcribe any of theſe horrors or feares of the reprobate vnto Chriſt, ſince they vtterly quench all perſuaſion of Gods fauour, loue, and patience towards them, which if we affirme of him, we wrap him within their reprobation.

[x] Defene pag. 119.li.32. [x] *The Diuels are many times out of the locall hell, as when they are in this world. But Diuels are neuer releaſed of hell ſorrowes. Therefore the true ſorrowes of hell are euen in this world: and then poſſibly may be inflicted on wicked men as they are on Diuels which are ſometimes out of the locall hell.*] We ſpeake of men here liuing on earth, and you runne to Diuels ranging in the aire, or compaſsing the earth, for proofe of your hell-paines. Which is as much, as if you did plainely confeſſe, you can find no Scripture to prooue that mortall men in this life may endure the torments of hell. For the example of Diuels inferreth no more the paines of hell to be ſuffered of men in this life, then the preſence of elect Angels here on earth doth prooue, that men in this life may enioy the perfection of Gods heauenly ioies and glory; ſince the angels of God whitherſoeuer they goe, or whereſoeuer they are, cannot be depriued or diminiſhed of that inward power and light, bleſſedneſſe and glory in which they are confirmed for euer. With Angels elect or reprobate men after this life ſhall haue a reſemblance and conuenience; the faithfull (ſaith Chriſt) ſhall be [a] *as the Angels of God in heauen*, and the curſed are *caſt* [b] *into euerlaſting fire, prepared for the diuell and his angels:* But in this life, except we will waxe mad, we muſt make no equiualence betwixt their eſtates and

[a] Matth.22.

[b] Matth.25.

ours

ours. So that from the diuels condition to mans in this life there is no consequent, more then the imitation and communion of his wickednesse in the reprobate, whose children they are because they *fulfill* his *desires*; and an expectation and feare of his punishment. Otherwise as the earth is neither heauen nor hell; no more is mans life on earth matchable with the ioyes of the good; or paines of the bad Angels; which haue the place of their abode determined; and assigned them in heauen or in hell, saue when they are sent, or loosed by God; to attend the execution of his will. And yet if the place of hell had no greater nor other paines then the diuels alwayes carrie with them and in them, why should they so much feare to *be* [a] *sent into the deepe, or* [b] *be reserued vnto the iudgement of the great day, and* [c] *kept vnto damnation?* feare they without cause, or are they kept and reserued to no more, nor worse paines then already they feele? That is no reseruation, where there is nothing but a continuation of the very same that was before. It is certaine therefore, howsoeuer you presume the contrarie, that the place of hell hath greater paines euen for the diuels, then they feele any heere on earth, or before the last day, and howsoeuer their inward confusion and desperation doe horribly persue them in all places since their fall; yet a more fearefull torment abideth them in hell, and especially when the last iudgement commeth, which is the set time that shall torment them by addicting and fastning them to eternall and intolerable fire.

[a] Luc.8. v.31.
[b] Iudæ epla. v.6.
[c] Peter 2.ca.2.

Yet the sorrowes of hell are in the world.] By such logicke you may prooue the paines of hell to be in heauen, and the ioyes of heauen to be in hell; and so make a full confusion of all things, which well becommeth your newe found faith. For the Scriptures beare witnesse, that Satan not only [c] *fell from heauen*, but made his [d] *battell* (or rebellion) *in heauen*, and after his fall [e] *stoode among the children of God*, and euen with [f] *the host of heauen*. [g] *There was a battaile in heauen*, (saith Iohn) *Michael and his Angels fought against the Dragon, and the Dragon fought, and his Angels. But they preuailed not, neither was their place found any more in heauen. And the great Dragon, called the diuell, was cast into the earth. Therefore reioyce ye heauens, and ye that dwell in them. Woe to the inhabitants of the earth, and of the sea: for the diuell is come downe vnto you with great wrath, knowing that his time is short.* [h] *I saw the Lord sit on his throne*, (saith Michaiah the Prophet) *and all the host of heauen stoode about him on his right hand, and on his left hand. Then there came foorth a* (lying) *spirit, and stoode before the Lord*, of whom the booke of Iob testifieth, *that* [i] *when the children of God came, and stoode before the Lord, Satan came also among them.* Certaine it is, that Satan and his angels sinned euen in heauen, and were cast out of heauen after their defection from God, carrying alwayes with them, and within them, the losse of their originall brightnesse, and the chaines of inward and fearefull darknesse, whereby they find themselues reiected from Gods fauour, despoyled of their former light and glory, and reserued for the iudgement of the great day, at which they tremble, as well as at the place of their perpetuall imprisonment, where their torments are, and shalbe increased, though they be neuer freed from that horrible confusion, in which they lie. And therefore they feare the place prouided for them, and besought Christ *neither* [k] *to send them into the deepe* (and bottomlesse pit) nor *to* [l] *torment them before their time*. Neither was there onely transgression, reprobation, and confusion in the place of heauen, where the Angels sinned, and whence they were cast, but of the blessed Angels S. Iohn saith, that one of them [m] *came downe from heauen, hauing the key of the bottomlesse pit, and a great chaine in his hand, who tooke the Dragon, which is the diuell, and bound him, and cast him into the bottomlesse pit, and shut him vp, and sealed vpon him.* And were it doubtfull of Angels, how they could retaine the measure of their brightnesse and blessednesse in the place of hell; yet heare we Dauid confesse of God himselfe, and of his spirit; *If I ascend to heauen, thou art there; if I get downe to hell, thou art there.* So that the very fountaine of all holinesse and happinesse is in heauen, earth, and hell, and yet the states of these three places are not confounded, because the perfection of all goodnesse is present in euery of them. The goodnesse and glory of God is not so fastned vnto places, that either

[c] Luc.10.
[d] Reuel.12.
[e] Iob 1.
[f] 1.King.22.
[g] Reuel.12.
[h] 1.King.22.
[i] Iob 1.v.6.
[k] Luc.8.
[l] Matth.8.
[m] Reuel.20.

Paradise

Paradiſe or heauen did priuilege men or Angels from ſinne, as heauen did not the diuels, nor hell it ſelfe can hinder the happineſſe of the bleſſed Angels, when they are ſent with power from God to execute his pleaſure. And yet this doth not confound the diſtinction of places, or ſtates in heauen or hell, but that heauen is now the place, where the brightneſſe of Gods glory is reuealed to his Saints, beſides their internall and continuall viſion of God, which maketh them moſt happie, and neuer leaueth them, whatſoeuer they goe. And therefore the Angels that ſinned, were caſt thence, that they ſhould not defile the place of Gods preſence with their wickedneſſe; and hell is likewiſe the prepared manſion for the diuels, where vengeance from God is powred on them, and greater ſhall be, when after iudgement they ſhall be cloſed in perpetuall priſon, though till that day ſome of them be ſuffered to beare rule in the aire, and to worke in the children of diſobedience, for the triall of the ſaints and farder ſetting forth of Gods moſt glorious wiſedome, power, and righteouſneſſe.

[a] Defenc. pag. 119. li. 37.

[a] *Laſtly the true ioyes of heauen may be out of the locall heauen, as when the glorious Angels haue bene and tarried ſome while here on earth with men. Yet did they neuer for a moment want the ioyes and glory of heauen.*] From Angels enduced with inward and heauenly light, power, holineſſe, and happineſſe, and by grace euerlaſtingly confirmed therein, no argument can be drawen to our weake, ſinfull, and variable condition; neither doe we diſpute of Gods power, what he can doe, but of his will and ordinance, whereby he hath appointed heauen to be his ſeat, that is the place, where his glory is fully reuealed, and eternall and perfect bleſſedneſſe beſtowed on all the inhabitants thereof, be they men or Angels. And though the Angels, whatſoeuer they doe, retaine the cleere ſight of God, and the perfection of their celeſtiall happineſſe, yet that is no proofe, that we liuing here in mortall and miſerable fleſh can haue that on earth, which they haue. For example, take ſome parts or conſequents of that heauenly ioy and bliſſe which the Angels being heere on earth keep immutable, and you ſhall ſoone ſee, how groſſely you erre in communicating their glory to men yet dwelling in houſes of clay. The Angels of God conuerſing here on earth can neither *erre*, *ſinne*, nor *die*; they can feele *no neceſſity*, *infirmity*, nor *miſerie*; they need not *eat*, *ſleepe*, nor *reſt*; they are indued with *light*, that cannot be obſcured; with *holineſſe*, that cannot be defiled; with *ioy*, that cannot be diminiſhed; with *power*, that cannot be reſiſted by men or Diuels. Can theſe things be attributed to mortall men here on earth without open and palpable hereſie? Wherefore it is an erroneous and preſumptuous inference, that [b] *If Angels may enioy heauen really being in the world*, that men heere liuing may doe the like.

[b] Defenc pa. 120. li. 2.

[c] Defenc. pag. 120. li 3.

[c] *It is poſſible for Gods goodneſſe to communicate ſome reall foretaſte thereof vnto ſome bleſſed men alſo.*] A taſte of glory, which neither continueth nor ſatisfieth, can not be called heauen, which is the perfect and perpetuall fulneſſe of all kinde of bliſſe, and want of all kinde of miſerie. S. Peter teacheth vs that God [d] *begetteth* (vs) *into a liuely hope, to an inheritance incorruptible, vndefiled, and vnchangeable, reſerued in the heauens for vs, who are by the power of God kept by faith vnto ſaluation, readie to be ſhewed in the laſt time.* If the taſte of glory, which you talke of, be not immortall, immutable, & vndefiled with any defect or miſerie, it may not be called heauen, nor be ſayd to be the inheritance reſerued for vs in heauen. And therefore though ſome bleſſed men haue had a ſight of ſome glory, which you call a taſte thereof, as Moſes, Eſay, Steuen, and others; yet that doth not proue them to haue beene really in the ioyes of heauen. How often is it written of the Iſraelites, that they ſaw the glory of the Lord; and yet they were ouerthrowen in the wilderneſſe? [e] *The glory of the Lord* (ſaith Moſes) *abode vpon mount Sinai, and the ſight of the glory of the Lord was like a conſuming fire on the top of the mountaine* [f] *in the eies of the children of Iſrael.* So when Aaron offered his firſt offering for his Prieſthood, and bleſſed the people; [g] *The glorie of the Lord appeared to all the people:* of whom God ſaith, [h] *All theſe men, which haue ſeene my glory, & my miracles, which I did in Egypt, and in the wilderneſſe, and haue tempted me theſe ten times, certainly they ſhall not ſee the land, whereof I ſware to their Fathers.* When Salomon had builded and

[d] 1. Pet. 1.

[e] Exodus 24. ver. 16. & 17.

[f] Leuit. 9. v. 23

[h] Numb. 14. verſ. 22.

and conſecrated the temple with praier and ſacrifice, [x] *The glory of the Lord filled the houſe ſo that the Prieſts could not enter into the houſe of the Lord, becauſe the glory of the Lord had filled the Lords houſe. And when all the children of Iſrael ſaw the fire, and the glory of the Lord come downe vpon the houſe, they bowed themſelues with their faces to the earth vpon the pauement, and worſhipped, and praiſed the Lord.* I truſt the King, the Prieſts, and the People were not all in the ioies of heauen; and yet they all with their eies ſaw the glory of God there preſented before them; and ſuch as were religious and obedient, ſaw it to their exceeding ioy. [x] 2. Chro. 5. verſ. 1.

[y] *That God doth indeed reueale ſome reall taſt of his heauenly ioies to his children euen in this life, I haue already ſhewed, but am not anſweared.*] You ſlide from ſome *bleſſed men* to all *the children of God*; to whom, you affirme, God *doth reueale indeed ſome reall taſt of his heauenly ioies euen in this life.* What you meane by a reall taſt, we muſt learne from your owne mouth; by ſuch doubtfull phraſes, which you may after wrangle about, you vſe to deliuer your doctrine. If you meane ioy in the holy Ghoſt, whiles by hope we expect the promiſes of God at his determined time, that indeed is common to all the children of God in their meaſure; but that teacheth a maine difference betwixt the things heere enioined, and reſerued for vs in heauen; and quite croſſeth the new heauen, which you would eſtabliſh. For we learne by the Scriptures, that our [z] *Life is hid in Chriſt*, and *when Chriſt*, who *is our life, ſhall appeare, then ſhall we alſo appeare with him in glory.* [a] *Now we are the ſonnes of God, but yet it doth not appeare, what we ſhalbe: and we know, that when he ſhall appeare, we ſhalbe like him: for we ſhall ſee him, as he is.* Our *knowledge, loue, and ioy* of God and in God, beginne heere by the preaching of the Goſpell, and the working of his ſpirit; but the Scripture neuer calleth theſe the ioies of heauen, though they ſhall there continue, yet ſo augmented, and accompanied with heauenly brightneſſe and glory, that they ſhall not be the ſame, they were. For as our naturall vnderſtanding and ſenſe, and corporall life and fleſh ſhall not be aboliſhed in heauen, but abide and be glorified, and yet no man is ſo ſenſeleſſe, as to thinke or ſay, the glory of our creation is the glory of our reſurrection: ſo our knowledge, loue, and ioy, which heere are weake, and wanting all perfection, as being mixed with ignorance and error, luſt and vnlawfull deſires, feare and griefe, and often obſcured, and almoſt ouerwhelmed with infirmity, iniquity, and miſery, no wiſe man will defend to be the ioies of Gods heauenly kingdome where is no want, nor defect of any good, nor feare, nor doubt of any euill inward, or outward; but as God ſhall then be all in all, ſo ſhall we be filled with the ſight and fruition of God; our loue and ioy increaſing according to our knowledge, which then ſhalbe the manifeſt viſion of God face to face, who is the vnceaſing and vnſearchable fountaine of all goodneſſe and bleſſedneſſe. [y] Defenc. pag. 120. li. 5. [z] Coloſſ. 3. [a] 1 Iohn 3.

The [b] proofe, on which you ſtand as yet not anſwered, is a place of the Apoſtle to the Corinths, applied by many men to the preaching of the Goſpel, & then it maketh nothing for your purpoſe; but if it be referred to the ioyes of heauen, as you would haue it, it maketh quite againſt you. For [c] *eye hath not ſeene*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *neither eare hath heard, neither hath mans heart conceaued, the things which God hath prepared for them, that loue him.* If thoſe be the ioyes of heauen, which the Apoſtle there meaneth, then is it euident, that men are not capable of them, whiles they are compaſſed with ſinne and infirmitie, but God hath reſerued them in the heauens for vs, when we ſhall come to his preſence, though in the meane time [d] *he hath reuealed to vs by his ſpirit*, that ſuch things are kept in ſtore for vs, which then ſhall appeare, that is, be apparently and perfectly beſtowed on vs, and we euerlaſtingly inueſted with them. The Reuelation which the Apoſtle here ſpeaketh of, is the reuelation of knowledge, whereby theſe things are promiſed and aſſured vnto vs, not the reuelation of glory, whereby we ſhall ſee that, which we now hope for; and enioy that, which we now expect. [b] Treatiſ. pa. 80 [c] 1. Cor. 2. [d] 1. Cor. 2.

This doctrine, howſoeuer you would delude it with your reall taſts, is plainely deliuered in the Scriptures. When Moſes beſought God to ſhew him his glory, God anſwered; [e] *Thou* CANST NOT SEE *my face, and liue; for there ſhall no man ſee mee,* [e] Exod. 33. ver. 20.

and liue. Where God doth not meane, that men shall not see him in heauen, when they come to be [f] *as the Angels of God*, who [g] *alwayes behold the face of God in heauen*; his owne sonne hath sayd, [h] *blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God*; and his Apostle likewise, [i] *Now we see through a glasse darkely*; *then* (shall we see) *face to face*: But he meaneth, that no man liuing in this mortall flesh can see his face. Otherwise it is the cleere resolution of the Scriptures, that we [k] *shall see him as he is*, that is, *not by faith*, as now we doe; nor by *some created shew of his glory*, as Moses, Elias, Esai and other the Prophets and Patriarkes did see him for the confirmation of their callings, or consolation of their miseries, but as the Apostle speaketh *face to face*. Vpon these words of S. Iohn, *we shall see him as he is*, S. Austen learnedly and truely sayth. [l] *Ista visio non est huius vitæ sed futuræ, non temporalis sed aterna. Hunc totius laboris sui fructum Ecclesia nunc parturit desiderando, tunc paritura cernendo. This vision* (of God as he is) *is not in this life, but in the life to come; not temporall, but eternall. This fruite of her whole labour the Church now trauelleth with by desiring it, but then shall attaine by beholding it.* Now if the sight of God himselfe face to face, that is of his substance and glory in plaine, full and perfect manner and measure, be the same with the darke and enigmaticall beholding his graces and promises by the glasse of faith, then haue you some reason to say the ioyes of heauen may be had in this life; but it in the *manner, measure, obiects and effects* of our sight of God in this life and the next there be so great difference, then you deceiue both your selfe and your Reader to affirme, we haue the ioyes of heauen heere in this life, when not onely our *sinne*, our *ignorance*, our *miserie, mutabilitie and mortalitie*, but euen our *faith* and *hope* do clearely prooue, that we haue not that, which we desire, nor as yet enioy that, which we expect, and beleeue wee shall haue. [m] *Non corda munda suæ substantiæ contemplatione fraudauit, cum hæc magna & summa merces Deum colentibus & diligentibus promittatur, dicente ipso Domino, quando corporalibus oculis visibiliter apparebat, & inuisibilem se contuenaũ mundis cordibus promittebat: qui diligit me, diligitur a Patre meo, & ego diligam eum, & ostendã meipsum illi. God hath not defrauded cleane harts of the sight of his substance, since that is promised to those which serue and loue God, as the great and chiefe reward; the Lord saying, when he appeared visible to the eyes of their bodies, & promised himselfe inuisible to be seene of cleane hearts; he that loueth me shalbe loued of my Father; and I will loue him, and will shew mine owne selfe vnto him.*

[n] *The transfiguration of Christ on the mount declareth, that some reall part of heauenly glory may be heere on earth, which you your selfe somewhere confesse cleane against your selfe.*] You would needes tell vs in you Treatise, that *heauen was some foretaste of the infinite ioy prepared for the godly*, which you attempted to prooue by the Apostles words common to all the children of God, and thereupon concluded; thus you [o] *see that as there is heauen in this life in some measure, euen so there may be hell.* I replied that if you [p] *affirmed of heauen, as you did of hell, that the* VERY SAME IOYES *which are in heauen, or* EQVALL *with them, are heere sometimes found* (in vs liuing) *on earth, it was a wicked error flatly repugning to the trueth of Gods promises, and to the very nature of our Christian faith and hope.* We reasoned not of Christs manhoode, which [q] *in all things had the preeminence* aboue and afore all the sonnes of God,, but OF THE GODLY, whom you expressely named, and of whom I accordingly replied, and to whom those words of the Apostle cited by you for proofe of your purpose doe precisely pertaine. For of Christ they are most false, that his *eye neuer saw*, nor his *eare neuer heard*, nor his *hart neuer conceiued the things, which God hath prepared for them, that loue him.* Now when you should prooue that mortall men, and no more then men, though the members of Christ, liuing heere on the earth haue THE VERY SAME IOYES, which are in heauen, or EQVALL with them; you run to Christes transfiguration on the mountaine, and by that you would inferre, that there was heauen euen in this life in some measure. But first where can you shew, that Christes transfiguration on the mountaine is called heauen in the Scriptures. Next, what deriuation can you make from Christs power, knowledge, and glory, to ours heere on earth? Christs soule had many parts and degrees of heauenly perfection in this life, which ours haue not; he

[f] Matth. 22.
[g] Mat. 18. v. 10.
[h] Matt 5.
[i] 2. Cor. 13.
[k] 1. Iohn 3.
[l] *August. in Euangeli. Iohan. Tract. 101.*
[m] *August. epist. 112.*
[n] Defens. pag. 120 li. 7.
[o] pa. 80. li. 23.
[p] Conclu. pa. 337. l. 34.
[q] Colos. 1.

was free from sinne and error, which abound in vs; he was full of trueth and grace, which want in vs, saue what we receiue from his fulnesse; he was the way, the light, and the life, that leadeth, lightneth and quickeneth euery man comming into the world; yea the crosse of Christ was the *wisdome and power* of God. These and many other maine differences the Scriptures expresse betwixt Christ and vs; so that from his perfection and preeminence to our weakenesse, wickednesse, and wretchednesse in this world no comparison can be made, nor any consequent, but that beleeuing in him, louing him, and obeying his commandements, as we are heere regenerate and renewed by his spirit, so we shalbe conformed to his image, to raigne with him in the next life, if we suffer with him in this life. Christs transfiguration then is not called heauen in any Scripture, neither had it the perfection or condition of heauen; since heauen is not a transitory taste of mutable ioy or glory, but a full and euerlasting possession of all power, honour, and blisse communicable from God, and proportionable to the receauer. But if Christ had the reall fruition of heauen in his flesh heere on earth, how much more in his soule, which was alwaies full of trueth and grace, light, and life; and hauing so reall a tast as you speake of, and so immeasurable a fulnesse of life and grace, as the Scriptures speake; I greatly maruaile how you come really to place hell and heauen in one soule together, and specially in the soule of Christ, on which you inflict the very substance of hell paines, when yet the abundance and continuance of heauenly ioy could not want in him.

As for *my somewhere confessing cleane against my selfe, that Christ transfigured in the mount tasted of that heauenly glory prepared for him*; I see not how that crosseth any thing auouched by me in the 337. and 338. page by you noted. You shall do well when you challenge contrarieties, not to let the report rest on your crackt credit, but produce the words, that your Reader may be iudge of both. You are sharp enough to catch hold of any thing, if there were any cause. I called indeed Christs transfiguration on the mount a taste of that heauenly ioy prepared for him, I called it not heauen. A taste of things neither abideth, nor sufficeth, which heauen fully doth; & therefore it is rather a contradiction, then a confession of your conceit. For if you thinke that Christs heauenly glory may be defectiue or mutable, as his transfiguration was, you broch a wicked and impious error. Christs transfiguration did not exempt him from feare, sorrow, shame and death following, which if you imagine of his glorification in heauen, it is a right hellish impiety. And whatsoeuer we affirme of Christ touching his preeminence aboue all the children of men, as that he was free from sinne, and full of grace, and had the perfect knowledge of Gods trueth and will aboue men and Angels, I hope you will not deriue it to his members heere liuing in the flesh, least you leaue no ground of Christian religion vnshaken.

[r] *Onely this you haue to obiect touching men, that faith and hope is the euidence of things not seene: neither are our greatest ioyes the same, nor equall to them which we shall possesse in the next world.*] I haue also to obiect, that it is not lawfull for you nor for any man liuing to determine of Gods kingdome without his warrant, nor to auouch that to be heauen, which the Scriptures doe not. Take heed, it is no pastime to play with heauen and hell, as you do, without better assurance than you haue. Know you not what that learned Father sayth? [t] *Nobis nihil ex nostro arbitrio indulgere licet. It is not lawfull for vs* (that be Christians) *to deuise any thing of our owne heads: But* [u] *it is necessarie for vs* (as Cyril sayth) *to follow the diuine Scriptures, and in nothing to depart from their prescription.* [[x] *I answere our reasons before do proue more than only hope in the faithfull sometimes.*] And I replie that none of your reasons do any way proue the ioyes of heauen. Gods answere to Moses must stoppe your mouth, and the presumption of all such as you are; [y] *Thou canst not see my face, for there shall no man see me, and liue.* Moses saw as much as in this mortall life any man compassed with sinne is able to see. He saw *posteriora Dei, the backe parts of God*; for so God sayd vnto him: [z] *I will couer thee with mine hand, whiles I passe by.* [a] *After I will take away mine hand, and thou shalt see mine hinder parts: but my face shalt thou not see.* Whereupon S. Austen sayth very aduised-

[r] Defenc. pag. 120. li. 10.

[t] Tertullianus de præscrip. aduersus hæreticos.

[u] Cyril. de fide ad Reginas. li 2.

[x] Defenc pag. 120 li. 14.

[y] Exod. 33.

[z] Exo. 33. v. 22.

[a] 23.

[a] *Auguſt. de Symbolo ad Catechumenos. li. 4 ca. 3.*
[b] Iohn 8.
[c] *Auguſt. de ciuitate Dei. li. 16. ca. 29.*
[d] 1. Cor. 13.
[e] 1. Iohn 3.
[f] Iohn 14.
[g] Defence pag. 120. li. 15.
[h] 2. Cor. 12.
[i] 1 Cor. 13.
[k] 2. Cor. 5.
[l] Galat. 2.
[m] Phil. 3.
[n] Reuel. 4.
[o] 2. Pet. 1.

ly: [a] *Ipſa ſunt illa poſteriora Dei, Chriſtus Dei. Thoſe hinder parts of God, were the Chriſt of God.* Which expoſition Chriſt confirmeth, when he ſayth: [b] *Your Father Abraham reioyced to ſee my day, and he ſaw it, and was glad.* Other ſhewes of Gods glorie ſome others had, as Elias in the Caue, the People in the Wilderneſſe, Salomon in his Temple, and Iohn Baptiſt in Iordan, when he ſaw the Holy Ghoſt deſcend like a Doue, and abide on Chriſt; but none of thoſe was the ſight of Gods face, *which no* (mortall) man can ſee, and liue. And that is the true and eſſentiall ioy of heauen, to which all other degrees of perfection and happineſſe are conſequent. [c] *Videns Deum, quod erit in fine præmium omnium ſanctorum. The ſight of God* (ſayth Auſten) *ſhall in the end be the reward of all his ſaints.* Which doctrine he learned from S. Paul and S. Iohn the Apoſtles of Chriſt, and they from their Maſter. [d] *Then* (we ſhall ſee him) *face to face*, and then ſhall I *know*, ſayth S. Paul, *euen as I am knowen. When Chriſt ſhall appeare*, ſayth S. Iohn, [e] *we ſhall be like to him, for we ſhall ſee him as he is.* And ſo our Sauiour: [f] *I will loue him (that loueth me) and ſhew mine owne ſelfe vnto him.*

[g] *Secondly, it is true the Apoſtle ſayth, that here we walke by faith, and liue by hope; yet ſome rare exceptions do not ouerthrow this generall courſe.*] The Scriptures are true with you, ſaue where you liſt to make exceptions of your doctrine as not conteined in them, nor agreeing with them. No man in this life, Chriſt Ieſus only excepted, had euer any ſuch viſion of God, or poſſeſsion and fruition of his heauenly kingdome, that he did not walke by faith, and liue by hope. Paul *was* [h] *taken vp into the third heauen, and heard words not lawfull* (or not poſsible) *for man to vtter.* Did he then ceaſe to walke by faith, who after and alwayes profeſſed of himſelfe; [i] *Now I know in part, but then I ſhall know as I am knowen?* And including himſelfe with the reſt; [k] *We walke by faith, not by ſight:* And exactly ſpeaking of himſelfe; [l] *That I now liue in the fleſh, I liue by the faith of the Sonne of God*; [m] *that I may know him, and the vertue of his reſurrection, and fellowſhip of his afflictions, not as though I had alreadie attained to it, but I endeuour my ſelfe to that which is before, and follow hard towards the marke, for the price of the high calling of God in Ieſus Chriſt.* If you dare defend, that Paul in Paradiſe did ſee God face to face, then may you ſay, that at that time he walked not by faith, but by ſight; but if that be a plaine errour, then Paul as yet attained not the ſight of Gods face, nor the crowne of righteouſneſſe layed vp for him, which ſhould be giuen him by the iuſt Iudge at that day; and conſequently neither faith nor hope ceaſed in Paul, notwithſtanding his being in the third heauen. The like I ſay of S. Iohn, who [n] *ſaw a dore open in heauen, and was willed to come vp thither*, and of all the Saints that either talked with God, or had any manifeſt reuelation of his glory, whiles here they liued.

The tranſfiguring of Chriſt in the mount, was to him not only a ioyfull hope, but a reall taſte of his very heauenly ioyes.] That transfiguration of Chriſt, whether it were for himſelfe or for the confirmation of his Diſciples, the Scriptures doe not preciſely determine. When a voice came from heauen to Chriſt in the audience of all the people, Chriſt anſwered; *This voice came not becauſe of me, but for your ſakes.* S. Peter, who was one of thoſe Diſciples that ſaw him transfigured, writeth thus of it: [o] *We followed not deceiuable fables, but with our eyes we ſaw his Maieſtie: for he receiued of God the Father honour and glory, when there came ſuch a voice to him from the excellent glory, This is my beloued Sonne, in whom I am well pleaſed.* This voice, which was greater glory than his transfiguration, came in reſpect of them, to confirme them in their faith and obedience to the Sonne of God then incarnate; and yet to aſſure their eyes by ſight, as well as their eares by that voice, he was transfigured before them: but this transfiguration did not free Chriſt from feare, ſorrow, ſhame, violence, and death, which followed; and therefore this was not heauen to him, nor all the glory prepared for him, but an outward ſhew thereof, to eſtabliſh rather his Diſciples, then himſelfe. For his ſoule within him had here on earth greater glorie continually then a tranſitorie change of his body, as namely the perſonall vnion with God, which no creature, man, nor Angell, in earth or heauen, had or hath beſides him; the fulneſſe of Gods ſpirit reſting on him, by which he knew all the counſell and will of God, and all the ſecrets of mens hearts;

hearts; power ouer all flesh, and command ouer all creatures, which neither Saint nor Angell in heauen hath. In the glory of his body *Moses* and *Steuen* did here on earth in part communicate with him. p *The children of Israel could not behold the face of Moses for the glorie of his countenance*, which so glittered, that *the children of Israel were afrayd to come neere him*, & he forced to put a vaile vpon his face, when they spake with him; and yet *Moses* q *wist not that the skin of his face shone bright*. And likewise r *all that sate in the councell*, where Steuen was conuented & condemned, *looking stedfastly on him saw his face as the face of an Angell*, that is, bright and glorious, though Steuen knew it not no more than Moses, for ought that the Scripture noteth of him; saue that in the end Steuen s *looking stedfastly into heauen saw the glory of God, and Iesus standing at the right hand of God*. But the inward and continuall glorie of Christes soule heere on earth was proper to him, no man nor angell matching him therein. How come you then to attribute heauen vnto Christ for the momentarie transfiguration of his bodie, and to neglect and ouerskippe the constant and continuall ioy and glory of his soule, which far better deserued the name of heauen, than the change of his bodie?

p 2. Cor. 3. *Moses face did shine when he knew it not.*
q Exod. 34. ver. 29.
r Acts 6.
s Acts 7.

t *We grant the ioyes of heauen here are nothing equall to those hereafter: only we say the very same in nature may be and are by the effectuall working of Gods gratious spirit in his elect reuealed in some measure and sometime euen in this world. Neither is this, as your charity speaketh, any lewd or wicked error.*] My charity serueth me, and my duty bindeth me to tell you, that if you, of your owne head without the word of God, will make an heauen, or defend that to be heauen, which is imperfect, mutable, and often defiled not with misery and death only, but with weakenesse and wickednesse also, you maintaine an euident and pestilent error. The graces of God are heauenly, aswell because they are giuen from heauen, and direct to heauen, as also they assure men of heauen; but the measure of grace or ioy, which we haue heere on earth, is not the heauen, which we are willed to beleeue and expect, where our reward is, and where an incorruptible, vndefiled, and immutable inheritance is reserued for vs, and whence we looke for our Sauiour.

t Defenc. pag. 921. li. 2.

The name of Nature in the graces of God and ioyes of heauen is a vaine distinction.

Your distinction, that our ioy is the very same in nature, though not in measure, which is in heauen, is not only false, but a void and idle refuge. For the ioy of heauen is the plaine vision of Gods face, which bringeth with it a present, perfect, perpetuall, and plenary possession of all *light, power, loue, holinesse, and happinesse* deriueable from God; which in this weake, fraile, sinnefull and wretched life no man hath, nor can haue. And therefore though there be the knowledge, loue and ioy of God, both in this life and in the next; yet the differences are so many, and so great, that no man of any reason or vnderstanding will make the one to be the other for some agreements in some points, whereas in the whole there is not only a substantiall difference betwixt them, which is the sight of Gods face, but so many parts, effects, and consequēts in the one, which are not in the other, that it is more then folly to make the one by pretence of nature to be the same with the other. All ioy in nature is the same, if by nature we meane the generall definition therof; for ioy is the impression or inward sense of good present, or instant; yea hope is in nature all one with ioy, since in hope there is ioy, as in feare there is paine, and in hope we reioice: yet no considerate diuine will confound hope and ioy together, because they differ but in time, much lesse make the ioies in this life, which are defectiue, mutable, and permixed with our infirmity, misery, and iniquity, the very same in nature with the ioies of heauen, which are abundant, constant, and sincere in all parts and effects, of brightnesse, mightfulnesse, righteousnesse, and blessednesse, which men can possibly comprehend, when they come to the presence of God. The sight of God by his creatures, by his iudgments, by his word, and by himselfe, is the same in the generall nature of knowledge; yet are there as great differences betwixt them, as betwixt darkenesse and light. The Apostle saith, u *The inuisible thinges of God, that is his eternall power and godhead, are seene by the creation of the world, considered in his workes, and that which may be knowen of God, is manifest in them*. Shall we then say, the heathen haue the very same knowledge of

u Rom. 1.

God by his workes, which the Angels in heauen haue by the ſight of himſelfe? the Diuels know him alſo by his workes, by his word, and his iudgements. [x] *Thou beleeueſt*, ſaith Iames, *That there is one God, thou doeſt well. The Diuels alſo beleeue it, and tremble.* Yea they know Chriſt to be the ſonne of God. [y] *I know who thou art*, ſaid the Diuell to Chriſt, *euen the holy one of God.* Shall we then thinke that the Diuels faith is the very ſame in nature with our Chriſtian faith? of many caſtawaies, which fall away from the grace of God, and receaue it in vaine, the Apoſtle ſaith. [z] *They were once lightened, and taſted of the heauenly gift, and were made partakers of the holy Ghoſt, and taſted of the good word of God, and of the powers of the world to come.* Shall we auouch theſe reprobates were in heauen in this life, becauſe they had once the very ſame graces in nature, which the elect haue? If our knowledge doe differ in this life and the next, then doth our ioy likewiſe differ. From our knowledge of God riſeth our loue of God, and our ioy in God. For we can neither haue loue, nor ioy of that, which we know not: but as our knowledge increaſeth, ſo doth our loue and ioy. And therefore when we ſee God infallibly, as he is, then ſhall we loue him vnfainedly, as we ought, and reioice in him vnſpeakeably, euen as much, as we are capable of, not by the ſtrength of our nature, but by the working of his power. Till then as our knowledge is darke, and in part, ſo our loue is weake, and our ioy is faint; but then ſhall theſe very thinges not only riſe to an higher degree, and be of another nature, but be repleniſhed with all parts of light, power, and bliſſe, without which we may defend nothing to be heauen indeed, howſoeuer wee may vſe figuratiue ſpeaches to comfort, or encourage the godly. As then worke and wages, labour and reſt, ſowing and reaping, running and obtaining, ſtriuing and crowning, abroade and at home, doe differ euen in nature, ſo *faith and ſight, hope and hauing, promiſing and performing*, that is, our ſtate in earth and heauen, doth likewiſe differ; though it be one and the ſame thing, which is now promiſed, beleeued, and hoped for, and which hereafter ſhalbe receaued, attained, and enioyed.

[x] Ionas 2.

[y] Luc. 4.

[z] Heb. 6.

Our loue and ioy do follow our knowledge.

[a] Defenc. pag. 121. li. 7. [a] *Now then if more then hope only euen heauenly ioies may be on earth, ſurely it followeth, that likewiſe more then feare, euen helliſh paines themſelues may be in men on earth alſo.*] If the ioies of heauen be not only conſtant in nature, but perfect in meaſure, and conſiſt in the ſight of Gods face, which no man ſhall ſee, and liue; then certainly the ioies of heauen are not in this life imparted to any mortall and ſinnefull man. And though that might be, which yet God expreſſely denieth ſhalbe; yet the other is no conſequent, that the paines of the damned may be likewiſe in this weake and fainting fleſh; becauſe ioy is an affection, that preſerueth this life; and paine, if it be violent and aboue our ſtrength, preſently ſeuereth the ſoule from the body. Take an example of this fire, which we ſee and know. If it be not poſsible without a miracle from the mighty hand of God for fleſh to abide, or life to dure in the paine of burning and flaming fire; how leſſe poſsible is it for the wicked, on whom God ſheweth no ſuch wonders, to liue and continue in the paines of the damned, whiles they are heere faſtened to the fleſh? [b] *Hic quidem non ſimul contingit vehementia pœnarum, & earum diuturnitas. Altera enim cum altera pugnat, propter conditionem corruptibilis huius corporis non ferentis ea.* *In this life* (ſaith Chryſoſtome) *the violence of paines, and the continuance thereof cannot ſtand together. The one fighteth with the other, by reaſon of this corruptible body, which cannot beare both.* And againe [c] *Name fire, or ſword, or any thing that is more grieuous then theſe, yet theſe are ſcant a ſhadow to thoſe torments.*

[b] Chryſoſt. ad Theodorum lapſum epiſt. 5.

[c] Idem ad Populum Antiochenum homil. 49.

[d] Defenc. pag. 121. li. 16. [d] *And if hell paines in this world may be in any, much rather may they be in Chriſt, whom God purpoſely ſent through paines and afflictions (the extreameſt that might be) to be conſecrated the Prince of our ſaluation.*] If the true paines of hell might be in others here liuing, yet in Chriſts ſoule they might not be, ſince his ſoule had alwaies greater inward ioyes of the holy Ghoſt, which you call heauen, then any man here liuing on earth could haue, except your learning ſerue you, to put both the ioyes of heauen and the paines of hell at one and the ſame time in the ſoule of Chriſt. As for your proofe, when you ſhew that the paines of hell are *ſacred* and holy, then bring them to conſecreat

conſecrate the Prince of our ſaluation. Till then, refraine this apparent colluſion, to make Chriſt both obedient and aſtoniſhed, patient and ouerwhelmed in the paines of hell; and learne that God tried the obedience and patience of his Sonne by the things which he ſuffered, and ſo conſecrated or conſummated him to be the Prince of our ſaluation; who muſt be conformed to his image to ſuffer with him, not the pains of hell, but the miſeries and afflictions of this life, with all obedience to the will and counſell of God, if we will reigne with him.

* *If you ſay yet thus it will follow, that the extreameſt paines of hell are not to be found in this world, as the hieſt ioyes of heauen are not likewiſe by my confeſſion: I anſwere I know not, neither meane I to determine the meaſure and depth of ſorowes, which Chriſt in his Paſſion ſuffered.*] Either you change mindes with the windes, or he that wrote this, wrote not that which went before. In the 52 page of this booke li. 25. you prated apace, that *Chriſt ſuffered a ſenſe of Gods wrath* EQVALL *to hell it ſelfe, and* ALL THE TORMENTS *thereof.* And in the 15 page li. 16. you ſolemnly concluded, *whence it muſt follow, that the paines of Chriſts ſuffering were the ſame in nature and* ALTOGETHER AS SHARPE, *and as painfull as they are in hell it ſelfe.* Now you know no ſuch thing, nor meane to determine it. It were good you tooke vpon you to know leſſe of your helliſh myſteries, till you were more aſſured of them, or better learned in them. This floting vp & downe like the waues of the ſea, ſhew that either diuers mens pens haue beene in your papers, or that vnquiet buzzes are in your owne braines, who ſometimes can not nor will not, and yet ſomtimes can and will determine, and pronounce the paines of hell ſuffered by Chriſt to be EQVALL to hell and all the torments thereof, and AS SHARPE as the ſharpeſt in hell. But your Reader, if he be wiſe, will ſee you more conſtant in your owne conceits, before he giue any credit to them; and leſſe maruell that men fallen from the trueth thus reele to and fro. * Defenc pag. 121. li. 14. & 19.

† *Only grant this plainly, that Chriſt ſuffered in his ſoule the true effects of Gods proper iuſtice and wrath, and we ſeeke no more.*] Tell me firſt, what you meane by the effects of Gods proper iuſtice and wrath, and then from what Scripture you deriue it, and you ſhall ſoone ſee what I grant. Only ſay you no more than you haue expreſſe warrant of the holie Ghoſt to beleeue, and I aske no more. With the name of Gods proper wrath you haue plaied a long time, and a number haue deceaued them ſelues. For as it is moſt true, that God would haue laid none of theſe things, which Chriſt ſuffered, on his owne ſonne, but diſpleaſed and angrie with our ſinnes; for which he was to ſatisfie the Iuſtice of God, leaſt our iniquitie ſhould ſeeme a matter of dalliance, and eaſily ouerpaſt: ſo it is as true, that God neither was, nor could be wroth and offended with the perſon of his owne ſonne, in whom he was well pleaſed, and for whoſe ſake he was reconciled to vs; but that the chaſtiſement of our peace being impoſed on him, who for the innocencie and excellencie of his perſon was able to tolerate and mitigate the wrath of God prouoked by our ſinnes, he made the purgation of them by that kind of ſatisfaction, which was conuenient both to the dignitie and ſafetie of his perſon, and argued apparantly the loue of God towards him, and his loue towards vs; whiles he put him ſelfe in the gappe, by his owne ſmart to auert and appeaſe the iuſt wrath kindled againſt vs. Now what this chaſtiſement was, wee may neither of vs, nor any man els ſeeke farder, then the holie Ghoſt hath deliuered, that [g] *Chriſt died for our ſinnes according to the Scriptures, and* [h] *became obedient to the death, euen the death of the croſſe*; which is plainly deſcribed by the Euangeliſts, and ſhould not be queſtioned by any, that is not more wedded to his conceits than to the word of God. † Defenc pag. 121. li. 22. [g] 1. Cor. 15. [h] Philip 2.

‡ *Though Chriſt ſuffered all (which he did ſuffer) here in this world, yet for any thing I can ſee, there is cauſe why Chriſt ſhould be an extraordinarie perſon in the caſe of ſuffering for ſin in this life, and that therefore as touching ſorow and paine, he might feele more than euer any els hath or could feele for the time.*] He was an extraordinarie perſon indeed, as being the true and only Sonne of God, that is, both God and man in one perſon, bearing the burden of our ſinnes in his bodie, but appropriating or accounting the ſame to the ‡ Defenc. pag. 121. li. 31.

the dignitie of his perſon, that by his death he might aboliſh him that had rule of death, and reſtore vs to life by his humilitie and obedience, which was ſo precious and glorious in the ſight of God, that he accepted it as a full ſacrifice and ſatisfaction for all our ſinnes, *and made him the authour of eternall ſaluation to all that obey him*: but that he muſt be God aſwel as man, to be able to ſuffer the paines of hell & the ſecond death, that is a new deuice of yours, not conuerting the Godhead of Chriſt to the infiniteneſſe of his merits, but abuſing it to the infiniteneſſe of his paines, to make place for your new-found hell from the immediate hand of God, where Scripture mentioneth no ſuch thing in the worke of our redemption, but plainly and fairely teacheth vs, that we are [k] *reconciled to God by the death of his Sonne*, who [l] *by the bloud of his Croſſe* procured perfect peace in heauen and in earth, and reſtored vs to the fauour of God, *through death in the bodie of his fleſh*, in which *he* [m] *condemned ſinne*, that we might *be* [n] *ſanctified by the offering of his bodie once made* on the altar of the Croſſe. And this doctrine ſo euidently and frequently deliuered by the Holy Ghoſt in the ſacred Scriptures, is ſo ſufficient, that I ſee no cauſe, nor need of your hell paines, beſides no warrant nor witneſſe of them; except we dreame, that the ſpirit of God did not well vnderſtand, or could not aptly expreſſe your helliſh myſteries, which he alwaies ouerpaſſeth with ſilence, when hee ſpeaketh of the purgation of our ſinnes, and our redemption by the precious bloud of the Lambe vnſpotted and vndefiled. If therefore it be not lawfull in the higheſt points of faith to adde ought to the word of God, nor to thinke that the ſpirit of Trueth faileth or defecteth in his inſtruction vnto trueth, I do not ſee with what dutie to God you and others may be ſo bolde with the Sonne of God, as to ſubiect his ſoule to the ſecond death, and to the paines of the damned, when the Scriptures offer vs no ſuch part or point of our beliefe.

[k] Rom. 5.
[l] Coloſſ. 1.
[m] Rom. 8.
[n] Heb. 10.

[o] Defenc. pag. 121. li. 36. [o] *You ſeeme to grant vnto Chriſt all naturall ſorrow and feare, neither doe we ſeeke any more: but you truſt the paine of the damned is more than a naturall oppreſſing and afflicting of the heart with humane feare and ſorow. Forſooth it is not. It is no more than a very naturall humane feare and ſorow. It proceedeth immediately and principally from God himſelfe, who is the Nature of Natures. Alſo mans nature is apt to receiue ſuch ſorow and feare from him. Thus the very paines of the damned are meerely naturall.*] If you make vs many ſuch concluſions, you will proue your ſelfe a meere Naturall. For if all things be meerely naturall to man, that God either beſtoweth or inflicteth on man, then grace and glorie are meerely naturall to man, yea heauen it ſelfe is as naturall to man as hell, and the Holy Ghoſt himſelfe ſhall become meerely naturall to man; for God doth giue, and we [p] *receiue the ſpirit of adoption, whereby we crie Abba Father*: yea the ſecond perſon in Trinitie is inſeparably ioyned to mans nature, and as well the Father as the Sonne [q] *abide and* [r] *dwell* in all the Saints. So that the coniunction, communion, and inhabitation of the godhead in man is meerly naturall vnto man by your doctrine; and not only God, but the Diuell is as naturall to man, and ſo are thoſe things, which are moſt vnnaturall, and moſt repugnant to mans nature. For man doth, and ſuffereth them, by and from God, or the Diuel. As corruption and incorruption, mortality and immortality, righteouſneſſe & vnrighteouſneſſe, ſaluation and deſtruction, eternall life and eternall death, are meerly naturall to man by your learned diſcourſe, which if you perſiſt to defend, take heed leaſt men doubt, whether frenſie be naturall to you or no. Natural I called, not whatſoeuer is any way incident to men in this life or the next, but that which is generall, & neceſſary to all men, in that they are men. Wherfore I make neither hell, nor heauen naturall vnto men, ſince the one God giueth by his power and grace aboue our nature, for our nature is not to be, as the Angels of God; and in the other by iuſtice and wrath God worketh againſt our nature. For that fire ſhould euerlaſtingly burne, and fleſh euerlaſtingly dure therein, and ſoules be extreamely tormented therewith, are to my vnderſtanding farre beyond nature, except you bereaue God of his almighty power and will, which the Scriptures confeſſe in him, and call him by the name of nature, which is no more, but the condition and operation, that he hath aſsigned in this world to euery creature. If you would needs know, whence

[p] Rom. 8.
[q] 1. Ioh. 4.
[r] 2. Cor. 6.

whence I tooke the word naturall, read either *Fulgentius* or *Damaſcene*, and you ſhall ſoone ſee, what they and I meane by *nature*. [f] *Becauſe Chriſt*, ſaith Fulgentius, *tooke vpon him to be a true man, ideo cunctas naturæ humanæ infirmitates veras quidem, ſed voluntarias ſuſtinuit, therefore he ſuſtained all the infirmities of mans nature, truely but voluntarily*, and ſo Damaſcene. [t] *We confeſſe that Chriſt vndertooke all naturall and ſinleſſe paſſions. Naturall and ſinleſſe paſſions are thoſe, which entered into mans life by the condemnation of (Adams) tranſgreſſion; as hunger, thirſt, wearineſſe, labour, weeping, ſhunning of death, feare, agonie, and ſuch like, which are naturally in all men.* So that what is generall and neceſſarie to all men in this life, is naturall to man, which I truſt neither hell nor heauen is, though by iuſtice or mercie all men after this life ſhall feele the one, or enioy the other.

[f] *Fulgentius ad Traſimundum li. tertio.*

[t] Damaſ. li. 3. ca. 20.

[u] *Supernaturall I graunt they are, if we meane this, that they are aboue our natures ſtate to beare or to comprehend them.*] If your rule be true, that men naturally receiue the paines of hell, why ſhould not mans nature as well beare them, or comprehend them, as receiue them; except you meane the bearing of them with patience, or comprehending the end of them? what puniſhment men receiue, that they beare. [x] *He that troubleth you, ſhall beare his condemnation, whoſoeuer he be.* And againe, [y] *euery man ſhall beare his own burden.* And ſo elſewhere. [z] *I bow my knees vnto the Father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, that he will grant you, that ye may be ſtrengthened by his ſpirit in the inward man, that ye may be able to* COMPREHEND *with all Saints, what is the breadth & length, and depth and height, and to know the loue of Chriſt, which paſſeth (the) knowledge* (of man.) And if men ſhall feele the paines of hell, why ſhall they not comprehend that, which they feele? They ſhall apprehend no end nor eaſe thereof, but feeling is a comprehenſion of the paine, though it ſhall be ſo great, that they cannot endure it with any patience. And yet ſince you ſtriue for the paines of hell in the ſoule of Chriſt, aduiſe you whether Chriſt ſhall comprehend them, or want patience in them, and not ſee an end of them. For if he did ſuffer them, he did *beare* them, and *comprehend* them, except you make him *impatient* in his paines, and the paines *euerlaſting* in him.

[u] Defenc. pag. 122. li. 6.

[x] Gala 5.

[y] Gala 6.

[z] Epheſ. 3.

[a] *The next is as vaine, where you thinke it not tolerable, that I ſay Chriſt in plaine wordes prayed contrary to his Fathers knowen will; I pray haue patience: I ſay no harme, nor I meane no ill.*] A plaine patterne of vanitie if a man would ſeeke for, he ſhall neede goe no farder, then theſe eight pages ſpent in excuſing your bold and ſawcie aſſertion, that is, [b] *It is manifeſt in plaine words, Chriſt prayed contrary to Gods knowen will.* And the conſequents, which you hang to it, are worſe then the words themſelues; that [c] *he plainely corrected his will by Gods will, and in correcting it was contrarie, yea he knew it to be ſo; and* [d] *vnleſſe it were in aſtoniſhment,* [e] *he could not haue wanted ſinne.* For none of all theſe poſitions haue any trueth in them, or proofe for them, beſides your wilfull miſtaking and wreſting the Scriptures. The words of our Sauiour, as I haue ſhewed before, haue foure expoſitions with the auncient Fathers, euery one confirming, that there was no contradiction indeede betweene the will of God & the prayer of Chriſt. The firſt that Chriſt praied *vpon a condition*, if man might poſsibly be otherwiſe ſaued, and the Iewes not periſh by his paſsion, which Origen, Ierom & Bede do follow. They put a ſpeciall Emphaſis in the words, THIS CVP, which ſhould be the vtter deſolation and reiection of the Iewes. The next limiteth the word PASSE to POSSIBLE, as if Chriſt had ſaid, *let this cup paſſe from me, as much as is poſſible*; by which he deſireth a moderation of the puniſhment prouoked by our ſinnes, and yet referreth it to his Fathers will. This Euthymius embraceth. A third is, that Chriſt confeſſed a naturall diſlike of death and paine in the weakneſſe of his fleſh, though his ſpirit did readily ſubmit it ſelfe to the diuine will of his Father, and of himſelfe, euen touching the death of the croſſe. This ſenſe Chyſoſtome, Damaſcene and others doe bring. The fourth, that Chriſt here aſſumed and declared the weakneſſe of his members, who being no more then men, ſhould feare death; but he by ſuffering that affection to riſe in himſelfe, and repreſsing it, did by his grace cure it in his, when, and as he ſeeth time and cauſe. This Hilarie, Cyrill, and Auſten doe like. So that Chriſtes wordes being euery way free

[a] Defenc. 122. li. 10. *Chriſts prayer was not contrary to Gods knowen will.*

[b] Trea. pa. 59. li. 4.

[c] Ibid. pa. 58. li. 11.

[d] Ibid. pa. 59. li. 6. & [e] 8.

from

from *plaine and manifest contradicting Gods knowen will*, as you would make them to aduance your hell paines by them, who but you would ship out such wine-shaken stuffe, that Christ [f] *was astonished, forgetfull, and all confounded in his whole humanitie both in all the powers of his soule, and senses of his body*, that he knew not what he said, or did; or els *he could not haue wanted sinne?*

[f] Treat. pa. 53. li. 32.

[g] Defenc. pag. 122. li. 19. [g] *Neuer skoffe at it, nor reproch it, nor wrest it. We ought not to be ashamed to acknowledge the weakenesse of humane nature in Christ; which Christ was not ashamed of for our sakes to vndergoe.*] It is you that are ashamed of humane weakenesse in the flesh of Christ; and therefore you deuise the torments of diuels in the soule of Christ, and the paines of the damned, because you thinke it a shame for him, to haue his flesh afrayd of paine and death. Right your selfe therefore by your owne rule, and then you may well be ashamed of these monsters deuised by you, whiles you shun to acknowledge mans weakenesse voluntarily receiued in the flesh of Christ, as well to prooue the trueth of his owne manhood, as the comfort and cure the infirmitie of our nature. But why doe you not first prooue it, and after presume it? this pretending it to be plaine, before any such thing doth appeare, is no more but dreaming of a noble conquest, when you haue receiued a shamefull foyle.

[h] Defenc. pag. 122. li. 22. &. [h] *Did not Christ in plaine words pray, that if it were possible this houre might passe from him, and before, saue me from this houre? doth he not then pray in plaine wordes contrary to Gods knowen will?*] Who but a man confounded in all the powers of his sense and vnderstanding, hauing so many expositions brought him out of learned and auncient Fathers, would in a rage reiect them all without any regard, and leaning onely to the wilfulnesse of his owne imagination, conclude with such confidence his owne vntoward conceits to be the true meaning of the sacred Scriptures? If Fathers be but fathers with you, doe you not heere three Euangelists, Matthew, Marke and Luke euidently & exquisitely witnesse, that Christ prayed with reseruation and submission to the will of God? how then prayed he contrary to the knowen will of God? [i] *In correcting it, it was contrarie: yea and he knew it to be so.*] It is a signe you swell with no small liking of your selfe, that little care to crosse all writers old and new, without any cause, but onely for the good opinion you haue of your selfe. M. Beza, from whom you would seeme to borrow some points of your hell paines, though you leaue him, when you list, as not worthy to teach you any thing, directly and truely refuteth your error.

Christ prayed with condition and reseruation of Gods will.

[f] Treatis pa. 85. li. 12.

[k] Beza in annot. [k] *Obseruandum est hac particula non corrigi superiorem petitionem, (ita enim fuisset in Christo vitium) sed explicari, qua conditione id peteret. We must marke by this speach, (yet not as I will) the former prayer is not* CORRECTED, *(for so it had bene a fault in Christ) but it is declared, with what condition Christ desired it.* So that your correcting Christs prayer by the plaine confession of M. Beza chargeth Christ with corruption of sinne, yea and Christes *knowing it so to be*, as you affirme, that is, to be contrarie to Gods will, noteth a manifest and aduised contradiction in Christ to the will of God his Father; which whether it be sinne or no, let any that is but halfe a diuine iudge. S. Iohn, you say, reporteth Christ to haue sayd absolutely, [l] *Father saue me from this houre.*] First Hilaries rule is of necessitie to be retained in expounding the Scriptures. [m] *Prestant sibi mutuam Euangelia plenitudinem; dum alia ex aliis, quia omnia vnius spiritus predicatio sunt, intelliguntur. The Gospels make vp eche others fulnesse, whiles one is vnderstood by another; all being the preaching of one spirit.* Since then it is expressed in three Euangelists, that Christs prayer, for auoiding this cup and this houre, was conditionall; his words in S. Iohn to the like purpose, must haue the like construction, though they doe not exactly specifie so much. Againe your owne confession importeth no lesse, where you say; [n] *who knoweth not, that all good prayers and desires for temporall things must be conditionall, that is with reseruation of Gods will alwayes implied, though not alwayes expressed?* Christ prayers then, to escape this houre, must haue that condition vnderstoode, though it be not mentioned in the words, since his prayers were not onely good, but heard of God, and the ground of all our prayers in the time of trouble. Thirdly, the best Greeke expositours that we haue, as Chrysostom, Epiphanius, and Theophylact,

[l] Iohn 12.

[m] Hilarius de trinitate li. 10.

[n] Defenc. pag. 126. li. 7.

haue

haue conceaued the force and order of Christs speach to be such, as if that part, which you auouch to be repugnant to the rest, were excluded and denied by the words antecedent and consequent, and so to haue rather the power of a negation, then an affirmation. Lastly, many new writers acknowledge the wordes, though they were affirmatiue, may receiue an other sense: as if Christ did not desire to be free from suffering, but to be kept from *fainting*, vnder the burden of his passion. So Bucer. [t] *Patrem Christus orauit, vt liberaret eũ à supplicio, non ne illud perferret, sed vt fortior perferret. Christ besought his Father to saue him from* (the houre of) *punishment, not that he might not suffer it, but that he might suffer it patiently,* (*or without fainting.*) So Aretius. [u] *There may be an other sense of this place, which is, that Christ doth not intreate to escape death, but prayeth his Fathers aide against the horror thereof.* So that to be saued from this houre, is to be preserued in it, that it preuailed not against him. The wordes then of our Sauiour in S. Iohn admitting so many limitations and constructions, who but a wilfull neglecter of all learning and trueth, would so peremtorily by pretence of them conclude, that *manifestly in plaine wordes, Christ prayed contrary to Gods knowen will?*

[t] Bucerus in Iohan. ca. 12.

[u] Aretius in Iohan. ca. 12.

[q] *If this could not be possible in Christs manhoode without sinne, then I were a wretch to affirme so much of him; especially still to affirme it. But if it be possible by any meanes, through the meere instinct of mans nature* (*as it is Gods creature and free from all sinne*) *thus to speake and to wish suddainly, and suddainly to controle it againe, as Christ did, then what mind beare you, and how may we iudge of thie your striuing, which is not to cleare Christ from all sinne in his agony?*] A goodly clearing from sinne you make in Christ, that in a maze he prayed he knew not what. You suddainly take Christs memorie from him, and suddainly restore it againe with the twinckling of an eye; and thus you play with Christs sense and memorie, as men doe with tennis balles. But vnderstand you sir, howsoeuer you please your selfe with amazing Christ after this manner, the Scriptures allow no such thing, nor any circumstances of the text, where the wordes seeme most plainely repugnant as you say, to Gods knowen will, as in the 12. of Iohn. Read that Chapter who will, where are no wordes nor signes of any maze, but a perpetuall course of most excellent speach; in the midst whereof he confessed, that his soule was (then) troubled with the remembrance of his death. And as doubting what to desire, through the dislike that mans nature in him had of death, he yet resolueth to desire not his owne safetie from death, but the increase of his Fathers glory by his death. What signe or proofe of amazement is in this? why take you this pestilent libertie to put Christ into a suddaine maze, when pleaseth you; and as suddainly, least all the world should crie shame on you, to cleare him from it, though the cause of his maze, if there were any, still continued? you say, *if it were not by some meanes possible, you were a wretch to affirme it:* but you must not deuise what meanes please you, to waue the Sonne of God to and fro with suddaine and often desires, which needed correcting and controlling, and then to warfe them with want of memorie. My striuing is not against any wordes in the text, or any thing that may be iustly deduced from the Scriptures, but against your forgetfull and faithlesse prayers, which you purposely impute to Christ, because you would hemme him either within sinne, or astonishment; and then excuse him with losse of sense, and lacke of memorie. This is the maine plot, that heere you vndertake, not by prooving, that it was so; but by pronouncing, that you will haue it so; and therefore you still answere in steede of arguing, knowing that your proofes be as weake, as your proiects strong. For first you [x] *answere, Christ knew* (his Fathers will) *but at this instant he thought not on it. And why thought he not on it?* you [y] *answere againe, his paines and sorrowes were so great, and so infinite,* that it was no maruaile hee thought not on it: but fall once to prooving, and you shall see how much you faile of your purpose.

[q] Defenc. pag. 122. li. 22.

[x] Defenc. pag. 122. li. 37.

[y] pa. 123. li. 2.

[r] *First he was now astonished, as the text saith, and you acknowledge that he might be.*] First in the twelfth of Iohn, where you make Christes prayer more absolute than in any other place, there is no mention nor signification of any astonishment; but on the contrary, the tenor of Christes speech and doctrine is not onely coherent, but full

[r] Defenc. pag. 123. li. 9.

of

of eminent power and grace. Againe, the word ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι, which you take hold on, signifieth either admiration alone, as I haue formerly shewed, or feare mixed with some wondering. Phauorinus sayth: [a] θαμβῆσαι κυρίως τὸ μὲ φοβηθῆναι καὶ φεύγειν θεὸν ἰδόντα; Thambeêsa, *properly is to feare and flie at the sight of God.* So that the word neither in the Scriptures, nor in any Grammar, signifieth your hellish astonishment for intolerable paines and torments, but suddenly to stand defixed, or somewhat afrayd at an vnwoonted sight. Thirdly, the circumstances and consequents in the text, declare that Christes astonishment or feare was not such, that it tooke from him either sense or memorie. For where all vehement amazing for the time depriueth a man of *motion, sense,* and *speech,* Christ felt vtterly none of these. The very place of S. Marke, which you quote for the word ekthambeisthai, proueth the rest which I affirme. For Christ *after he* [z] *began* (ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι) *to be afrayd,* presently *sayd vnto his* three disciples, *My soule is very heauy vnto death: tary heere and watch. So he went forward a little, and fell downe on the ground, and prayd, that if it were possible, that houre might passe from him. Then he came, and found them sleeping, and said to Peter, Couldest not thou watch one houre? Watch ye, and pray, that ye enter not into temptation.* What signes or words are here of astonishment continuing? astonishment stoppeth speech and motion, as well as sense. [y] *Omnes stupidi timore obmutuerunt; They all amazed with feare were mute,* sayth the heathen Oratour. And so the Poet; [z] *Quid stas stupida? quid taces? Thou amazed thing, why standest thou still? why art thou tongue-tied?* Yea Galen himselfe giueth euident testimonie, that men amazed with feare, neither speake nor doe any thing, but stand still with their eyes open: [a] ἡ δ' ἔκπληξις ἔστιν ὅταν μὴ φθέγγωνταί τι μήτε πράττωσιν, ἀλλ' ἀνεπτηλαμμένοις τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐφ' ἡσυχίας μένωσιν, ὁμοίως τοῖς ὑπὸ δείους ἐκπλαγεῖσι. *Amazednesse is, when men neither speake nor do any thing, but abide silent with their eyes open, like to men astonished with feare.* So that if Christ were astonished with feare or amazed, he could neither haue done nor sayd any of those things which the Gospell reporteth he did and sayd: and therefore vnlesse you can alter the rules of nature, as you doe of Scripture, Christ was in no such astonishment as you dreame of; neither did his memory faile him in speaking those words: for then how could he not haue remembred that they were spoken amisse, and needed correction as you conceiue them.

Your selfe acknowledge that he might be.] It helpeth not you, I sayd, if we should so interpret the word which S. Marke vseth, that Christ began to be afrayd, or somewhat astonished: for if [b] θαμβεῖν be θαυμάζειν τὸν θεὸν, *to admire some* (sudden or strange) *sight,* as Phauorinus auoucheth, then might our Sauiour approching Gods presence now sitting in iudgement to redeeme the world, easily finde cause both of admiration and feare, and yet be free and farre from suffering your hell paines. And where you say my words are vtterly vntrue, that [c] *many things might astonish our Sauior for the time, besides such paines*; they are truer than any thing you haue yet spoken, or will speake of his astonishment. For whether we respect the sight of his eyes, or the apprehension of his minde, he might either way beholde many things woorthie of that feare or astonishment which the Scripture describeth in him. [d] *If with the eyes of his bodie cleered with diuine light, Christ being in earth,* sayth Zanchius, *could see the things in heauen; and being in heauen, doth see what he will in earth, as he saw and heard Steuen saying, Lord Iesu receiue my spirit; he saw and spake to Paul persuing him in his Church, how much more can* (and could) *the soule of Christ see particular things in the word,* which is his Godhead? So that either the eyes of Christ, or the minde of Christ might beholde or consider the glory of Gods iudgement, whereof he spake when he sayd, [e] *Now* (euen at hand) *is the iudgement of this world*; or the greatnesse of mans sinne, or power of Gods wrath, or the vengeance deserued, from which he was to ransome man, and for which he was to satisfie God; all these things might in more likelihood in some sort astonish the humane soule of Christ, than the paines of the damned presently then inflicted on him with Gods immediate hand, as you imagine, but are no way able to proue, saue by your owne conceit. And therefore your second obseruation, that these *infinite incomprehensible and incomparable paines,* which you meane, *astonished,*

[a] *Phauor. Dictionarium in verbo* θαμβεῖν.

[z] Matth. 14.

[y] *Rhetoricorum ad Herennium li. 4.*

[z] *Plautus in Epidico.*

[a] *Galenus in Aphorismos Hippocratis. li. 7. apho. 14.*

[b] *In verbo* θαμβεῖν.

[c] Defenc. pag. 123. li. 13.

[d] *Zanchius de Incar. Christi li. 2. quæst. 11. Thesi 2 de scientia Christi. pa. 302.*

[e] Iohn 12.

niſhed, is but the froth of your fanſie; for you ſhall neuer be able to iuſtifie any ſuch thing by the text or hiſtorie of the Euangeliſts.

[f] *Thirdly adde heereunto that which you rightly grant, that it is true, a mighty feare may ſo affect a man for the time, that it ſhall hinder the ſenſes from recouering themſelues, and ſtoppe the faculties from informing one another.* Likewiſe afterward, *aſtoniſoment draweth the mind ſo wholy to thinke on ſome ſpeciall thing aboue our reach, that during the time we turne not our ſelues to any other cogitation.*] You take this to be true that I ſaid, and ſo do I, but this vtterly ſubuerted your former poſition, which now you recant, that [g] *Chriſt could not but be aſtoniſhed, forgetfull, and all confounded in his whole humanity, both in all the powers of his ſoule, and ſenſes of his body.* If Chriſt according to your deſperate doctrine *were all confounded in his whole humanity*, were not his vnderſtanding and memory confoũded aſwel as other parts of his humane nature? If he *were all confounded in all powers of his ſoule, and ſenſes of his body*, as your wicked error imagineth, are not vnderſtanding and memory powers of the ſoule? and did not I charge you iuſtly and truely with caſting Chriſt into an infernall confuſion for the time, ſince in hell it ſelfe they can be no more but *all* confounded in their whole manhoods, both in all the powers of their ſoules, and ſenſes of their body? Tell what confuſion in hell is, or can be more, then *all in all*, and I will yeeld, I did you wrong. If you cannot, then bethinke your ſelfe how lewdly and looſely you aduentured, all to confound Chriſt in all the powers of his ſoule and ſenſes of his body; in which caſe whether you leaue *ſenſe*, *memory* or *vnderſtanding* vnconfounded in Chiſt, I leaue to the cenſure of the diſcreet Reader.

[h] *I ſay, as you ſay, he now on the ſuddaine might turne neither ſenſe nor memory to any other obiect, and ſo not thinke on any thing els, but onlie on this terrible and mighty ſorow and feare.*] Your helpers haue aduiſed you to recall that forgetfulneſſe, and all confuſion in all the powers of Chriſts ſoule, & ſenſes of his body, which before you ſounded out with ſuch waine loades of wordes, as was maruailous; and now you be come to ſay, as I ſay, that there was no confuſion in the powers of Chriſts ſoule, nor in the ſenſes of his body, but an intentiue cogitation on ſome fearefull or ſorowfull thing, which for the time ſo detained the powers of the ſoule, as on a matter moſt importing and neareſt touching the ſtate of himſelfe either in ſoule or in body, that he did conuert them to no other obiect. If you ſay thus with me, then muſt you ſay farder with me, that as ſoone as Chriſt beganne to vſe ſpeach, or conuert his cogitation to praier, this aſtoniſhment was eaſed; and howſoeuer feare was not altogether diſpelled, yet he could no longer be ſaid to be amazed, or to ſeeke what to doe. For praier to God without the mind intending, and attending it, is ſinne; which might not be in Chriſt: and that Chriſt did attend his praiers, is moſt euident. For he both added a condition to them, and preſently declared, what he ment by that condition, to witte, that he deſired the bitterneſſe of this cup to paſſe, as much as Gods gratious will towards him ſhould like, and not as the ſenſe of mans nature in him would affect. So that here is nothing in Chriſtes praier arguing any forgetfulneſſe, or not remembring, but an euident confirmation rather of that which you would ſo faine denie or auoid if you could tell how; that Chriſt did religiouſly and carefully conuert his cogitations in his praiers, both to deprecate his Fathers wrath as farre as might be, and yet to giue full aſſent to his Fathers wil. And therefore the difference, which Origen, Ierom, Bede, and others make betweene the beginning, and continuing of theſe affections of feare and ſorow in Chriſt, howſoeuer with a falſe ſhew you impugne it, hath better ground in it, then any thing you ſay againſt it.

[i] *Natures verie inſtinct is in ſuch dolours to wiſh and deſire eaſe: and the more vehemently it is pinched, the more earneſtly it deſireth: and this is Gods owne gift and workemanſhip in nature, and ſimply thus to deſire is in this reſpect truely to be reckned Gods owne expreſſe will.*] Haue you now found, that Chriſt did not *manifeſtly in plaine words pray contrary to his Fathers knowen will*; But that expreſsing the ſenſe of mans nature in himſelfe, as touching the paines, which ſhould aſſault him on the Croſſe, he deſired that cup, that is, the ſharpneſſe of that paine might paſſe, as much as was poſsible to ſtand with Gods

[f] Defenc pag. 123. li. 20.

[g] Treat. pa. 53. li. 32.

[h] Defenc. pag. 124. li. 1.

[i] Defenc. pag. 124. li. 8.

good pleasure. And yet least he should seeme in nature more to respect his owne smart, then his Fathers will, he presently declareth himselfe, that he ment no farder to be eased, then might stand with Gods counsell and will foredetermining these thinges. So that without your hell paines then inflicted on Christes soule by Gods immediate hand, and without your confused and forgetfull astonishment, the praiers of our Saviour in the Garden did both answeare Gods ordinance in the frame of our flesh, which is not brasse, as Iob speaketh, and yet preferre the will of God for the conseruation of his iustice, before the liking of his sense, or desire of his nature. Which if you acknowledge, then are your assertions false and wicked, that *Christ in plaine wordes praied contrary to Gods knowen will* and this *could not haue wanted sinne*; had he not been astonished, when he so praied. For the praiers are sacred and sound without any maze or obliuion of his Fathers will, and his owne purpose; but rather expressely remembring both, and preferring that, which indeed should be preferred, when and as it ought.

k Defenc. pag. 124. li. 22. k *It was contrary in the outward wordes, and in the particular affection of his mind now wanting this remembrance, but it was fully and wholly according to Gods will in the generall disposition of his mind and whole man.*] You would faine vphold a contrariety to Gods will in the praiers of Christ, and though they be neither in trueth nor in sense repugnant to Gods will, yet you say, there is a *repugnancy in the particular affection of his mind*, As appeareth by his adding, *Not my will, but thy will be done.* Howbeit you heard before out of Zanchius a very learned and very sufficient Diuine, l *Quare falsum omnino est, in Christo diuersam voluntatem a Patris fuisse. It is vtterly false, that there was in Christ a will diuers from his Fathers will.* The naturall dislike, that man hath of paine and death, which is the rule of Gods creation, Christ calleth *his will*, because it was the weakenesse of mans flesh in him, as he forewarned, when he said, *The spirit is prompt, but the flesh is weake*, to abide the paine and horror of death; but this naturall affection when he had confessed to be in himselfe, both to shew himselfe to be a true man, and naturally affected as we are, and also to foreshew, that his death should be very painefull and greeuous vnto him, he wholly and fully submitted it to his fathers will, which indeed was his will and desire, (euen as he was man) as well as his Fathers.

l Zanchius de tribus Elohim parte 2. li. 3. ca 9. Responsio. 2.

m Luc. 22. n Luc. 12. His owne wordes are, m *Desiring I haue desired* (that is, I haue earnestly desired) *to eat this Passeouer with you, before I suffer.* And againe, n *I must be baptised with a baptisme; and how am I grieued till it be ended?* He desired the time and fruit of his death; he might not desire death in it selfe, because it was not only the dissolution of nature, but the touch of Gods wrath against the sinne of man, and therfore no way to be desired, but in regard of consequent effects. Neither was there any contrariety *in the particular affection of Christs mind* to Gods will, as you auouch. It is a dangerous deuice of yours to make Christes will agreeable to Gods in the generall disposition of his mind, but repugnant in his particular affection; which you would excuse with a greater error of *Now wanting this remembrance*; But Gods will was as Christes was, that Christ in his humane nature should haue an vtter dislike and horror of death, which yet for the loue of man, and obedience to God, he should submit to that will of God, whereby he would haue the punishment of our sinnes tedious and greeuous to the Redeemer, least it should seeme a sport to ransome vs from the wrath of God. Both these wills were in God the Father, and the sense of the one, and the submission to the other, in the humane nature of Christ; so that in either part Christs will was conformable to the will of God, though his naturall dislike of death and paine yeelded and submitted it selfe to the will of Gods iustice, by which he required and exacted the punishment of our sinne in the manhood of Christ.

o Defenc. pag. 124. li. 30. o *If you abhorre this in me, yet see what Chrysostom taught. These wordes* (NOT AS I VVILL, BVT AS THOV VVILT,) *do signifie two willes, saith he, one of the Father, another of the Sonne, contrary one to the other.*] Thinke you, as Chrysostom doth, and then you shall easily be suffered to speake, as Chrysostom speaketh. For as power and weakenesse are contrary, so were the two wills in Christ, declaring his two natures;

th

the one despising and conquering death, which was his diuine will answeareable to his Fathers; the other fearing & shunning death, which shewed him to be a true man. As then Christ had two contrary natures, yet knit and vnited in one person; so had he two contrary wills touching death, yet both agreeing and concurring in one end. And so much Chrysostom would haue taught you, if you had read on the very same place, which you quote for your error. [p] *If this were spoken,* saith he, *of Christs diuinity, then were it a contradiction indeed, and many absurdities would thence follow; but if it were spoken of his flesh, then was there a good reason for those wordes, and nothing in them that might iustly be blamed. For that the flesh would not willingly die, this is not to be condemned, it is proper to mans nature. And Christ shewed* (in himselfe) *all the properties of mans nature, without sinne, and that very abundantly, to stop the mouthes of Heretickes. When then he saith, if it be possible, let this cup passe from me, and not as I will, but as thou wilt; he declareth nothing els, but that he was compassed with true flesh, which feared death. For to feare and shunne death, and to be astonished* (or perplexed) therewith, *is proper to flesh. Now therefore* (that is at this time, when he spake these wordes) *he permitted his flesh alone, and naked to her proper action, that shewing the infirmity thereof he might confirme the trueth of* (his humane) *nature; and sometimes he couereth it, because he was not a bare man.* Graunt you by these words, that Christ declared nothing els, but that he was a true man, and naturally feared and shunned death, which is the dissolution of nature, as we do, and you shall haue leaue to call this affection different or repugnant in power and strength, but not in purpose or petition, to the will of his diuine nature.

[p] Johan Chrysostomus in eadem oratione apud Theodoretum Dialogo 3.

[q] *I grant M. Beza vseth some termes differing from ours, yet his sense is the selfe same with ours. He sayd Christ corrected not his speech, as if he had before spoken amisse; I say, he did correct his speech, making it being good to be better.*] You can not, by your leaue, thus winde out from your lewd assertion, that Christs prayer could not haue wanted sinne, had he beene in perfect remembrance without astonishment. If Christes prayer were good without the latter addition, which you call a correction; *ergo* it was not repugnant to the knowen will of God, much lesse sinne in it selfe, but that Christ *now wanted remembrance by reason of his infinite and incomprehensible paines.* You would faine daube vp these dangerous conceits and conclusions, but your morter is vntempered. If Christes desire were good, as now you grant, before this correction (and how could any thing be but good, which proceeded from him?) then which way inferred you your hell paines out of that prayer? where is the ground of your conclusion, that Christ sinned in that prayer, if he were not astonished, because it was *in plaine words contrarie to Gods knowen will?* Is any thing good, that is contrarie to Gods knowen will? Faine you would, and yet you know not how to keepe this geere vpright.

[q] Defenc pag. 124. li. 33.

[r] *Neither is this particular contrariety to Gods will any sinne, namely, when by Gods owne ordinance we know not what Gods speciall will is, so that we alwayes remaine apt and readie thereunto when we know it.*] Is this all the GOODNESSE you grant in the former part of Christes prayer, that it was no sinne, because Christ wanted remembrance? doth Chrysostome teach you any such doctrine? It may be pardoned by your rule for want of memorie; but that is no commendation of any goodnesse in it. And yet if we venture to pray without faith, it is sinne so to tempt God. Neither can we be excused by want of iudgement or memorie; we may omit somewhat for want of vnderstanding, but if we commit ought vpon opinion or credulitie that it is good and lawfull for vs, when indeed it is not so, that doth not excuse our ignorance or forgetfulnesse. It is the lesse sinne, but sinne it is, and farre from goodnesse. If therefore this be all the goodnesse you ascribe to Christes prayer, you expressly contradict Chrysostome, who maketh it proper and lawfull for mans nature in the best remembrance to dislike and shun death, so we still submit our selues to Gods will, as Christ did, not to like that which is against nature, but patiently to suffer that which is according to Gods will and counsell towards vs.

[r] Defenc. pag. 125. li. 7.

[s] *So did Dauid desire the life of his childe, it was contrarie to Gods will one way, as the e-*

[s] Defenc. pag. 125. li.

ment shewed; for the childe died: yet he prayed well and rightly according to Gods will in natures affection, seeing he knew not Gods secret will to the contrarie,] Dauid had pietie and charitie to leade him to pray for his childes life, though the Prophet denounced vnto him that the childe should die. Gods threats doe differ from his iudgements in this, that his iudgements are irreuocable when they are once executed, and his wrath is placable, when he threatneth; since he neuer particularly threatneth, but when we are impenitent. God willed Ionas to preach, that after [t] *fortie dayes Nineueh should be ouerthrowen*; and yet was God neither inconstant in his will, nor the Prophet false in his message, when vpon repentance God spared them. The Kings Proclamation was good diuinitie: [*] *Let euery man turne from his euill way, and who can tell, whether God will turne from his fierce wrath, that we perish not?* So sayd Dauid: [*] *Who can tell* (whether) *God will haue mercie on me, that the childe may liue?* Gods secret will as we cannot know, so doe we not resist, so long as we seeke by repentance to preuent or auert his plagues: but what is this to Christs case? was he ignorant of Gods will, which he so often foretold his Disciples; what, where, and of whom he should suffer, as also the cause, why; [x] *to giue his life a redemption for manie?*

[t] Ionah.3.

[*] Ibidem.

[*] 2.Sam.12.

[x] Matth.20.

[y] Defenc.pag. 125.li.16. *Christes prayer not repugnant to the will of God.*

[y] *Christs sudden not remembring Gods particular will, (by reason of his fearefull astonishment) was all one, as if he had not knowen it at all.*] It is apparently false, that Christ did not remember Gods particular will touching his death; for he added *if it were possible*, before his praier; and still submitted his will to the will of God, which if he had not remembred, hee could not haue done. The *fearefull astonishment* of which you dreame, as if it still continued euen in his praiers, is a needlesse inuention of such, as seeke to make some pretence for their hell paines. Christs praiers were earnest, and often repeated, and as the Apostle noteth, he *was heard* in them, and therefore they were not repugnant to the will of God; howsoeuer he desired the cup, that is, the sharpnesse thereof to be mitigated, and proportioned to his strength and patience, which accordingly God his Father performed.

[a] Defenc.pag. 125.li.25.

[a] *You say I am captious against Christ in not supplying one Euangelist with another. For so Christs desire will appeare to be but conditionall, therefore not contrarie to Gods will; yes neuerthelesse as touching the desire it selfe, and his particular present inclination compared to Gods particular determination herein.*] If Christes prayer in the garden were heard, as the Apostle saith it was, then is it euident it was no way repugnant to the will of God: for God doth not vse to grant petitions made contrarie to his will. And then we must so interprete the sense of Christs praier, that it might take effect in his sufferings, as I thinke it did. And though we should suppose, it tooke not effect, yet since he himselfe did so condition his desire of nature, that he subiected it to the will of God; which way can you proue it contrary to Gods knowen will? *Christs particular present inclination compared to Gods particular determination herein*, you say, *was contrary to it.*] I denie that vtterly. For Christs particular and present inclination of mans nature to dislike paine and death was Gods generall ordinance in all men, and Gods speciall will in the manhood of Christ at that instant: and Christes determination was the same with Gods, since he submitted the one to the other, and resolued, as we find in his praier, with obedience willingly to vndergoe that shamefull and painfull death, which Gods iustice purposed for the sinnes of men. Yea God hath not only ordained, that the Crosse should be greeuous vnto vs, as it was to the manhood of Christ, but he misliketh, when it is otherwise; that is, if we despise his correction, because it is made tolerable by his fatherly goodnesse respecting our weakenesse. [b] *Thou hast striken them, but they haue not sorowed*, saith the Propher; meaning they despised the hand of God, because it was tempered with mercy, and plagued them not vnto destruction. Then is it Gods will, that affliction should grieue vs, and he hath not only so created vs, but it is his purpose, when he smiteth to haue vs feele it, and to haue vs mourne vnder the Crosse, but yet without distrust of his goodnesse, or dislike of his counsell, though it pinch vs neuer so neere in the sense of our nature. What contrariety then to Gods will had Christs inclination of nature shunning death, and the sharpenesse

[b] Ierem.5.

ſharpeneſſe thereof, ſo farre as was poſsible, and did ſtand with Gods pleaſure; ſince his reſolution was the ſame with Gods will, moſt obediently to ſuffer it, though it ſeemed neuer ſo ſharp to his fleſh, which was Gods will it ſhould: as for Balaams bad deſire, I leaue it to you to comment thereon at your leaſure; his wicked auarice ſecretly ſeeking after gaine, though pretending Gods name, ought not in Chriſtes caſe to be ſo much as mentioned.

[b] *When we perfectly know and remember Gods certaine will, euery light affection and ſodaine wiſhing to the contrary, howſoeuer conditionally, is no leſſe then manifeſt ſinne againſt God.*] [b] Defenc. pag. 125. li. 2.

Is it ſinne in Martyrs, that their fleſh by ſenſe of nature endureth not quietly the rage of fire without feare and griefe, or is it rather a godly conflict betwixt the readineſſe of the ſpirit, and the weakeneſſe of the fleſh, to feele the one, and to follow the other in regard of duty to God and his bleſſed will, which hath prouided not pleaſure, but paine to make triall of patience? In deſires and delights the ſenſe of the fleſh is to be declined, leaſt it bait the minde, and wax vnruly; but in feare and paine Gods ſacred will is, that the fleſh ſhould be fleſh, and not ſenſeleſſe, nor careleſſe, that the ſpirit may be prooued, and *the* [c] *triall of our faith* in affliction, *being much more pretious then gold, may be found to the praiſe of God.* It is therefore no ſinne, [c] *for a ſeaſon (if need require) to be in heauineſſe through manifold tentations*: Neither did Chriſt tell his Diſciples, that they ſhould not weepe, lament, nor ſorow in their miſeries, ſince nothing could befall them without the direct and expreſſe will of God, with whom the [d] *haires of (their) heads are numbred*; But he promiſeth, *their* [e] *ſorow ſhalbe turned to ioy*: Wherefore Chriſts preſent and particular inclination in nature to diſlike the bitterneſſe of paine and death, was not contrary to Gods diſpoſition, but anſweareable to it; ſo long as in obedience he alwaies referred himſelfe to the will of God, and his petition being conditionall, ſo farre as might ſtand with Gods good will, was no way touched with any ſhew of ſinne; much leſſe in plaine wordes repugnant to Gods knowen will, though our Sauiour were in perfect remembrance, as the Scripture declareth he was, and aduiſedly conſidered, and regarded the will of God in euery part of his praier.

[c] 1. Pet. 1.

[d] Matth. 10.

[e] Iohn 16.

[f] *The very nature of all conditionall deſires is ſuch, that it includeth euermore a poſſibility (at leaſt) of being contrary to his will, whom we deſire.*] [f] Defenc. pag. 126. li. 11.

This generall obſeruation of yours is not true, and though it were, it maketh nothing to this purpoſe. The Saints haue often prayed in full perſuaſion of faith, yet with a condition, not as doubting, but as humbling themſelues in his preſence, before whom or of whom they ſpake. When God had ſayd to Iacob: [g] *Loe I am with thee, and will keepe thee, whither ſoeuer thou goeſt, and will bring thee againe into this land*; *Iacob vowed, ſaying*; *if God will be with me, and will keepe me in the iourney, which I goe, ſo that I come againe into my fathers houſe in ſafetie, then ſhall the Lord be my God.* Shall we ſay, becauſe God addeth a conditionall to his vow, that either he doubted of Gods promiſe made vnto him that verie night, or that it was poſsible to be contrarie to Gods will? I truſt not. So Moſes confeſſed to God; [h] *See, thou haſt ſaid vnto me, I know thee by name, and thou haſt alſo found fauour in my ſight: Now therefore I pray thee, if I haue found fauour in thy ſight, ſhew me now thy way, that I may know thee.* Was Moſes vnfaithfull to the mouth of God, becauſe he maketh that a condition, which God vttered as an affirmatiue; or was there any poſsibilitie of the contrarie to that which God had once pronounced? Likewiſe the Apoſtles vnder conditions expreſſe moſt certaine aſſertions; as Paul: [i] *If it be a iuſt thing with God to recompenſe trouble to them which trouble you; and to you which are troubled, reſt with vs, when the Lord Ieſus ſhall ſhew himſelfe from heauen*; Meaning, there can be no doubt, but it is iuſt, though he made it conditionall. But we need not this rule for the praiers of Chriſt in the garden. Chriſt knew it was poſsible for Gods power *to ſaue him from death*, and yet to make him the Sauiour of the world; but as Gods counſell decreed and reuealed now ſtood, he knew it was not poſsible, the whole cup ſhould paſſe from him, but that he muſt drinke thereof. Both theſe Chriſt affirmeth in the garden. [k] *Thinkeſt thou*, (ſaith he to Peter) *that I cannot now*

[g] Geneſ. 28.

[h] Exod. 33.

[i] 2. Theſſ. 1.

[k] Matth. 26. verſ. 53.

now pray to my Father, and he will giue me more then twelue Legions of Angels? how then should the Scriptures be fulfilled, that it must be so? And at the second time of his returne
[1] Ibid. vers 42. to praier; [1] *O my Father, if this cup cannot passe away from me, but that I must drinke it,*
[m] Ibid. ver. 39. (that is thereof) *thy will be donne.* So that by the first frame of Christs praiers, [m] *O my Father,* IF IT BE POSSIBLE, *let this cup passe from me*; If we vnderstand either Christs purpose to make it appeare, that his death reuealed in the Scriptures was now by Gods counsell necessarily required for our redemption, and that it was no want of power, nor neglect of his safetie, that put him into the hands of his enemies, but his owne good will obeying the wisedome of his Father for our saluation; or els that he desired the sharpenesse of the Cuppe might passe from him, so farre as was possible, that it might not ouerpresse his strength and patience; in either of these two senses the words stand well, and haue no touch of declining or disliking the counsell and determination of God to ransome and reconcile the world to himselfe by the death of his Sonne. If with Chrysostom, Cyril, Damascene, and others, we like to make it the voice of mans weake flesh in Christ, but still subiected to the will of God, there is no repugnance to the will of God, which is alwayes preferred, though there be a declining of his hand, if it were possible to stand with his will. For so long as obedience ouerruleth the sense of nature, and nature sheweth nothing but that which is ingrafted in it by Gods power and will, I doe not see what aduantage you can take, Sir Defender, at this third sense of Christes words, though we grant the flesh of man to be so created, that it shrinketh at the weight of Gods hand, and would decline it, if it might stand with Gods will. Els were it not lawfull to pray that affliction might be ended or eased, if we might desire nothing that were possible to be contrary to Gods will, since we know not his particular will touching our temporall troubles, but by the euent.

[n] Defenc. pag. 126. li. 16. [n] *Thus Dauids and Christs were not onely possible to be contrarie, but contrarie in deede as the sequell shewed.*] You may as well inferre, that God himselfe had contrary willes, when he repented, that he made man, when he threatned destruction to Niniueh, and death to King Ezechiah, and yet vpon their prayers spared both, howbeit, it were blasphemie to say, that God hath willes indeede contrary one to the other, as the sequell sheweth. He hath an absolute will working and performing in heauen and earth whatsoeuer pleaseth him, which cannot be resisted, nor frustrated by any means. He hath a conditionall will, by iustice threatning and punishing vs, when we are sinfull and careless, and by mercy sparing vs, when we repent and turne vnto him. And this will in him though it worke contrary effects in vs, yet it is in him one and the same will, wherewith he giueth his owne, as he best liketh, pardoneth the penitent, and reuengeth the obstinate; the one agreeing with his mercie, the other with his iustice. So Christ had two willes, the one proportioned to Gods creation, whereby the flesh shrinketh and shunneth paine, the other measured by Gods determination, which declared his obedience; and in either of these he accorded with the will of God, who ment not onely to strike, but to haue the stroke felt with paine and griefe to mans nature in Christ.

[o] Defenc. pag. 126. li. 17. [o] *Howbeit both their desires were neuertheless holy, made in faith, assured to receiue (as conditionall desires may be) directed aright, prepared sufficiently: yet only for this cause, seeing Dauid simply knew not Gods contrarie will, Christ knew it not at this instant.*] Dauid repented his sin (with which God was displeased) the more earnestly & instantly, because he saw the dislike, which God had of his fact, was the cause of death denounced to his child. So that Dauids desire to please and pacifie God with most humble and inward submission, the rather if it were possible, to auert the wrath of God threatned to his child for his offence, had in it pietie, charitie, humilitie, and other good points of godly repentance; and his prayer for his child was pardonable, because he knew not Gods certaine resolution to the contrarie, though he heard the Prophet in Gods
[p] 2. Sam. 12. name denounce, [p] *the child should surely die*: which Dauid tooke to be conditionall, as other Gods threats are oftentimes, the rather to reduce sinners to more zealous and hartie-

hartie conuerſion vnto God. But in Chriſtes prayers no ſuch thing can be pretended. His not remembring, what he knew moſt aſſuredly, and beleeued moſt ſtedfaſtly, could not make his prayers to be *prepared ſufficiently, directed aright, and aſſured to receiue.* For neither preparation, direction, faith, nor aſſurance could be in the ſoule of Chriſt without vnderſtanding and memorie; ſince neither forgetfulneſſe, nor ignorance of that, which we ſhould know, doe warrant our prayers to be holy, much leſſe to be perfect, and ſuch as are aſſured to be heard. And if all theſe conditions of faithfull and Godly prayer were found in Chriſts petition in the Garden, as you confeſſe, ſhew vs how they could be indeed contrary to Gods knowen will. I haue no doubt of all Chriſtes prayers and ſpeaches, but they were well aduiſed, rightly prepared, and throughly aſſured to be heard, that is perfectly holy, as he intended them; but Chriſtes *not remembring* the will of God reuealed to him, could not performe or effect theſe things in his prayer, but rather contrariwiſe his full knowledge, and preſent remembrance of Gods will, with exact obedience and ſubmiſsion thereunto. Otherwiſe *not remembring* that, which he well knew, might excuſe from ſinne, if hee were ſo amazed, that vnderſtanding and memorie failed him; but it could not make him aſſured to receiue, ſince God doth graunt their deſires to ſuch, as dewly remember, and not in ſuch as in part, or wholy forget his will. Againe, *not remembring* the trueth of Gods will reuealed is not faith in any man, ſince faith is the ſure and full perſwaſion of Gods will and promiſes toward vs, which if we remember not, how may we be ſaid to be fully aſſured, and firmely perſwaded of them? Wherefore you make out this matter with emptie words, as your manner is, leaſt you ſhould be taken tardie with a plaine error; and haue peeced together very vntowardly diuers mens places, the head not agreeing with the heeles, ſince you firſt defended, that Chriſt was *forgetfull, and all confounded in all the powers of his ſoule and ſenſes of his bodie*, or elſe *he had ſinned in praying againſt Gods knowen will*; and now you auouch his prayers were made in faith, ſufficiently prepared, directed aright, and aſſured to receiue; *yet onely for this cauſe, ſeeing* he did not remember at that inſtant, when he prayed, Gods will ſo plainly reuealed vnto him, and ſo often foretold by himſelfe. And yet the wordes themſelues, which Chriſt vſed in his prayer, are directly referred to Gods will; and whatſoeuer Chriſt feared, or felt according to your conceit, he was right ſure was inflicted on him by Gods immediate hand, and conſequently by Gods will, whoſe hand doth not worke without his will, and yet ſeeing, and feeling it to be Gods hand, and ſo Gods will, you make him *not remember*, that it was Gods will. What elſe is this, but to make forgetfulneſſe to be faith, and error to be aſſurance, and confuſion to be ſufficient preparation of the mind vnto prayer, which are more then monſters in Chriſtian religion, and from which our Lord and maſter muſt be as free, as from ſinne?

q *All in vaine then doe you charge me, that I ſtretch the Scriptures beyond their wordes and trueth, when in my diſcourſe I ſhew that Chriſt in the Garden was aſtoniſhed and grieuouſly perplexed, the text hauing onely he began to be aſtoniſhed and grieuouſly perplexed.*] q Defenc. pag. 126. li. 26.

You tooke vpon you in your Treatiſe, without all proofe, againſt the plaine wordes, and plainer circumſtances of the text to pronounce, that Chriſt in the Garden r *fell amazed and forgetfull of himſelfe*, and s *could not be but aſtoniſhed, ouerwhelmed, and all confounded in his whole humanitie, both in all the powers of his ſoule and ſenſes of his bodie, and vnleſſe this had beene in him, he had ſinned in deede.* The ground of all this geere you made the words of S. Marke, ἤρξατο ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι καὶ ἀδημονεῖν *he began to be afraid and in great heauineſſe.* I obſerued out of Ierom, that it is one *thing to begin to be heauie* (or ſorrowfull) as the text ſaith, *another thing to haue the Paſſion of heauineſſe* (or ſorrow) *to ouerwhelme the mind*, as you would haue it. In this you ſay, *I charge you all in vaine*; and why ſo? becauſe the Scripture doeth ſometime vſe the word (*to beginne*) where the continuance followeth. Had Ierom made no farder reaſon, then that Chriſt *began to be afraid*; and ſo auouched, that nothing beginning might proceede or continue, the places of Scripture heere heaped by you might haue made ſome ſhew; but Ierom giueth r Treat. pa. 55. s Ibid. pa. 53.

giueth a good reaſon of his words, that the paſsion of feare and ſorrow might not be exceſsiue and dominant in the mind of Chriſt, becauſe it is the ſinfull corruption of our nature to be ſo ouerſwayed with immoderate and ſuddaine affections, in which he could not communicate with vs. This reaſon you skip, and bend your ſelfe to proue, the Scripture vſeth the wordes (he began) where the action had continuance. As though any man doubted thereof, but as well good, as bad actions muſt haue their beginnings, before they can haue any proceeding, or continuing; but doth that word prooue, that euery thing once begun is brought to an end, or that euery affection riſing in mans nature groweth to the higheſt degree? if the word ſtand indifferent to ſignifie the beginning of euery action or affection, either interrupted before the end, or proceeding and continuing to the end and height thereof; then make thoſe words nothing for your extreme confuſion of feare & ſorow growing to the greateſt height, that might be, as you imagine. And that the word naturally ſignifieth a beginning in the Scriptures, without any neceſsitie that the action or affection ſhould continue, though ſome might proceede and increaſe, where the Scripture teſtifieth ſo much, there can be no queſtion.

In the fourteenth of Luke, Chriſt ſhewing by a familiar example of a builder, how ridiculous and odious it is to begin a good thing, and not to performe it, repeateth the common mocke that followeth ſuch vaine enterpriſes: *This man* ἤρξατο οἰκοδομεῖν
[c] Galat.3. *began to build, but could not make an end.* So ſayth the Apoſtle to the Galathians: [c] *Are you ſo vnwiſe*, that ἐναρξάμενοι *beginning in the ſpirit, you will end in the fleſh?* S. Matthew deſcribeth how Peter walking on the water towards Chriſt, and beholding a mightie
[a] Matth.14. winde, was ſtroken with feare, [a] καὶ ἀρξάμενος, *and beginning to ſincke*, cried; *Lord ſaue me.* And *Ieſus ſtraightway ſtretched out his hand, and ſtayed him.* So in many other pla-
[d] Philip.1. ces: [d] *I am perſuaded of this, that* ὁ ἐναρξάμενος *he which hath begun a good worke in you, will performe it to the day of Chriſt.* When the tenne Diſciples heard Iames and Iohn deſire, that one of them might ſit at Chriſtes right hand, and the other at his left in
[f] Marc.10. glorie, [f] ἤρξαντο ἀγανακτεῖν, *they began to diſdaine Iames and Iohn*; but Chriſt preſently called his Diſciples vnto him, and by his ſpeech repreſſed ambition on the one ſide, and indignation on the other. So Peter, when thoſe that ſtood by him in the high
[e] Matth.26. Prieſts hall, charged him by his tongue to be one of Chriſts followers, [e] ἤρξατο, *he began to curſe and ſweare, he knew not the man.* And *immediatly the cocke crew, and Peter remembring the words of Ieſus, went out, and wept bitterly*, repenting his fault. An hundred examples might be brought, where the word is in the like ſort vſed to ſignifie the beginning of any thing, as well without continuance as with, when the Scripture expreſſeth ſo much; but theſe are ſo cleere, that they admit no contradiction. And therefore Ieroms obſeruation is verie true, and grounded on better reaſon than your refutation.

[g] Defenc.pag. 127.li.2. [g] *As Chriſt was indeed aſtoniſhed, ſo he did at firſt but begin to be thus, & then afterward grew to the full.*] That he began to be afrayd, the Euangeliſt ſayth; that he *afterward grew to the full*, no Euangeliſt writeth any ſuch thing; except you take vpon you to be the fift Euangeliſt, boldly and falſely to auouch that which the other foure doe not mention. And as you enlarge the circumſtances of the Euangeliſts, ſo doe you reſtraine the ſignifications of their words as pleaſeth you: for ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι by all Interpreters, and euen by ſuch as were the firſt deuiſers of Chriſtes forgetfulneſſe, is rendered *expaueſcere, to be afrayd*, and not to be aſtoniſhed. Caluine doth thus expreſſe
[b] Caluin. harmonia in Marci.ca.14. the words of S. Marke: *Capit expaueſcere, & mœrore affici.* [b] *Chriſt began to be afrayed, and affected with griefe.* As in S. Matthew he tranſlateth the word ἀδημονεῖν, *affici mœſtitudine, to be touched with heauineſſe*; and *timor & mœſtitia, feare and heauineſſe are all the words*, that by any warrant of ſacred Scriptures Caluin could finde. Beza in his Latine tranſlation keepeth the ſame word; *Capit expaueſcere, Chriſt began to be afrayd.* and ſo doth the Geneuian tranſlation of the Bible into Engliſh; *He began to be afraid, and in great heauineſſe.* Others more indifferent I ſhall not neede to repeate. You take

a course by your selfe, that as you differ from all men in opinion, so you will in translation of the words. For ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι you will haue to be [c] *astonished with feare*, though the rest content themselues to say, *he began to be afraid.*

[c] Defenc. pag. 125.

[d] Defenc. pag. 127. li. 6.

[d] *The Text following doth inuincibly shew, that he did fully come to the extreamitie of astonishment, and began not onely. For did he but begin, when he swet clotted bloud trickling from his body to the ground? also when an Angell was sent from heauen to refresh him and comfort him: did he then but begin to be heauy?*] Your fansies follow so fast without the Text, that they run headlong against the Text. That Christ was afraid, I doe not deny; that he came to the extremitie of astonishment, the Scriptures denie; howsoeuer you whiske it after your whifling maner, that you may seeme a man tried in all toyes. The extremitie of astonishment is neither *to do* nor *speake* any thing, but to be silent, and as it were without sense, as I haue formerly shewed. Your selfe doth so describe it: for you say, Christ *was astonished*, that is, *ouerwhelmed, and all confounded in all the powers of his soule, and senses of his bodie.* A man in this case hath no right vse of *reason, vnderstanding, memory, speach, sight, or hearing* for the time. Was Christ so? doe your impertinent pushes prooue any such thing? doe they not rather prooue the contrary? did not Christ speake, when he praied? did he not rebuke his Disciples for their sleepinesse, and admonish them to watch and pray, that they entered not into temptation? did he not fall to more earnest and vehement praier, when his sweat beganne to looke like bloud, which you in your learned conceit call *clotted bloud? The strong cries and teares*, which you mention, doe they not plainly reprooue your supposed astonishment, and cleerely confirme, that Christ had all the powers of his soule, and senses of his body in their full vse, when he thus conuerted them with such zeale and contention of mind to this great worke of our redemption? what Sadler or Shoemaker would conclude this to be the fulnesse of astonishment, which by so manifest circumstances cited by your selfe is irrefragablely refuted? and on you run, as if you would ouerbeare all the world with such witles words, and flaunting follies, which only serue to bewray the weakenesse of your owne conceites. Feare and sorow I admit in the soule of Christ, and religious of either kind in the highest degree, that mans nature is capable of. A naturall feare of death in the flesh of Christ I likewise acknowledge, but I make not these things which you meane, the effects thereof. What I receiue, and what I refuse in our Sauiours agonie, I haue so largely deliuered, that I must not spend paper to repeate all againe. Neither doth Ierom meane, that Christ had a touch of feare, and no farder, as you most fondly misconster him, and his wordes, where he saith, Christ *began to be afraid*; but he meaneth, Christ so farre admitted the pearcing and painefull affection of feare (for a time required in so great a cause) that it neither possessed him wholy, nor continually, to beare dominion ouer him, or to worke any corruption in him, which is vsuall in our affections. You make your selfe merie with the beginning, and neuer consider, that Ierom thereby excludeth the heigth of our inordinate affections of feare and sorow, such as you bring in when you *all confound Christ in his whole humanitie, both in all the powers of his soule, and senses of his bodie.*

[e] Defenc. pag. 127. li. 33.

[e] *As for Ierom, if he denie this, I must craue leaue to dissent from him.*] And from you, if you affirme that, all wise and Christian Readers must dissent without your leaue. For it is not onely false, and directly repugnant to the text, but it is extremely wicked and impious to bring that confusion, which you mention, and forgetfulnesse into all the powers of Christs soule, and senses of his body. [f] *I thinke all to little sufficiently to expresse our Lords sufferings for vs.*] You must then thinke the doctrine & pen of the holy Ghost to be most vnsufficient, that continually & clearely proposeth the sufferings of the son of God for our saluation without any such presumptuous and irreligious speaches. And howsoeuer you commend your deuotion in [g] *labouring to shew, how Christ loued vs, and to what basenesse of our nature he submitted himselfe for our sake*; learne first to content your selfe with that, which the wisedome and iustice of God required of his sonnes humane nature, and the trueth of God witnesseth in the Scriptures, and so

[f] Ibid. li. 27.

[g] Ibid. li. 31.

shall

ſhall you honour the ſufferings of Chriſt, as you ought to doe, and not deuiſe new helles and new damnations for him, to pleaſe your violent fanſies. And as new is your deuotion, as ſtrange; if the whole Church of Chriſt before your time neuer knew, nor heard, how Chriſt loued his, and to what he ſubmitted himſelfe for their ſakes; but haue all this while erred in beleeuing & following the direction of Gods ſpirit in the word of trueth and life, ſince they wanted all knowledge of your helliſh torments and confuſion, which you haue lately inuented for the ſoule of Chriſt, as the more principall part of our redemption, and without which, the death of the Croſſe, to which he was obedient, was nothing worth.

[h] Defenc. pag. 127. li. 38. [h] *Nay God forbid we ſhould reioyce in any thing ſo much, neither can we praiſe and magnifie him for any thing ſo highly, as we may and ought for this extreme abaſing of Chriſt for vs.*] There was neuer no hereticke, that could not caſt a ſhew of pietie vpon his erroneous pretences. Satan doth transforme himſelfe into an Angel of light, and falſhood alwayes ſeeketh to put on the vizard of trueth. Is it not thankes worthie, that the ſonne of God would leaue the vſe and honour of his diuine glory, wherein hee was equall to his Father, and take vnto him the ſhape of a ſeruant with all the baſeneſſe and weakneſſe of our fleſh, and with the ſhame and paine of his death on the croſſe, make ſatisfaction for our ſinnes, and by his blood redeeme vs to God, which is the emptying of himſelfe expreſſed by the Apoſtle in the place abuſed and miſapplied by you; but you muſt teach all this is skant worth thankes, if Chriſt did not ſuffer in ſoule the ſecond death, which is the lake burning with fire and brimſtone, and euen the very paines of the damned, that you might be indeede beholding vnto him? And what if another as wiſe as you, will ſay, that all which Chriſt ſuffered heere on earth, was not worth thankes, except he ſuffered in hell amongſt the diuels, where indeede are the paines of the damned, which you haue lately deriued to the earth vpon your authoritie; ſhall this impietie alſo goe for good religion, becauſe the more Chriſt ſuffered for vs, the more we are and ought to be beholding vnto him? we ſhall doe well to thinke, that we can neuer giue thankes ſufficient for the leaſt of his mercies; and not take vpon vs to determine, what recompence God muſt exact of his ſonne for our ſinnes, except he will be vniuſt, which is a moſt peſtilent preſumption and intruſion vpon the ſecret counſels and iudgements of God; but rather learne to lament our owne vnworthineſſe and wickedneſſe, and not delight or dwell in ſinne, which God ſo hated and abhorred, that nothing could appeaſe his wrath againſt our vncleanneſſe, but onely the death and bloud of his owne Sonne.

[i] Defenc. pag. 128. li. 2. [i] *Remember your owne wordes out of Auſten, that there is in ſome men* INSIPIENS HONORIFICENTIA, *a fond intent of honoring Chriſt. If there be any ſuch, ſurely this is one point thereof, which you maintaine.*] You applie Fathers, as you doe Scriptures; and call S. Auſten foole, as well as all the reſt of the learned and auncient pillars of Chriſts Church, becauſe they reiect your helliſh confuſion, by which you ouerwhelme all the powers of Chriſts ſoule and ſenſes of his bodie, rather then you will yeeld him vnderſtanding and remembrance in his prayers. S. Auſten ſaith indeed of the Manichees, that were loath to confeſſe, Chriſt truely died a bodily death on the croſſe, for feare of bringing him within the curſe of a corporall death, ſince the death of mans bodie firſt proceeded from Gods curſe againſt ſinne; and therefore defended, that Chriſt ſeemed there to die in outward ſhew, but indeede did not die on the croſſe; S. Auſten, I ſay, affirmeth, that they with *a fooliſh pretence of honour vnto Chriſt*, denied the loue of Chriſt towards vs, and the trueth of Chriſt, who profeſſed, that he ſhould and would lay downe his life a ranſome for many. What is this to the paines of the damned, or to the death of the ſoule, of which S. Auſten ſaith, [k] *who dare auouch it?* and yet ment not ſo fooliſhly to honour Chriſt, as thereby to denie or impugne the trueth of Chriſtian religion?

[k] *Auguſt. epiſt. 99.*

[l] Defenc. pag. 128. li. 5. [l] *Maſter Caluine a worthy miniſter of Chriſt, and a pillar of the Church is bold and ſaith; we confeſſe indeede ſuch is the baſeneſſe and follie of Chriſtes croſſe, that proude men cannot away with it.*] If maſter Caluine meane, as the Apoſtle doth, that the heathen not knowing

knowing the wisedome & power of God in the crosse of Christ, counted it meere folly for him, that was God, to become man, and in the bodie of his flesh to endure so vile and shamefull a death; I account him no Christian, that is not of that mind with master Caluine: but if he call them all proud, that did not like his new deuice of Christs suffering hell on the crosse, which you haue stretched and drawen to many degrees and points aboue master Caluine, then let him looke, whether it be pride to beleeue the plaine and faire doctrine of trueth deliuered in the Scriptures, as all the Fathers of Christes Church did, or for men to adde thereunto their owne deuices, as you and some others haue done. For my part, as I loue and honour master Caluines name, and like well his resolutions, where he contented himselfe in the grounds of doctrine and discipline to ioyne with the auncient and primatiue Church of Christ; so when he leaueth them vpon some liking of his priuate deuices, I must leaue him. I so honour him, that I will not for loue to him dishonour all antiquitie, as if Christ had neuer any Church, nor faithfull or learned minister therein before master Caluine. And were it worth the while, I could easily shew many great and maine differences betwixt master Caluines conceit of hell suffered in the soule of Christ, and yours; but because it hath occasioned and hatched your amplified error of an other hell from the immediate hand of God, I will not trouble my selfe, nor the Reader with sifting or censuring that, which I am not bound to beleeue, no more then I am yours; till it be proued by more substantiall grounds, then master Calvins good liking of it.

[m] *In another place, where I shewed from the more to the lesse, how Christ might haue (for the sodaine) the powers of his mind astonished, and yet no decay in him of faith, nor obedience nor patience: Like as there is not in a man a sleepe, or amazed with a blow on the head, hereupon you aske me scoffingly, was Christ a sleepe, or in a swoune?*] Your answere was indeed drawen from the lesse, to the more; that is, from the lesser vanity and falsity, to the greater; and therefore my question, which you call a skoffe, was a sound refutation of such ignorant misapplying of things impertinent & vncoherent. For what if a man in his sleepe, or in a swoune, retaine *habituall* faith, obedience, and patience; doth that prooue, that Christ awaked and well aduised might pray, he knew not what, and yet haue actuall faith, obedience, and patience? If a man should babble in his sleepe, or grone in a swoune, before he recouer sense or vnderstanding, would you cal that faith or praier, though the habite of faith were then in him? no more doth that example prooue any actuall faith, obedience, or patience in Christ at the time of his often and earnest praiers in the garden, if all that while you make him all confounded in all the powers of his soule, and so astonished, that he could not, or did not remember his Fathers oft reuealed, and oft repeated will, nor his owne person nor office, who came vnto this houre of purpose to performe his Fathers will. And therefore you must get you some better patterns for the vse and acts of faith, obedience, and patience in Christes astonishment, then sleeping or swouning, or els each Christian Reader will soone perceaue you to be worse then a sleep, when you dreame of a [n] *farre greater astonishment* in Christ at the time of praiers, *then is to be seene in any man els, that euer was or shall be*: And yet you defend, there might be actuall faith, obedience, and patience in Christ, because men in sleep, or in a swoune retaine the habits, or gifts of those vertues.

[m] Defenc. pag. 128. li. 10.

[n] Defenc pag. 128. li. 26.

[o] *As you grant that amazednesse and astonishment commeth naturally from sorowes and feares: so I thinke in Christ both the one and the other was in the extreamest and most violent degree that might be.*] Then must you also thinke, that Christ had not the free vse of speach, memory, and vnderstanding, nor of sense nor motion for the time, that he was in that amazednesse. For it is euident, as I haue shewed out of Galen a sufficient witnesse of naturall effects and defects, that men throughly amazed with feare, neither speake nor doe any thing: yea no man is so very a stranger to nature, but he knoweth, that astonishment in the highest degree hindreth both sense, and motion outward and inward. And therfore when you put our Sauiour into the [p] *extreamest and most violent degree of amazednesse, that might be, and into farre greater astonishment, then is to be seene*

[o] Defenc pag. 128. li. 21.

[p] Ibid. li. 26.

ſeene in any man els, that euer was or ſhalbe; I report me to the Christian Reader, that hath read or ſeene any thing, whether by this bold and violent imagination of yours you doe not take from Christ the vſe of bodily ſenſe, motion, and ſpeach; and euen of vnderſtanding, and memory. The Scripture noteth of the gheſt, which wanted
q Matth.22. his wedding garment, that when he was chalenged for it, he q *was ſpeachleſſe*. When
r 1.Sam.28. Saul heard the threats of him, that appeared in the perſon of Samuel, *He* r *ſodainely fell all along on the earth, as ſore afraid, becauſe of the words.* When Saint Iohn ſaw the
f Reu.1.v.17. ſight of the ſonne of God in his glory f *He fell at his feet, as dead* for very feare. So that feare may ſo farre amaze men, as to take from them *ſpeach, ſtrength, and all vſe of life*, that they may lie euen *as dead* for the time; which whether it agree to our Sauiour in the garden, I make any man iudge, that euer read or heard that part of the Goſpell.

t Defenc. pag. 128. li.35. t *For my life I cannot anſwere, this that followeth. The ſuffering of hell paines, which aſtoniſh and confound all the powers of the ſoule, and ſenſes of the body, neither was nor could be meritorious with God. I deny (this) aſſumption. Not only all Christs paines were meritorious, but euen all his infirmities alſo: his wearineſſe, his hunger, his ſleep, and ſo his aſtoniſhment and amazedneſſe.*] The ſleightneſſe of your anſwere doth prooue that, which I ſaid, to be truer, then you are ware of. For though diminution of ſtrength, as in wearineſſe; affliction of nature, as in hunger; and ligation of ſenſe, as in ſleepe; yea if you will, priuation of life, as in death; were meritorious in Christ, becauſe the perſon, that was God and man, ſubmitted himſelfe to theſe infirmities of our nature, which no way peruerted nor hindered the inward powers or actions of Christes humane ſoule, yet that is no proofe, that ſuch impreſsions, as depriue the ſoule of Christ of her proper and eſſentiall operations by confounding *Reaſon, vnderſtanding, will and memory*, ſhould be meritorious, becauſe they all confound the very inſtruments of grace in the ſoule of Christ, which are requiſite vnto merit. For though the perſon in Christ, which by nature did owe no obedience by reaſon it had an equality with God, was the chiefe fountaine of all Christs merits, which could not haue infinite price and valew, but that he was infinite, and no way bound, who wrought them by his humane nature; yet the inſtruments of merit in Christs manhood were his ſoule, and his body; and chiefly his ſoule by her vnderſtanding and will alwaies perfectly knowing, abſolutely liking, and conſtantly performing by the preſence and power of Gods ſpirit thoſe things, which were moſt pleaſing to God. So that the paines and infirmities, which you ſuppoſe in Christ, if they did *confound and aſtoniſh all the powers of Christs ſoule and ſenſes of his body* (For ſo are the words of your aſſertion, and my aſſumption) they neither were, nor could be meritorious. In ſleepe the ſenſes of Christs body reſted, which he could haue ſtrengthened by power without ſleepe, but that he willingly ſubmitted himſelfe to thoſe infirmities of our nature for obedience to his Fathers will; yet euen then was the ſoule of Christ left free to diuine cogitations and viſions, which could not want in the ſoule of Christ hauing the full and perpetuall poſſeſsion and fruition of Gods grace and trueth, though he would want the power and glory prouided for him, till Gods appointed time. Christs ſleepe then had no agreement with your late deuiſed confuſion of all the powers of Christes ſoule; yea the praiers, ſpeaches, and actions of Christ in the garden, if you then confound in him all vnderſtanding, will, and memory, which are the powers of Christs ſoule, muſt by your doctrine be full of vanity, and rather diſtractions, then religious and humane actions, as not proceeding from the direction of grace, apprehenſion of mind, and ſubmiſsion of will, but from a confuſion of all theſe, which no Christian man can tell what to make of. And therefore you muſt either recall the *confuſion of all the powers of Christs ſoule*; which you ſay was *the extreameſt and moſt violent, that might be*, or worſe conſequents will follow vpon theſe deſperate and falſe amplifications, then you yet ſee. For take once from Christes ſoule his humane vnderſtanding and will, and place nothing but *confuſion in his whole humanity*, or as your words are, *all confuſion in his whole humanity, both in all the powers of his ſoule and ſenſes of his body*, and tell me what patience,

patience, obedience, or ſanctity could be left, where neither vnderſtanding, will, nor memory were, but all confounded in the extreameſt manner that might be.

[a] *If it ſeeme a hard phraſe, which in my former Treatiſe I vſed, ſaying. Chriſt at this inſtant became forgetfull of that which before he knew; my meaning is (and ſo ſtill I ſpeake now) he remembred not, he conſidered not. Which many times we vſe to name forgetting, but indeed ſtrictly and properly it is not remembring.*] If you looke well to it, you haue harder phraſes both in your defence and Treatiſe, then *Chriſt to be forgetfull of himſelfe.* Which if you reuoke not, or plainly excuſe not, rather by your folly not vnderſtanding the force of them, then ſtanding to iuſtifie them, they will prooue open impiety. I haue ſo often repeated them, that I am weary of ſo vnſauery words. And as for proofes, that Chriſt ſhould be thus *all confounded* in all the powers and ſenſes of body and ſoule, you be ſo vſed to wilfull aſſertions depending only on your ſecret conceits, that you doe not thinke your ſelfe bound to prooue that you ſay, or to ſay no more in Chriſtian Religion, then you can prooue. For what one ſigne or ſtep of this great and generall confuſion in the ſoule of Chriſt doe the Scriptures mention, that you ſhould thus racke it to the extreameſt & higheſt degree, that euer was, ſhall, or might be? They be well holpen vp, that haue ſuch an heady preſumer and affirmer, as you are, to faſhion their faiths after your vnaduiſed and inconſiderate fanſies: But God ſend you his grace to wax ſoberer, which is all the harme I wiſh you, though I like none of your pangs to be the principles of my faith. [a] Defenc. pag. 129. li. 17.

[x] *Where you would wring out a contrariety in my words, as if I had ſaid that Chriſt being in the depth of his aſtoniſhment, did then perfectly know that the dominion of death ſhould not hold him: you doe me wrong, I ſay not ſo. In that place I argue from your ſuppoſition.*] I haue no deſire to charge you with impudency, but you wax ſometimes ſo intolerable in your brags and ſhifts, that I muſt either betray the trueth, or tell you in plaine termes that you doe face a great deale more then you can any way faſten by iuſt proofe. Let this example ſtand in ſteed of many. If I heere doe you wrong, as you pretend, and you reaſoned only from my ſuppoſition, let me beare the ſhame of it with all Chriſtian Readers; but if it be plainely and expreſſely otherwiſe, then I pray you Sir who is the ſhifter and outfacer? Looke on the Page of your Treatiſe quoted by me, *viz. Pa.* 59, and ſee whether they be not your owne words (which I cited) in your anſwere to an obiection, and iuſtified by you out of the 10 of Marke verſe 34. To an argument that [a] *Chriſt might pray, that his bodily death might not haue dominion ouer him*, you anſwere, *This is abſurd to ſay that he praied in ſuch feare and terror of mind againſt that which he perfectly knew ſhould neuer come to him: namely that the dominion of death ſhould hold him.* Doe you confeſſe of your ſelfe, that you ſpeake abſurdly, or doe you meane it of the obiectors, againſt whom you bring this as a reaſon; that ſince Chriſt [*] *perfectly knew the dominion of death could not hold him*, You thinke it very abſurd to ſay he feared that? And in the page precedent doe you not againe and againe auouch the ſame exactneſſe of knowledge in Chriſt at the time of his praiers? theſe are your owne words tripled and quadruplied to that end. [b] *Thirdly, this prooueth that Chriſt knew it was Gods determinate will, in that he tearmeth it an houre, that is a time ſet of God for his ſuffering. Fourthly, becauſe he ſo mightily feared it, therefore doubtleſſe he knew that he was appointed to ſuffer it. Thus it is manifeſt in plaine words he praied contrary to Gods knowen will.* And leaſt you ſhould not be conſtant in your manifeſt contradiction, doe you not inſiſt on the ſame words in your defence? [c] *He could not intentiuely pray againſt that, nor feare that, which he perfectly knew concerned him not at all.* Where you giue to Chriſt in that extreame aſtoniſhment, which you dreame of, *intentiue praier*, and *perfect knowledge* of Gods will in ſome things, which againe in other things you deny vnto him. So that by your leaue you gainſay your ſelfe, and your denying it is as vnſhame faſt, as your doubling it.

[a] Trea. pa. 59. li. 16.

[*] Mar. 10. 34.

[b] Trea. pa 58. li. 30.

[c] Defenc. pag. 99. li. 13.

[d] *To conclude this matter without colour of reaſon, you wreſt a plaine text, which otherwiſe (as it lieth) maketh ſtrongly againſt you. They are our Sauiour Chriſtes owne words: Now is my ſoule troubled, and what ſhall I ſay? Father ſaue me from this houre: but therefore*

[d] Defenc. pag. 129. li. 26.

fore came I vnto this houre. You say these words doe import a deliberation of two parts. But you speake against all reason, considering the nature and frame of the very words. A deliberation must needs be set interrogatiuely in both clauses. Now the text is not so.] Of this place I haue spoken enough before, were it not that you challenge me with such hatefull termes *of wresting a plaine text without colour of reason*, because I therein follow the iudgement of Chrysostom and Epiphanius, who a man would thinke had not only colour of reason, but substance of learning to discerne the force of that speech. First the words, as well by the nature of the petition, and your owne confession, in that it is for a temporall thing; as by the supplie of the rest of the Euangelists must be conditionall, and haue a secret reseruation of Gods will, as in the like case the other Euan-

• Marke 14. gelists do expresse; and namely S. Marke, who sayth; [c] *Christ prayed, if it were possible, that houre might passe from him.* And so whether they be deliberatiue or positiue, they make nothing for your purpose, since not with resolution, but with condition, If it pleased God, Christ desired to be saued from that houre. But I *wrest a plaine text*, because I auouch, that *the words import a deliberation of two parts*, which you say *must needs be set interrogatiuely in both clauses.* Whence commeth this new Art of Oratory, that euery deliberation must be interrogatiue? As though a man might not doubt or deliberate either by *interrogation, condition,* or simple *subiection* of the parts in que-

[f] Marke 11. stion. When Christ asked the chiefe Priests and Scribes, [f] *whence the baptisme of Iohn was? from heauen or of men? they thought within themselues: If we say from heauen, he will say, Why then did ye not beleeue him? But if we say from men, we feare the people.* So the foure Lepers that sate at the entring in of the gate of Samaria, (when the dearth was

2 Kings 7. there in Elizeus time) disputed with themselues; [g] *Why sit we heare till we die? if wee say, we will enter into the Cittie, the famine is in the Cittie, and we shall die there. And if we sit heere, we die also. Now therefore come, let vs fall into the campe of the Aramites: if they saue our liues, we shall liue; if they kill vs, we are but dead.* As heere they reason with a condition, so might they haue said to the same effect by way of proposing and answering to themselues: what shall we doe to saue our liues? we will enter the city, there is the famine; we will sit still, heere is likewise death. Let vs goe to the Aramites: they will kill vs, then we are but dead; they will saue vs, then gaine we our liues. Is it not all one in this deliberation, whether we propose the parts by interrogation, condition, or proposition? In the words of our Sauiour likewise, Now *is my soule troubled; and what shall I say?* The answere to that pathetical question, *What shall I say*, might haue beene made either by interrogation; Shall I say, *Father saue me from this houre?* or by condition; If I say, *Father saue me from this houre*: or by simple supposition; I will, or I would say, *Father saue me from this houre*; but *therefore came I vnto this houre.* Which way soeuer we propose the former words, *Father saue me from this houre*; Christes answere by way of full resolution and conclusion, *But therefore came I into this houre*, doth conuince, that the former words, *Father saue me from this houre*, are by himselfe remoued, or denied as no part of his finall determination, though it were, or might be a part proposed in his deliberation. For either Christ must positiuely determine cleane contraries in one sentence, which were open inconstancie, and no way imaginable in the Sonne of God; or this latter must remoue the former being repugnant to the maine consent of his will, and intent of his comming. For *therefore came he into this houre* of mans redemption, because *he would not be saued from it* with mans destruction. And thus much the best and most skilfull Interpreters haue collected to be the force of the wordes following, to which Christ addeth the coniunction aduersatiue, ἀλλὰ, which in their iudgement supposeth heere a negatiue precedent. So Chrysostom conceiueth our Sauiours words, *I do not say, saue me from this houre*; And why? Because the words following with an aduersatiue repugnance to the former words, doe proue not the first, but the last to be Christs full purpose.

[h] Defenc. pag. 129. li. 38. [h] *Chrysostom & Epiphanius doe descant about it; trying how the text may beare such a meaning: but it can not stand being so euidently against the course of the text.*] Indeed Chrysostom

Chryſoſtom and Epiphanius are not comparable to you, neither in learning nor iudgement; you make vs ſuch new poſitions and principles both of reaſon and faith, that their Diuinitie is ſtale to yours: but with all learned and wiſe men, the yongeſt of the twaine will be truſted for the true ſenſe of a text farre before ſuch Dreamers and Deuiſers as you are. *The courſe of the text is euidently againſt it*, you ſay. What courſe of the text? The words vſed by our Sauiour are with it: *But therefore came I into this houre.* What ſenſe or meaning can this ſentence haue, but that Chriſt purpoſely comming into this houre had no reſolution to be deliuered from this houre? which being true, the former words, *Father ſaue me from this houre*, may ſhew the deſire or doubt of nature inclining to that petition, but the preſent refuſall thereof followeth expreſsing Chriſtes will and purpoſe in putting himſelfe into that houre. Theſe words then, *But therefore came I into this houre*, are in effect, *not ſo, for therefore came I into this houre.* Which the beſt Interpreters olde and new haue obſerued in the force of Chriſtes words. [i] *Therefore came I into this houre, as if Chriſt had ſayd* (ſayth Chryſoſtom) *though we be moued and troubled, yet we flee not death. For I ſay not* (thus as my reſolution) *Father deliuer me from this houre, but Father glorifie thy name.* And Epiphanius: [k] *What ſhall I ſay? Father; ſpeaking by way of preparation and dubitation.* τοῦτο φησὶ εἶπω, *This, ſayth Chriſt, I will ſay, but therefore came I into this houre.* For *he came not againſt his will, but willingly.* Theophylact: [l] *For this cauſe, ſayth Chriſt, came I into this houre, that I might ſuffer death for all. He teacheth vs very plainly by this, that though we be troubled and perplexed with it, yet we ſhould not flie death for the truth. For I, ſayth he, am troubled being a true man, and permit* (mans) *nature to ſhew it ſelfe, yet do I not ſay to my Father, that he ſhould ſaue me from this houre, but what ſay I, Father glorifie thy name.* The later Writers, of no meane iudgement, allow the ſame ſenſe. Eraſmus thus rendreth the ſumme of Chriſtes words: [m] *I finde my ſoule troubled for the day of my death now approching. And what ſhall I ſay? For the loue of mine owne life, ſhall I neglect the life of the world? By no meanes. I will applie my ſelfe to the will of my Father. Mans weakneſſe troubled with feare of death, may ſay vnto him, Father, if it be poſſible, ſaue me from this inſtant danger of death.* But *Loue deſirous of mans ſaluation, ſhall preſently adde, Nay rather, if it be expedient, let death, which I deſired, come, forſomuch as wittingly and willingly by the leading of the ſpirit I haue offered my ſelfe to die.* Theſe words [n] Bullinger citeth, and calleth an excellent explication of that text. Gualter in like maner: [o] *This is as if Chriſt had ſayd, Let no man thinke me as a cowardly captaine, to exhort others to patience and conſtance, being my ſelfe ſafe from danger. For death approcheth me, and that ſo cruell and bitter, that the very remembrance thereof troubleth my ſoule. What then ſhall I ſay, when amongſt men there is no hope? To thee ô Father I turne, ſaue me from the houre of this terrible death. But what do I ſay? Euen therefore came I into this houre. What other thing then ſhall I aske, ô Father, but that thou ſhouldeſt glorifie thy name?* Doe all theſe learned Interpreters wreſt this text, and ſpeake they againſt all reaſon without conſidering the nature and frame of the wordes, or doe they out of the very frame and force of the wordes deduce Chriſtes reſolution to be this, *Father glorifie thy name*, notwithſtanding my former words, ſince I came of purpoſe into this houre, not to be freed from it? [The firſt words [p] *pretend a plaine reſolution, or at leaſt a great inclining towards reſolution.*] If a plaine reſolution, then Chriſt contradicteth himſelfe with a plainer reſolution in the end, which to affirme of the Sonne of God, aduiſe you, whether it be blaſphemous or no. As for an inclination, ſince Chriſt made no idle deliberation, but ſpake out of his naturall humane affection abhorring death, that maketh wholly with my ſpeech, affirming, that howſoeuer the ſenſe of nature in Chriſt did incline to auoid death, in this debating with himſelfe, yet he preſently refuſed it by ſaying, *But therefore came I into this houre*, and fully reſigned it, when he ſayd, *Father glorifie thy name*: which reſolution of his, God ratified with his owne voice from heauen, *I haue glorified it and will glorifie it.*

[q] *Hence I reaſoned effectually before, but no where you anſwere it. If Chriſts ſuch ſuffe-ings in his ſoule were ordained of God for him, then certainly indeed he did ſuffer the ſame.*]

[i] *Chryſoſt. in Johannem. homil. 66.*

[k] *Epipha. li. 2. Hereſ. 69.*

[l] *Theophylact. in 12. cap. Johannis.*

[m] *Eraſm. paraphra. in cap. 12. Johannis.*

[n] *Bullingerus in ca. Joh. 12.*

[o] *Gualterus homilia 118. in 12. ca. Johannis.*

[p] Defenc. pag. 129. li. 36.

[q] Defenc. pag. 130. li. 19.

Certainly indeed a man shall scant meet with such another, that disdaineth all mens reasons and interpretations besides his owne, and when he commeth to conclude any thing, can hardly discerne an Owle from an Eagle. Here is a profound argument made for your hell paines, that Christes soule was troubled with the foresight and remembrance of his death on the Crosse: *ergo* God ordained, that certainly and indeed he should suffer in his soule the paines of the damned. Children in their cradles, if they could prattle, would easily match the goodnesse of this reason; and other answer, as it needeth none, so it shall haue none for me, how effectuall soeuer this fansie seemeth vnto you.

[x] Defenc. pag. 130 li. 17. [x] *Further you except, that this was feare of eternall death, which caused in Christ this agonie, and from his feare he was deliuered. To say (as you do) that it was eternall death and euerlasting malediction, which Christ here thus wofully and distressefully feared, is the strangest speech in Diuinity that euer I heard.*] You cunningly dissemble, as your maner is, that Pag. 22. which you quote, I professed to refuse no mans opinion, that [y] *agreed any way with the rules of trueth*; and thereupon layed downe *three things, which Christ might behold in the Cup of Gods wrath, and by his prayer accordingly decline them: to wit, eternall malediction, corporall castigation aboue his strength, and the separation of his soule from his bodie by death.* The feare of eternall death, which is vrged by some of good learning, and euen by the Catechisme, on which you would seeme to stand so much, if we admitted in Christ himselfe, I sayd must be taken for a *Religious dislike* and shunning of hell, [z] not for *any distrust of his owne saluation, or doubt of Gods displeasure against himselfe, which we could not imagine in Christ, without euident want of grace and losse of faith, and these we might not attribute to Christs person, no not for an instant.* Where then I alleage so many reasons Pa. 23. [a] *guarding Christs person most sufficiently from all danger and doubt of eternall death*; thence you collect, that I auouch, Christ *thus wofully and distressefully feared euerlasting damnation*, which is a strange and slanderous falsehood, though familiar with you, as if without such grosse stuffe you could not lengthen out your pamphlet. The Catechisme we heard before, saying, that Christ was *Æternæ mortis horrore perfusus, wholly touched with the horror of* EVERLASTING *death.*

[y] Sermo. pag. 22. li. 2.

[z] Sermo. pag. 23. li. 4.

[a] li. 32.

[b] *Calvin in li. 2. ca. 16. sect. 10.* M. Calvin sayth as much, [b] *Vnde eum oportuit cum Inferorum copijs, aternaq; mortis horrore, quasi consertis manibus luctari. Wherefore Christ was to wrestle hand in hand with all the power of hell, and with the horrour of* ETERNALL *death.* Others might be brought in like sort, but these suffice to discharge me, that I did not imagine these things of mine owne head, but found them in men of good learning and iudgement, which yet I did not receiue, except we did expound their words to import in Christ a religious feare declining euerlasting death in himselfe, or affectionately sorowing, when he considered what was due to vs for our sinnes. Wherefore if you make so strange of these words, stirre against your authorized Catechisme and Master Calvin who first vsed them.

[c] Defenc. pag. 130. li. 20. [c] *You cannot helpe your selfe in making Christes feare of this death to be onely a religious feare, and a feare for others, these imaginations I haue remoued before.* Then you perceiue well enough, in what sense I admit their words, but to aduantage your selfe, you dispence with a slaunderous lie. Your *remooving* is like the roling of paper to make pipes withall, you play still on one string, and that so much out of tune, that euery man is wearie with hearing it, besides your selfe. [d] *These affections*, you say, *were not likelie in him at all, much lesse to be the causes of such effects.*] As though Christ had none other causes of sorow, but onely this. And what vnlikelihood, that these should be in Christ at this season, sauing that your fansie leadeth you to what you list? [*These are not feare properly, they ought rather to be called a religious care, and pittie, which differ greatly from the nature of feare properly taken.*] Did I professe that Christ feared euerlasting death properly? did I not rather excuse or qualifie the vehemencie of their wordes, who put in Christ *an horror of eternall death?* you reason now against the Catechisme, which you make shew to maintaine, and not against me. For other feare of euerlasting death in Christ then improper I acknowledge none. [*You thinke the nature of enlabeia will not admit*

[d] li. 29.

mit any proper feare,] Then doe you conuince your ſelfe to be a notable deluder and abuſer of the trueth. For you are not ignorant what I ſay, but you peruert it of purpoſe to miſcarie your Reader, and countenance your cauſe. [[a] *What ſay you, did Chriſt doubt eternall damnation, and therefore feared it?*] you lacke a woodden dagger to become your part better; haue I any ſuch wordes or ſenſe? I ſhew the generall ſignification of eulabeia *to be* [b] *a carefull and diligent regard to beware or decline that, which we miſlike or doubt, and that as well in priuate and publike affaires, as in Religion*: and you applie this, as if I had ſayd, Chriſt feared and doubted eternall damnation. Whereas I neither mention eternall damnation in all that ſection, nor ſo much as name Chriſt within fourtie lines of thoſe wordes, which ſhew how largely enlabeia is taken. [*You ſpeake ſo darkly that I know not how to take you.*] You double ſo continually that I cannot tell what to make of you: I haue in the ſame page, 305. whence you tooke theſe wordes, diſtinctly ſhewed what parts of Gods wrath, Chriſt might be ſaid to feare or ſuffer, and in what ſenſe, and yet you complaine of darkneſſe, when you ſhun the light, and watch for a word applied to another purpoſe, pretending you muſt needes ſtumble at that ſtraw. And therefore neuer come in with any after cloſe, what my meaning may be, if my wordes be not plaine, reproue them; if they be, refute them, except you receiue them.

[a] li. 38.

[b] Concluſ. pa. 305. li. 25.

This you ſay commeth neereſt to the ſignification of the Greeke word. I graunt it doth touching eulabeia, but in Mark the word doth import properly feare, and that in extremitie.] It is happie yet that when you cannot chuſe, you will graunt that, which is fully prooued to your face. In your vnlearned Treatiſe you would needs make as vnlearned an obſeruation, that [c] *this very word not onely in other Authors, but in the Scripture is vſed for a perplexed feare*: And when your ignorance is conuinced, (for enlabeia is not onely leſſe then φόβος, which is *feare* in the Greeke tongue; but *contrarie* to it, becauſe it is *the* [d] *declining of euill with reaſon and circumſpection*, as Diogenes Laertius writeth) you graunt that which you cannot gainesay. With as much skill you auouch, that ekthambeiſthai doth *import properly feare and that in extremitie*; whereas properly it noteth admiration at any ſtrange or ſuddaine ſight. Whether feare be ioyned with it or no, which ſometime is according to the cauſe and circumſtance of the place. [[e] *My reaſon that Eulabeia heere ſignifieth feare properly, yea a perplexed feare, and not onely a religious deuotion, as you ſay, is grounded not ſo much on the nature of the word, as on the circumſtances of the place, and the other wordes of the text.*] Chriſt did as well naturally feare that, which he ſuffered, as that which he ſhunned; though he were heard in that onely, which he religiouſly ſhunned, and not in the reſt, which he ſuffered. And therefore the other wordes of the text doe not inferre, that enlabeia contained all, that Chriſt feared; but onely that, which he religiouſly feared, and from which hee was freed. And where you [[f] *graunt the Apoſtle may intend this alſo by the nature of the word, that Chriſt notwithſtanding all this dreadfull feare, yet declined not a iot from a moſt reuerend regard of obedience to God, which ſtill he kept firme and ſafe:*] You thinke with your mixtures to worke ſome maruailes. For that one and the ſame word in one and the ſame place ſhould haue two repugnant or different ſignifications, and the Apoſtle there intend them both, this is newes to all men ſaue to you, to whom no manner of abſurdities are new. And where you would knit a dreadfull feare of euill from God, and a reuerend regard of obedience to God, both together in one word, you make Chriſt at one inſtant to decline that, which he did deſire, and to deſire that, which he did decline. For what he did feare, that he did decline, and what he ſo reuerently regarded, that he as much deſired, which was obedience to God; and ſo by one and the ſame word you conceaue not onely contrary minds, but contrary matters in Chriſt. [[g] *To like effect this word ſignifieth in that place of the Acts 23. verſ. 10. as the circumſtances alſo will confirme.*] We ſhould ſoone haue heard of thoſe circumſtances, if any ſuch had beene, but if you omit them as weake, I needs not entertaine them as worthy of anſwere. I ſee no ſuch circumſtances, as you ſpeake of, much leſſe any ſuch ſignification of the word, as you haue framed vs out of the Apoſtle. Euery caution declining

[c] Treatiſ. pag. 74. li. 22.

[d] *De placitis Philoſo. li. 7. in Zenone.*

[e] Defenc. pag. 131. li. 8.

[f] Defenc. pag. 131. li 23.

[g] li. 29.

ning any thing, feareth ſomewhat, which it would preuent, and ſo eulabeia, when it ſignifieth to be warie of any euill, hath a feare of that euill, leſt it ſhould happen, and therefore ſeeketh the beſt meanes to decline it.

[h] Defenc. pag. 131. li. 32. [h] *Where you argue Chriſt was deliuered from his feare of hell torments; ergo he ſuffered them not, I denie your ſequell. This prooueth directly the contrarie. He feared the death of the ſoule, ergo he did ſuffer it.*] My ſequell I thinke hath ground ſufficient in nature and Scripture to make it good. When the Saints ſo often prayed to God to deliuer them from the dangers, which they feared, or found comming towards them, did they meane they would ſuffer them firſt to the full, and after bee loſed from them; or elſe that they would bee freed from them, and not ſuffer them? I know there is a deliuerance out of the midſt of troubles; and ſo you may defend that Chriſt was deliuered from hell fire, becauſe he did not ſuffer it eternally: But ſince feare by the rules of nature is of future, and not of preſent euill, if Chriſt were heard from his feare; that is, deliuered from that which he feared, then certainly he did not ſuffer it. But

[i] li. 36. thence you inferre directly the contrary, for [i] *that feare is of that, which is to come, as* (you ſay) *I well obſerue.*] Surely your ſequels be like rotten rindes, they fall a ſunder as ſoone, as they be touched. Did I auouch, that feare was of that onely, which neceſſarily muſt come, or of that, which poſsibly might come to our ſelues, or to others? Is there any man of common ſenſe, that euer affirmed as you doe, that whatſoeuer a man feareth, muſt befall him? for that is your direct proofe, of which you ſpeake, that all things feared muſt neceſſarily come to paſſe. Otherwiſe if men may feare that which is imminent, and yet be freed from it, how will it follow, that Chriſt really

[k] Defenc. pag. 132. li. 2. ſuffered, what he feared? [k] *Such a manner and meaſure of feare, as this manifeſtly was, could not be but a very ſuffering.*] Of what? of feare, or of the thing feared? feare is an affection or paſsion of the mind foreſeeing euill, that is poſsible, and afflicting it ſelfe for the approching, or poſsibilitie thereof. But he that maketh no difference betwixt the feare of future euill, and the ſenſe of preſent euill, confoundeth all things. Men may feare they know not what, yea they may feare, where no feare is, that is, without iuſt cauſe; but this is the weakneſſe, or guiltineſſe of mans mind perſuing it ſelfe by fearing that, which they need not, or ſhould not feare.

[l] Defenc. pag. 132. li. 5. [l] *My ſoule is* (ſaith Chriſt) *full* of (actuall) *ſorowes euen vnto death.*] When you adde anything to the wordes of our Sauiour, you ſhould take care to put nothing to them, but that which is ſenſible and true, ſince he was full of wiſdome and trueth. Now this that you adde in helpe of your conceits, is neither. For ſorrowes are paſsions, not actions of the mind; and therefore to ſay actuall ſorrowes, hath no ſenſe in it. If by actuall you meane preſent, then you exclude all future ſorrowes againſt the plaine wordes of our Sauiour, who noteth his ſhould continue vnto death. As for preſent torments inflicted on the ſoule of Chriſt by the immediate hand of God the word perilypos, doth no way reach to them, nor expreſſe any ſuch thing. You may be there-

[m] li. 6. fore ſuffered to ſay, [m] *there is in this no doubtfull word*; for that which you adde, is ſo

[n] li. 7. abſurd and ſenſeleſſe, that no wiſe man will iudge it doubtfull. ([n] *your compariſons of fearing captiuitie, death, looſing a purſe &c. are deuices vnfit for diuinitie.*] I match them not with Chriſts ſufferings good ſir, but by them I ſhew how lewtering your Logick is, in ſaying a man ſuffereth, that he feareth; which is ſo farre from trueth, that euerie

[o] Defenc. pag. 132. li. 12. child may ſoone confute it, and well deride it. [o] *God you ſay, might well heare Chriſt two waies; Frſt, by ſufficient ſuſtaining him in it; Secondly, by deliuering him out of it in due time.*] Adde this interpretation then to the wordes of Chriſts prayers in the Garden, and what is become of your maine poſition, *Chriſt prayed in plaine words contrarie to Gods knowen will?* For ſince God did ſuſtaine Chriſt in that he ſuffered, and in the end deliuered him with honour and glory, the cup by your conſtuction may bee ſaid in both theſe reſpects to haue paſſed from him, and ſo in either ſenſe God heard him, and deliuered him from it. But elſe where you are in greater earneſt, *that Chriſt could not intentiuely pray againſt that, nor feare that, which he moſt perfectly knew could by no meanes euer poſſibly come neere him, namely that the dominion of death ſhould hold him.* If there you

you were in ſadneſſe, then now you doe ieſt or worſe, to tell vs that God might well heare Chriſt in that he neuer did or could pray for. That the death of the ſoule or body ſhould haue dominion ouer him, was ſimply impoſsible, and Chriſt perfectly knew ſo much, as your owne words yeeld. Then neither did he, nor could he pray, by your poſitions, for any ſuch thing, and conſequently God did not heare him in thoſe things for which he praied not. And ſo your two waies of hearing and deliuering Chriſt, your ſelfe, by your owne doctrine, ouerthrow, rather as ieſts, then iuſt deliuerances. And then doth my ſequell perſue you more ſtrongly then before, that Chriſt muſt be freed from ſuffering that he feared, not by ſuffering it, ſince he neuer doubted and ſo neuer praied by your diuinity to be ſuſtained in it, nor after ſuffering to be freed from it.

[p] *In another place you ſeeme to obſerue a point both ſtrange and very contrary to your ſelfe in ſaying feare is more intolerable in Chriſt then doubting; when you haue ſo often and ſo earneſtly affirmed, that Chriſt feared, & for feare became aſtoniſhed.*] To him that neuer read leafe nor line of holy Scripture, this may make ſome iolly ſhew; but to him that can diſtinguiſh white from blacke, it will appeare to be rather an ignorant conceit in you, then a repugnant ſpeach in me. A *naturall feare* of euill is incident to all mens natures by Gods ordinance in his firſt creating vs, and ſo common to Chriſts manhood with all men, be they good or bad. For therefore did God threaten death to Adam if he diſobeyed, that both the loue of God enioied, and feare of euill (if he tranſgreſſed,) might reſtraine him from ſinne. *A religious* feare of Gods greatneſſe, and (in cauſe of committing or ſuffering for ſinne) the trembling at the power of his wrath, is proper to the godly, wherein Chriſt might and did communicate with them, as being to beare the puniſhment of our ſinne, though he were free from all ſinne. *A diſtruſtfull* feare, which quencheth faith and excludeth hope, is common to all the wicked, and therein Chriſt might not concurre with them, leaſt he conioined with them in ſinne. The firſt was tolerable, the ſecond was commendable in Chriſt, the third was neither. Of this third kind of feare I ſpeake, when I ſay, feare is *more vnexcuſable* in Chriſt then doubting. But perhaps you could not diſcerne ſo much, becauſe my ſpeach was darke. I am content to be tried by the Reader, whether any man might miſtake my words euen there, where you ſtumble at them, but he that would wilfully peruert them. My words ſtand thus. *In that perfect perſuaſion, knowledge, and aſſurance of Gods euerlaſting purpoſe, fauour, and loue towards him, that he ſhould be the Sauiour of the world, if doubting be not tolerable, how enexcuſable is feare and terror, as if he were forſaken of God?* Doe I heere ſpeake of all kinds of feares, or of that only, whereby Chriſt ſhould feare, leaſt Gods purpoſe, promiſe, and loue towards him might faile? my illation in that very page is this. *The ſoule of Chriſt muſt therefore be farre from fearing or doubting leaſt God would change his mind, recall his word, fruſtrate his promiſe, and violate his oath: for theſe are blaſphemies againſt God, in the higheſt degree.* He muſt be more then blind, which doth not ſee what kind of feare I exclude from Chriſt: but you did cunningly to peruert my words, when you could not reſiſt my reaſons. For all your apprehenſions of Gods proper wrath and fierie indignation, which you ſo much proclaime, if you direct them to the perſon of Chriſt, as if he conceaued, feared, or doubted any change or decreaſe of Gods fauour and loue towards him, or his ſacrifice, then are they theſe verie feares, which heere I baniſh from Chriſt as vtterly blaſphemous. It was therefore ſome skill to ſhift of theſe words with a ſlanderous and falſe crimination leaſt they ſhould make you breath, before you were diſburdened of them, if you toke them rightly.

p Defenc. pag. 132. li. 15.

q Sermo. p. 2. 118. li. 22.

r Ibid. li. 32.

[s] *You ſeeke a weake aduantage in that I ſaid eiſakonſtheis may ſeeme to ſhew, that Chriſt was heard being in that, which he was ſaued from. You ſee I chalenge no certaine but a ſeeming reaſon from that word.*] In the maine ground of our ſaluation and redemption, which are moſt certaine in the Scriptures, to impugne the doctrine there deliuered with ſeeming reaſons, is the guiſe of him that would ſeeme a good Chriſtian, but is none. Indeed you haue beſet your ſelfe in your defence with ſtore of ſeemings; as I could

s Defenc. pag. 132. li. 19.

could specifie the places and points, if it were to this purpose; and I thinke your whole defence hath nothing in it but your seemings, you vse therein so few either authorities or reasons, other then your owne conceits and assertions. But vpon these seemings you set pestilent positions, slanderous imputations, and false conclusions, as euen here you both resolue, that Christ was in your hell paines; and you presume so to translate the word eisakonstheis, *he was heard being in it*, as if that were the true force of the Apostles words. [*But your selfe maketh a stranger conclusion; ergo the actiue referred to God; importeth that God being in the same pains did heare him.*] Yet such a conclusion, as your collection cannot auoid. For where Christ was heard, God did heare; the passiue in Christ noteth the actiue to be truely affirmed of God, that he did heare Christ. If then that word, as you boldly with your seeming reason and false translation affirme, import being in the paines of hell, it must so signifie as well in the actiue referred to God, as in the passiue applied to Christ. If you be now ashamed to heare of these vnseeming and vnsauery reasons; blot them out of your owne booke, and bestow your time better hereafter.

[a] Treat pag. 63.li.26.

[a] Defenc.pag. 132.li.24. [a] *Lastly, you say, but in the garden Christ neuer praied with strong cries and teares to be saued from death, that we read in the Scriptures. I hope you doe not read in the Scriptures expressely at all, that thus he praied in the garden: You may soundly gather it from the Scriptures I grant.* My words are not, that the Scriptures expressely name Christs teares in the garden; but that none other place nor time of Christs praier mentioned in the Euangelists, doe admit teares but the garden. For there the place being priuate, and his praiers so vehement, that his sweat was like bloud, both olde and new writers haue collected, that the Apostles words were verified in the garden, yea the *sweat* of Christ Bernard calleth *teares*, where he saith: [x] *Christ falling into an agony, prayed the third time where he seemed to weepe, not only with his eyes, but with all the parts of his bodie, that the whole bodie of his Church might be purged with the teares of his whole body.* Zinglius confesseth as much. [y] *Non lachrymas modo oculis. sed & sanguinis guttas è corpore exprimit seria & deuota oratio, vt in trepidatione Christi est cernere. Serious & deuote praier doth not onely draw teares from the eyes, but a bloudie sweate from the bodie, as we see in Christes Agonie.* And surely the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrewes must either not collect this from the Scripture, but report it besides the Scripture, which is somewhat dangerous; os else by the *sweate of Christes face, trickling downe to the ground*, he collected, that in that intentiue and vehement prayer, teares ran downe as fast as sweate, and ioyntly with sweate: and other sound gathering it from the Scriptures there is none. And this collection if you graunt, that the Apostle from the vehemencie of Christs prayer obserued the cause of the one to be the cause of the other, since it was not possible the face should runne with sweate through the fervencie of prayer, and not the eyes with teares; then graunt you, that it may soundly be gathered from the Scriptures, that zeale of prayer, and not heate of paine was the cause of Christs bloudy sweate.

[a] Bernardus in Ramis Palmarum Serm.3.

[y] Zinglius in Historiam Passio.

[z] Defenc.pag. 132.li.34. [z] *The Apostle in all reason may be vnderstoode to haue respect to all the woefull times and cries of our Sauiour, as on the crosse, and in the 12. of Iohn.*] There is no reason to extend the Apostles wordes to Christs praier in the 12. of Iohn: for there the Scripture doth not mention either strong cries or teares, which are the Apostles words. On the crosse he vsed a loud voice, but teares he shed none, neither was the sense of his prayer there to be freed from death, but rather to hasten his death, to which he had now wholy submitted himself according to his Fathers will. And therefore your stretching the Apostles wordes to all those times, to make Christs agonie, if you could tell how, to continue on the crosse, wanteth all reason. His paine most increased on the crosse, and his sorow rising thence could not decrease; but neither his astonishment, nor that which the Scripture calleth his agonie, accompanied with his bloodie sweate, continued on the crosse. You thinke it vnreasonable to say, that Christ on the crosse had *persistance in ioy*, and beheld God alwayes fauourable and faithfull vnto him, [a] *without intermission or obscuration*; though his flesh, in which sinne was condemned, and his body

[a] Defenc.pag. 132.li.38.

body where he bare our ſinnes, were ſubiected to moſt ſhamefull and cruell torments from the hands of the wicked: what vncoherence is there in thoſe wordes, or what diſagreement from the Scriptures? *I ſaw the Lord alwayes before me*, ſaid Dauid concerning Chriſt. *For he is at my right hand, that I ſhould not be moued.* If this beholding of God were [b] *alwayes, then was there no intermiſſion; if before his face, then was there no obſcuration.* Theſe are my words, which why you ſhould diſlike, or how you can refute, I doe not ſee. You can touch nothing, which you one way or other turne not out of his right courſe. Firmeneſſe of faith, and aſſurance of hope I giue vnto Chriſt on the Croſſe, and either of thoſe bring with them inward ioy of mind, how much ſoeuer our outward ſtate be troubled, or our fleſh afflicted. Neither are theſe ſuch contraries as cannot ſtand together, ſince they are both in diuers parts, and for diuers reſpects. S. Peter ſaith, [c] *we reioyce* in the faith of ſaluation, *though for a ſeaſon wee are in heauineſſe through manifold temptations.* S. Iames ſaith, *my* [d] *brethren count it an exceeding ioy, when ye fall into diuers tentations.* S. Paul ſaith, [e] *we reioyce vnder the hope of the glory of God, neither ſo onely, but alſo we reioyce in tribulation; knowing that tribulation bringeth foorth patience*, (experience, and hope) which *maketh not aſhamed.* Then as it is no abſurditie, that the ſpirit ſhould be readie, and the fleſh weake, nor that the inward man ſhould be renewed, when the outward man periſheth; no more is it any repugnancie, that Chriſt ſhould haue ioy in the holy Ghoſt and in hope, when he found and felt exceeding affliction in his fleſh; and as the Apoſtle teacheth, [f] *for the ioy ſet before him, endured the croſſe and deſpiſed the ſhame* (thereof.) If then there be ioy in hope, how could Chriſt want ioy, if he wanted not hope? and hope if you take from him, you leaue him in deſpaire, which is the loſſe of hope; which whether you will adde to the reſt of your vnſound faith, I leaue it to your choice. Notwithſtanding your ſelfe in this very booke allow to Chriſt on the croſſe, and in his agonie by reaſon of the very ſame wordes, (which I cite page 116.) not onely [g] *conſtant and continuall ioy in God, but exceeding and generall ioy*, with which whether your hell and perpetuall extreme agonie as well on the Croſſe as in the Garden may ſtand, I referre it to the ſober and wiſe Reader.

[h] *How vaine is this conſequent, how falſe are theſe ſayings, and contrarie to the Scripture in the circumſtances that his aſtoniſhment muſt continue eighteene houres, from his entering into the garden to the ending of his life the next day at three of the clocke afternoone.*] Indeed it is moſt abſurd, and openly repugnant to the Scriptures, and to all the circumſtances thereof, to defend that Chriſts agonie, which you ſay was the cauſe of his aſtoniſhment, or his aſtoniſhment, which was the effect thereof, continued on the Croſſe; and yet ſuch is your error, that you make Chriſts ſpirituall paines on the croſſe to be greater then in the Garden, and his aſtoniſhment to be leſſe, becauſe you doe not find, that on the croſſe, where his paine was preſent and moſt ſharpe, he prayed ought againſt the knowen will of God, as you auouch he did in the Garden. Your ſuppoſing and preſuming without all warrant of holie Scripture that God with his immediate hand inflicted the paines of the damned on the ſoule of Chriſt, [i] *ſometimes more & ſometimes leſſe, and ſometimes more ſuddainly then at other times, and ſometimes ſtaying it*, and this variableneſſe of Gods hand to be the true cauſe of Chriſts aſtoniſhment; is a ſaucie, ſenſeleſſe, and ſhifting imagination, aggrauating, eaſing, and iterating Gods hand at your pleaſure; and yet ſuch is the folly and falſhood of your doctrine, that without this deſperate deuice euery child would crie ſhame on you. For where on the Croſſe by your owne confeſsion Chriſtes meere ſpirituall paines moſt increaſed, euen there his aſtoniſhment was none at all; and though you teach it not poſsible for Chriſt not to ſinke, *and* [k] *not to be confounded vnder the burden*, yet when he [l] *came to the greateſt of his paſſion*, then was he freeſt from all confuſion, and ſo your hell paines by your leaue were not the cauſe of Chriſtes aſtoniſhment, if any ſuch thing were in him.

[m] *I confeſſe his extreame aſtoniſhment did euer quickly paſſe from him, yet the ſenſe and taſt of that cup might continue longer, in ſuch a manner and meaſure as he was better able by his deitie to ſuſtaine it. Now what ill is there in theſe conceits, I pray you, what follie is there in*

[b] Sermon. pa. 116 li. 25.
[c] 1. Peter 1.
[d] Iames 1.
[e] Rom. 5.
[f] Hebr. 12.
[g] Defenc. pag. 110. li. 28. & 34.
[h] Defenc. pag. 133. li. 3. & 1.
[i] Defenc. pag. 133. li. 9. 10.
[k] Treat. pag. 54. li. 28.
[l] Ibid. pag. 63. li. 15.
[m] Defenc. pag. 133. li. 16.

in them?] As much as may be. For when you haue ſought heauen and earth, ſea and land to bring Chriſts ſoule within the compaſſe of your hell-paines, and therewith to aſtoniſh and confound all the powers of his ſoule, and ſenſes of his bodie; ſuddainely with the ſpeaking of, *(yet)* you free him from it, and ſtill returne and remooue it, as often as you liſt. And when you are vrged, that hell paines continuing and increaſiing on the croſſe by your doctrine, there was no manner of aſtoniſhment or confuſion in Chriſts reaſon or remembrance; you ſay *the taſt of the cup might continue.* So that when the paines were leſſe, then Chriſt did drinke the cup, and when they were greateſt, then he did but taſt the cup. Thus play you the Tapſter with Chriſts torments, and ſet vp the reſt of your cauſe on this abſurd conceit of *Drinking and taſting* the cup; which is not only diſſonant from all trueth, but repugnant to all ſenſe. For if your hell paines were the true cauſe of Chriſts aſtoniſhment, then the cauſe continuing, the effect could not ceaſe; and the cauſe increaſing, the effect could not diminiſh. Where you fly for help to Chriſts deity, *the better to enable him to ſuſtaine* the paines of the damned without aſtoniſhment, you forget that if Chriſt would haue vſed any diuine power to reſiſt or repreſſe his paine, he might eaſily haue ſuffered none. And weake you make Chriſts godhead, if vſing it to that end, he could not ſaue himſelfe from confuſion and forgetfullneſſe; as alſo you put a conflict betwixt the Father and the Sonne, if he could not enable his manhood againſt aſtoniſhment, as well at one time as at another. Therefore this abuſing Gods immediate hand to take memory from Chriſt, when you liſt, and thus pretending Chriſts deity to keep him in the paines of hell, and yet to free him from forgetfulneſſe, ſhew right on what foundation you build the whole plat of your doctrine, euen on your owne fanſies, without all direction or inſtruction from the ſacred Scriptures, which haue not one word more or leſſe, touching theſe deuices of yours in ſo waighty cauſes of our redemption.

[a] Defenc.pag. 134.li.1. [a] *How you ſeeme to auouch, that Chriſt was by God forſaken in body, but not in ſoule, let them declare that can. I am ſure no man can in trueth maintaine it.*] It is more eaſily maintained then refuted. To be forſaken, is to be depriued of all ſenſe and fruition of the power and life, that is in God, and commeth from God. Thus Chriſts body was forſaken for the time, & left to death, which is contrary to life, wherewith God quickned man heere on earth. But the ſoule of Chriſt was neuer forſaken of his life which was the grace and ſpirit of God, whereby the ſoule is quickened. As for wreſting Ambroſe, as I did Hilarie, ſhew firſt wherein, and then ſpare not to ſpeake it. Otherwiſe your cenſure hath ſo much partiality, and ſo little probability, that your Reader after ſo many failes will not now depend on your ſingle ſay.

[b] Defenc.pag. 134.li.5. [b] *After this you are bold, and aske if any dare doubt of your doctrine? yea ſurely I dare not but doubt of it.*] What dare you not doe, who dare deuice a new faith without all precedence of the holy Scriptures, and take vpon you to guide and rule Gods immediat hand, as ſeemeth beſt to your liking. In our conformity to Chriſts ſufferings I obſerued two things out of the word of God: one, that we haue fellowſhip with Chriſts afflictions and follow his ſteps; the other that we muſt reioice in communicating with his ſufferings. Neither of which can generally and iuſtly be verified of your helliſh confuſion and torments. For muſt we be all confounded in all the powers of our ſoules and ſenſes of our bodies, and muſt we forget Gods knowen will through aſtoniſhment, and pray againſt it, before we can follow Chriſts ſteps? this muſt be your doctrine, as alſo that we muſt reioice in this ſhrincking from the will of God, and praying againſt it, becauſe the holy Ghoſt willeth vs to reioice, when we communicate with Chriſts ſufferings.

[c] li. 15. [c] *Some are conformable in ſome meaſure with Chriſt euen in theſe his ſufferings.*] Not only ſome may, but all muſt be conformed to Chriſt their head to ſuffer with him, before they ſhall raigne with him. So that as Chriſt ſaid to

[d] Matth. 20. Iames and Iohn, [d] *Ye ſhall drinke indeed of my cup, and be baptized with the baptiſme, that*

[e] Luke 14. *I am baptized with*, So he performeth to all true beleeuers. *Whoſoeuer*, ſaith he, [e] *beareth not his croſſe, and commeth after me, cannot be my Diſciple.* And where to my allega-

[f] Defenc.pag. 134.li.17. tion, that we muſt *reioice* in the fellowſhip of Chriſts afflictions, you anſweare; [f] *We*

ought

ought to turne them to ioy and gladneſſe, though not properly to be glad in them, This is but an euaſion. I commend not affliction, becauſe it is greeuous to nature, but for the vſe and reward thereof, and partaking therein with Chriſt. And if we are therein to reioyce, as you now confeſſe, [r] *euen when we are moſt bruized & pierced in our ſoules with the terrors of God,* Then I hope our Sauiour Chriſt in the midſt of all his ſufferings had the ſame ioy, which we muſt haue; and conſequently I had reaſon and trueth on my ſide, when I ſaid [a] *Chriſt on the Croſſe had alwaies perſiſtance in ioy,* which you then *impugned,* and now doe grant againſt your will. And if your credit were ought worth, I ſay not in this ſo much as you doe. For you aſcribe to Chriſt on the croſſe, [x] *conſtant and continuall ioy in God,* yea *exceeding and generall ioy,* and yet you thinke it much that I ſhould affirme, that the Scriptures attribute to Chriſt *perſiſtance of ioy* on the croſſe how bitter or greeuous ſoeuer the ſhame and paine thereof were vnto his fleſh.

[r] li.22.

[a] Pag.132. li.36.

[x] Pag.110.li. 28.&34.

[y] *You frame an obiection to your ſelfe, which you neither doe nor can anſwere: Chriſts ſoule might feele the torments of hell for the time without any diſtruſt or doubting of his ſalvation or our redemption.*] I anſwered you, which you ſhall neuer auoid, firſt that the true paines of hell by the ſacred Scriptures, are not temporall, but eternall. You tell vs you haue ſhewed [z] *Eternall continuance in hell paines is not of the eſſence or nature of hell torments.* So haue you ſaid page: 12. though page: 53. as you often quote it, there is no ſuch thing: but euen there alſo haue I ſhewed, that this you ſay out of your owne braine, the Scriptures affirme no ſuch thing. Secondly, I anſwered you, that the horror of the paines of the damned did admit no ioy; for in hell I hope there is no ioy. Chriſt then by your owne doctrine hauing *conſtant, continual, exceeding, & generall ioy,* was neither in the true paines, nor in the true terrors of hell, vnleſſe in defence of your deuices you will now make your new heauen, and your new hell to be all one. For ioy in the holy Ghoſt you directly make to be the ſubſtance of heauenly bliſſe. Now if in Chriſt and all his members you put at one and the ſame time, the true terrors of hell, and the true ioy of the holy Ghoſt, what miſſe you of mixing heauen and hell at one inſtant in Chriſt and all the faithfull. A third replie I gaue in that very place to this obiection, which you ſay, I neither doe, nor can anſwere; and that was, [a] *ſince it is no where witneſſed in the Scriptures, that Chriſt ſuffered the paines of hell, why ſtriue you to eſtabliſh a meere conceit of men, neither written, nor ſpoken before our age?* All theſe are no anſweres with you, and only becauſe you haue deuiced a new hell from the immediate hand of God, with which you delude, as your maner is, all that the Scriptures ſpeake of the paines of the damned. But glory not in your deuice; to inuent a new faith, it is as much ſinne, as to renounce the true Chriſtian faith, which indeed is auncient, and in ſubſtance as old as the Scriptures, ſince they ſerue to teſtifie from the beginning Gods bleſſed will and promiſe of ſaluation vnto man through the death of Chriſt, which God firſt named the Serpents biting the heele of the womans ſeed.

[z] Defenc.pag. 134.li.24.

[a] Defenc.pag. 134.li.33.

[a] Serm. pag. 135.li.3.

[b] *After this you ſet vehemently againſt my laſt argument that Chriſt ſuffered not in ſome ſort the death of the ſoule; firſt if we ſhould ſpeake ſtrictly after the manner of death in the bodie, then no man is ſo mad or fooliſh as to ſay that any mans ſoule can die at all, that is, want life and ſenſe as a dead bodie doth.*] You be come now to the vpſhot of all your defence and doctrin, whether the Scriptures do any where teach, that Chriſt died the death of the ſoule, or the ſecond death for our redmption: and here ſhall we find nothing but an heape of words broched out of your braines, and ſo tempered with your conceits, that when you haue all ſaid, you ſay nothing with any ſubſtance or ſhew of holy Scripture. You diſclaime, that the ſoule is at any time deuoide of life and ſenſe, as dead bodies are, as if that were ought to your purpoſe; but yet the death of the ſoule hath a reſemblance and concordance with the death of the bodie, as ſpirituall things may haue with corporall. And therefore as the bodie being once dead wanteth all ſenſe and motion, which are the parts or effects of life from the ſoule quickning the bodie, ſo the ſoule being dead to God, who is her life, hath *no ſenſe nor motion* of Gods *grace* in this life, nor ſight nor hope of glory in the life to come, but deſtitute of the one here

[b] Defenc.pag. 135.li.

on

in them?] As much as may be. For when you haue ſought heauen and earth, ſea and land to bring Chriſts ſoule within the compaſſe of your hell-paines, and therewith to aſtoniſh and confound all the powers of his ſoule, and ſenſes of his bodie; ſuddainely with the ſpeaking of, *(yet)* you free him from it, and ſtill returne and remooue it, as often as you liſt. And when you are vrged, that hell paines continuing and increaſiing on the croſſe by your doctrine, there was no manner of aſtoniſhment or confuſion in Chriſts reaſon or remembrance; you ſay *the taſt of the cup might continue.* So that when the paines were leſſe, then Chriſt did drinke the cup, and when they were greateſt, then he did but taſt the cup. Thus play you the Tapſter with Chriſts torments, and ſet vp the reſt of your cauſe on this abſurd conceit of *Drinking and taſting* the cup; which is not only diſſonant from all trueth, but repugnant to all ſenſe. For if your hell paines were the true cauſe of Chriſts aſtoniſhment, then the cauſe continuing, the effect could not ceaſe; and the cauſe increaſing, the effect could not diminiſh. Where you fly for help to Chriſts deity, *the better to enable him to ſuſtaine* the paines of the damned without aſtoniſhment, you forget that if Chriſt would haue vſed any diuine power to reſiſt or repreſſe his paine, he might eaſily haue ſuffered none. And weake you make Chriſts godhead, if vſing it to that end, he could not ſaue himſelfe from confuſion and forgetfullneſſe; as alſo you put a conflict betwixt the Father and the Sonne, if he could not enable his manhood againſt aſtoniſhment, as well at one time as at another. Therefore this abuſing Gods immediate hand to take memory from Chriſt, when you liſt, and thus pretending Chriſts deity to keep him in the paines of hell, and yet to free him from forgetfulneſſe, ſhew right on what foundation you build the whole plat of your doctrine, euen on your owne fanſies, without all direction or inſtruction from the ſacred Scriptures, which haue not one word more or leſſe, touching theſe deuices of yours in ſo waighty cauſes of our redemption.

[a] Defenc.pag. 134.li.1. [a] *How you ſeeme to auouch, that Chriſt was by God forſaken in body, but not in ſoule, let them declare that can. I am ſure no man can in trueth maintaine it.*] It is more eaſily maintained then refuted. To be forſaken, is to be depriued of all ſenſe and fruition of the power and life, that is in God, and commeth from God. Thus Chriſts body was forſaken for the time, & left to death, which is contrary to life, wherewith God quickned man heere on earth. But the ſoule of Chriſt was neuer forſaken of his life which was the grace and ſpirit of God, whereby the ſoule is quickened. As for wreſting Ambroſe, as I did Hilarie, ſhew firſt wherein, and then ſpare not to ſpeake it. Otherwiſe your cenſure hath ſo much partiality, and ſo little probability, that your Reader after ſo many failes will not now depend on your ſingle ſay.

[b] Defenc.pag. 134.li.5. [b] *After this you are bold, and aske if any dare doubt of your doctrine? yea ſurely I dare not but doubt of it.*] What dare you not doe, who dare deuice a new faith without all precedence of the holy Scriptures, and take vpon you to guide and rule Gods immediat hand, as ſeemeth beſt to your liking. In our conformity to Chriſts ſufferings I obſerued two things out of the word of God: one, that we haue fellowſhip with Chriſts afflictions and follow his ſteps; the other that we muſt reioice in communicating with his ſufferings. Neither of which can generally and iuſtly be verified of your helliſh confuſion and torments. For muſt we be all confounded in all the powers of our ſoules and ſenſes of our bodies, and muſt we forget Gods knowen will through aſtoniſhment, and pray againſt it, before we can follow Chriſts ſteps? this muſt be your doctrine, as alſo that we muſt reioice in this ſhrincking from the will of God, and praying againſt it, becauſe the holy Ghoſt willeth vs to reioice, when we communicate with Chriſts ſufferings. [p li. 15. [p] *Some are conformable in ſome meaſure with Chriſt euen in theſe his ſufferings.*] Not only ſome may, but all muſt be conformed to Chriſt their head to ſuffer with him, before they ſhall raigne with him. So that as Chriſt ſaid to Iames and Iohn, [q] Matth. 20. [q] *Ye ſhall drinke indeed of my cup, and be baptized with the baptiſme, that I am baptized with,* So he performeth to all true beleeuers. *Whoſoeuer,* ſaith he, [r] Luke 14. *beareth not his croſſe, and commeth after me, cannot be my Diſciple.* And where to my allegation, that we muſt *reioice* in the fellowſhip of Chriſts afflictions, you anſweare; [s] Defenc.pag. 134.li.17. [s] *We ought*

ought to turne them to ioy and gladneſſe, though not properly to be glad in them, This is but an euaſion. I commend not affliction, becauſe it is greeuous to nature, but for the vſe and reward thereof, and partaking therein with Chriſt. And if we are therein to reioyce, as you now confeſſe, [r] *euen when we are moſt bruized & pierced in our ſoules with the terrors of God,* Then I hope our Sauiour Chriſt in the midſt of all his ſufferings had the ſame ioy, which we muſt haue; and conſequently I had reaſon and trueth on my ſide, when I ſaid [a] *Chriſt on the Croſſe had alwaies perſiſtance in ioy,* which you then *impugned,* and now doe grant againſt your will. And if your credit were ought worth, I ſay not in this ſo much as you doe. For you aſcribe to Chriſt on the croſſe, [x] *conſtant and continuall ioy in God,* yea *exceeding and generall ioy,* and yet you thinke it much that I ſhould affirme, that the Scriptures attribute to Chriſt *perſiſtance of ioy* on the croſſe how bitter or greeuous ſoeuer the ſhame and paine thereof were vnto his fleſh.

[r] li.22. [a] Pag.132. li.36. [x] Pag.110.li. 28.&34.

[y] *You frame an obiection to your ſelfe, which you neither doe nor can anſwere: Chriſts ſoule might feele the torments of hell for the time without any diſtruſt or doubting of his ſalvation or our redemption.*] I anſwered you, which you ſhall neuer auoid, firſt that the true paines of hell by the ſacred Scriptures, are not temporall, but eternall. You tell vs you haue ſhewed [z] *Eternall continuance in hell paines is not of the eſſence or nature of hell torments.* So haue you ſaid page: 12. though page: 53. as you often quote it, there is no ſuch thing: but euen there alſo haue I ſhewed, that this you ſay out of your owne braine, the Scriptures affirme no ſuch thing. Secondly, I anſwered you, that the horror of the paines of the damned did admit no ioy; for in hell I hope there is no ioy. Chriſt then by your owne doctrine hauing *conſtant, continual, exceeding, & generall ioy,* was neither in the true paines, nor in the true terrors of hell, vnleſſe in defence of your deuices you will now make your new heauen, and your new hell to be all one. For ioy in the holy Ghoſt you directly make to be the ſubſtance of heauenly bliſſe. Now if in Chriſt and all his members you put at one and the ſame time, the true terrors of hell, and the true ioy of the holy Ghoſt, what miſſe you of mixing heauen and hell at one inſtant in Chriſt and all the faithfull. A third replie I gaue in that very place to this obiection, which you ſay, I neither doe, nor can anſwere; and that was, [a] *ſince it is no where witneſſed in the Scriptures, that Chriſt ſuffered the paines of hell, why ſtriue you to eſtabliſh a meere conceit of men, neither written, nor ſpoken before our age?* All theſe are no anſweres with you, and only becauſe you haue deuiced a new hell from the immediate hand of God, with which you delude, as your maner is, all that the Scriptures ſpeake of the paines of the damned. But glory not in your deuice; to inuent a new faith, it is as much ſinne, as to renounce the true Chriſtian faith, which indeed is auncient, and in ſubſtance as old as the Scriptures, ſince they ſerue to teſtifie from the beginning Gods bleſſed will and promiſe of ſaluation vnto man through the death of Chriſt, which God firſt named the Serpents biting the heele of the womans ſeed.

[y] Defenc.pag. 134.li.24. [z] Defenc.pag. 134.li.33. [a] Serm. pag. 135.li.3.

[b] *After this you ſet vehemently againſt my laſt argument that Chriſt ſuffered not in ſome ſort the death of the ſoule; firſt if we ſhould ſpeake ſtrictly after the manner of death in the bodie, then no man is ſo mad or fooliſh as to ſay that any mans ſoule can die at all, that is, want life and ſenſe as a dead bodie doth.*] You be come now to the vpſhot of all your defence and doctrin, whether the Scriptures do any where teach, that Chriſt died the death of the ſoule, or the ſecond death for our redmption: and here ſhall we find nothing but an heape of words broched out of your braines, and ſo tempered with your conceits, that when you haue all ſaid, you ſay nothing with any ſubſtance or ſhew of holy Scripture. You diſclaime, that the ſoule is at any time deuoide of life and ſenſe, as dead bodies are, as if that were ought to your purpoſe; but yet the death of the ſoule hath a reſemblance and concordance with the death of the bodie, as ſpirituall things may haue with corporall. And therefore as the bodie being once dead wanteth all ſenſe and motion, which are the parts or effects of life from the ſoule quickning the bodie, ſo the ſoule being dead to God, who is her life, hath *no ſenſe nor motion* of Gods *grace* in this life, nor ſight nor hope of glory in the life to come, but deſtitute of the one here

[b] Defenc.pag. 135.li.

on

on earth, which is grace, hath no deſire nor feeling of God, and in the next world depriued of all poſsibilitie of glory, is ſubiected to eternall and intolerable miſerie from the preſence of God.

•Defenc.pag. 135.li.24. ‘*Such a death as immortall ſoules are ſubiect vnto is Gods ſeparation from them, & this is two fold; the firſt death, and the ſecond death, as the Scripture ſpeaketh. The firſt is the ſeparation of them from Gods grace, which is in this life by ſinne raigning in them*]. The ſoule loaden with ſinne in this life, is not vtterly dead, ſo long as it retaineth any ſenſe or motion of Gods grace. So that ſorow for ſinne ioyned with any deſire of true repentance is a plaine ſigne of life in the ſoule, though ſorrow for ſinne without hope be plaine deſpaire and death of the ſoule. And therefore the ſoule of man finding the danger of ſinne, and deſiring to be deliuered from it, yet liueth whiles ſhe apprehendeth, affecteth, or ſeeketh the grace of God; but if ſhe want all ſenſe of God by faith, and motion to God by hope and deſire, ſhe is wholy dead to God, that is void of the life of God, which is deriued from God vnto the ſoules of men. As for the ſecond death of the ſoule, the Scriptures indeed ſpeake thereof, but you erre groſſely in this ſecond death, the execution whereof alwayes followeth the firſt death as well of the bodie as of the ſoule, though the guiltineſſe and condemnation thereof by a mans owne conſcience may be found heere in this life. And therefore the ſecond death by the open and euident wordes of the holy Ghoſt is called *the* [d] *lake of fire*, or the [e] *lake burning with fire and brimſtone*, which is not in this life. And conſequently your next collection, that *the ſecond death is Gods leauing them in the feeling of the moſt ſharpe and moſt vehement paines inflicted by Gods iuſtice for ſinne*, is as falſe, as it is defectiue, not agreeing in one word with the tenor of the ſacred Scriptures, which you pretend to follow.

[d] Reuel.20. [e] 19.&21.

[f] Defenc.pag. 135.li.30. [g] Reuel.2.v.11 [h] Reuel.20.v.6 [i] Ibid.v.14. [k] Reuel.21.v.8

[f] *This laſt kind of death is ſo called and named in many places of Scripture.*] The ſecond death is expreſly named, but in foure places of the Scripture. The firſt, [g] *Be thou faithfull to death, and I will giue thee the crowne of life. He that ouercommeth* (the firſt death) *ſhall not be hurt of the ſecond death.* The ſecond, [h] *bleſſed and holy is he, that hath part in firſt reſurrection* (of the ſoule vnto the life of grace) *on ſuch* THE SECOND DEATH *hath no power.* The third, [i] *Death and hell were caſt into the lake of fire,* THIS IS THE SECOND DEATH. The fourth, [k] *The fearefull & vnbeleeuing, the abominable and murderers, and whoremongers, and ſorcerers, and idolaters, and all liers ſhall haue their part in the lake, that burneth with fire and brimſtone,* WHICH IS THE SECOND DEATH. Saue in theſe places the ſecond death is neuer expreſly named in the Scriptures; and in theſe moſt apparantly the ſecond death followeth after the death of the bodie, and is euerlaſting. And neither on Chriſt, who is the firſt reſurrection vnto grace, and the ſecond reſurrection vnto glorie; nor on any of his members hath *the ſecond death any power* by the plaine words of Saint Iohn. So that all your platforme is quite ouerthrowen by the direct words of the Apoſtle, freeing Chriſt and all his elect euen in this life from all power of the ſecond death. And therefore you ſet your ſelfe in this ſection euidently to confront the holy Ghoſt, when you ſeeke to proue that Chriſt ſuffered the ſecond death of the ſoule, as the Scripture ſpeaketh. And beſides the Scriptures, if you talke of ſecond deaths, you may as well tell vs tales of a new world, as of an other word without the witneſſe of Gods ſpirit. But you haue found out *many places of Scripture*, where *this laſt kinde of death is ſo called and named.*] Eight you quote by the ſide in your margine, but take not the paines to diſcuſſe one of them, onely you pronounce after your ſtately manner, that thoſe places of Scripture prooue that, which you meane to bee the death of the ſoule. Now what if not one of them ſpeake any ſuch thing? is not your Reader ſure to find you a true man of your word, when you quote eight places, and not one of them to your purpoſe? but this is your perpetuall courſe, to miſtake and miſuſe Scriptures at your pleaſure, and then to ſay you haue ſoundly prooued it. On the contrary I affirme that none of theſe places intend any ſuch thing, as you imagine of your terreſtiall and temporall hell, but they exactly conclude againſt you, that damnation is eternall, and no death of the ſoule, which is not euerlaſting, is expreſſed or intended in any of thoſe Scriptures; or in any other,

other, that you or your friends are able to picke out. And though it may ſuffice me as well to ſay nay, as you to ſay yea, yet for the Readers better reſolution I will not bee grieued to run through all theſe places, as much as ſhalbe needfull.

The firſt is, [l] *the ſoule that ſinneth, it ſhall die.* Theſe words may ſignifie either ſubtraction of grace in this life, which is conſequent to ſinne in the wicked, or excluſion from glory in the next world, which is the iuſt and full wages of ſinne. But that euery ſoule, which ſinneth, hath felt, or ſhall feele in this life your temporall hell or the pains of the damned, this is a groſſe error to be fathered on thoſe words, and repugnant not onely to the trueth of this text, but euen to the ſenſe and experience of all the Godly, and ſuch as your ſelfe dare not auouch, ſince you qualifie your conceit in that behalfe with theſe words, that [m] *ſome in ſome meaſure are conformed with Chriſt in theſe his ſufferings.* But if God by Ezechiel ment your earthly hell, then abſolutely all men, children not excepted, muſt feele in this life paines equall with the damned, for ſo much as they haue ſinned, and deſerued euerlaſting damnation.

[l] Ezech. 18. ver. 4.

Eight places of Scripture abuſed for the temporall death of Chriſts ſoule.

[m] Defenc. pag. 134. li. 15.

The ſecond is the commination, that God made to Adam, [n] *Whenſoeuer thou eateſt thereof, thou ſhalt die the death,* (or) *ſurely thou ſhalt die.* Here are all ſorts of deaths threatned, but not to be executed either on all men, nor in this preſent life; God reſeruing to himſelfe power and libertie to diſpoſe of all mens ſoules according to his determinate counſell, though they ſhould all be guiltie and liable to all kinds of death by vertue of thoſe words vpon the tranſgreſsion of the firſt man. This expoſition the Apoſtle giueth when he ſaith, [o] *The offence of one* (came) *on all men to condemnation,* which is the verifying of theſe words, that all men died in Adam, to wit, were ſubiect to death, not onely by dying the death of the bodie, which is appointed for all men, but to the guiltineſſe of euerlaſting death not executed on all, though deſerued by all.

[n] Geneſ. 2. ver. 17.

[o] Rom. 5.

The third, which is the [p] Apoſtles concluſion, is either generally ment of all kinds of death, which came in by ſinne, as the rewards and puniſhments thereof, and then it is nothing to your intention; or elſe it expreſſeth the full wages of ſinne to be euerlaſting death by oppoſition to eternall life mentioned in the next wordes following. For *eternall life is the gift of God,* as (eternall) *death is the wages,* (that is bothe the deſert and repayment) *of ſinne.* Take which you will, either the generall or ſpeciall conſtruction of death, it is no way pertinent to your purpoſe.

[p] Rom. 6.

Leſſe is the fourth, that the Apoſtles were the [q] *ſauour of death vnto death in them, that periſhed,* as they were the *ſauour of life vnto life in them, that were ſaued.* For the preaching of the Goſpell, which the Apoſtle meaneth in that place, doeth not proclaime a terreſtiall or temporall heauen to them that beleeue in Chriſt, but life eternall; and conſequently neither doth it denounce a temporall death to them, which refuſe Chriſt, but euerlaſting death. And therefore there can be nothing more abſurd then to conuert theſe places to the proofe of your temporall hell; for ſo you ſhould doe the reprobate a very good turne, if you could ſhew, that the death threatned them for not beleeuing in Chriſt, were to dure but for a time, or in this life only, where your new found hell hath power and place, and no where elſe.

[q] 2. Cor. 2. verſ. 16.

With like ſucceſſe you note for your fifth, that the [r] *miniſtration of death was glorious,* the Apoſtle ſo calling the law, becauſe it denounced death not temporall, but eternall to all tranſgreſſours. So that if the full wages of ſinne be eternall death by the word of God, then did the law not denounce a temporall death due to all men by courſe of nature, be they good or bad, (though euen that at firſt entered as a part of the puniſhment of ſinne) but euerlaſting death, which is the ſecond death, is reſerued, as S. Iohn writeth, for all ſorts of ſinners and liers.

[r] 2 Cor. 3. verſ. 7.

Saint Iames is the ſixth, who ſayth, [s] *He that conuerteth a ſinner* (erring from the trueth) *ſhall ſaue a ſoule from death.* If a man conuerted ſhall be ſaued from your temporall hell, which you here would intend by the death of the ſoule, then much more the Conuerter and he that neuer erred from the trueth ſhall be free from your hell; and conſequently Chriſt was moſt free, who was trueth it ſelfe, and neuer erred. But as trueth is the way to euerlaſting life, and freeth men from all bondage of ſinne and

[s] Iames 5.

Satan, ſo errour and infidelitie haue another maner of death than your terreſtiall hell, which you make common to Chriſt and ſome of his members; and he that is conuerted from errour or ſinne ſhall be ſaued from euerlaſting perdition, which indeed is the death of the ſoule depriuing it of all bliſſe and ioy for euer.

[t] 1.Ioh.5.verſ. 16,17. The ſeuenth and eigth you take out of Saint Iohn, who ſayth, [t] *There is ſinne vnto death*, for which we muſt not pray: But *whoſoeuer is borne of God, ſinneth not that ſinne*; and ſo neither Chriſt, who was the true Sonne of God, nor any of his choſen, who are the children of God by adoption, can ſinne that ſinne, nor die that death, becauſe he that is begotten of God, liueth by God, who is eternall life to all that know him, and cleaue vnto him without ſeparation. If then the ſinnes of the Elect be not vnto death, but ſuch as we in pietie may, and in charitie muſt pray for; conſequently the death of the ſoule here meant by Saint Iohn, is ſuch as is not incident to any of the ſonnes of God, and ſo not the temporall hell, which you communicate to Chriſt and his members.

Heere are your eight places of Scriptures prooving (as you pretend) the ſecond death of the ſoule, which you aſcribe to Chriſt, in euery one of which, ſaue the firſt and ſecond, there can be no queſtion, but euerlaſting damnation is intended, and in thoſe two the guiltineſſe of eternall death, which is due to ſinne, may be compriſed in

[u] Rom.5.v.12. the name of death; which the Apoſtle iuſtifieth, when he ſayth, [u] *The offence of one* (came) *on all men vnto condemnation*, which is in effect that he ſayd before, *Death went ouer all men, foraſmuch as all men haue ſinned.* But that any of theſe intend your temporall hell brought into this life not by ſnares and feares working on the ſoules of men, but by ſubſtance and eſſence; and not eternall death in hell fire with the Diuell and his Angels, you nor all your adherents ſhall euer be able by any ground of holy Scripture to make it appeare. And therefore your preſuming it vpon the bare ſhew of places concluding no ſuch thing, is a peſtilent intruſion vpon the word of God, whiles you ſticke not to couple your conceits, which are falſe and erroneous, with his vndoubted and vndefiled trueth.

[x] Defenc.pag. 135.li.31. [x] *Firſt ordinarily and commonly it belongeth only to the damned, wherewithall are the ordinarie accidents and concomitants deſperation, induration, vtter darkneſſe &c. with perpetuitie of puniſhment, and that locally in* HELL.] Generally and truely the Scriptures neuer vſe the name of the ſecond death, but for the lake burning with euerlaſting fire, into which the Diuell and all the Reprobate ſhall be caſt, and whatſoeuer you otherwiſe pretend, is your owne abſurd deuice without the Scriptures, and againſt the Scriptures, to keepe your doctrine from open deriſion and deteſtation. And ſince your ſelfe acknowledge, that this is the ordinarie and vſuall doctrine of the Scriptures, it ſhalbe needfull for your Reader to hold you to that, till you fully proue your extraordinarie deuice by the ſame Scriptures, by which the other is euidenly confirmed, and ſo much openly confeſſed by you.

[y] Defenc.pag. 135.li.36. [y] *In this ſenſe the Fathers generally do take it, where they denie that Chriſt ſuffered the death of the ſoule: and ſo do we.*] If your cauſe haue ſo little holde in the Scriptures, it hath leſſe in the Fathers, who in the neceſſarie worke of our redemption thought it ſacriledge to ſay any thing that was not apparently proued by the Scriptures. And as you light not on a true word, when you come to deliuer vs the myſteries of your new hell, ſo this is patently falſe, that the Fathers generally take the death of the ſoule for eternall damnation only, when they denie that Chriſt died the death of the ſoule. They ſpeake as the Scriptures leade them, and confeſsing two deaths of the ſoule as the Scriptures doe, which are ſinne excluding all grace, and the wages of ſinne euen euerlaſting damnation; they generally denie that Chriſt died any death of the ſoule, and haue for confirmation of their doctrine therein, the whole courſe of the ſacred Scriptures concurring with them.

[z] Defenc.pag. 135.li.37. [z] *Secondly, the death of the ſoule, or the ſecond death, may be extraordinarily and ſingularly conſidered, namely to imply no more but ſimply the very nature and eſſence of it.*] You broach two apparent and euident vntrueths, which you make the whole foundation

of

of your preſumptuous errour. Firſt, that either Chriſt or his Elect in this life did or do ſuffer the very nature and eſſence of the ſecond death. Next, that the Scriptures do ſingularly and extraordinarily reſerue that kinde of ſecond death for Chriſt and his members. Shew either of theſe by the word of God, before you make them grounds of your doctrine, or els any meane Reader may ſoone conceiue you meane to teach no trueth confirmed in the Scriptures, but a bolde and falſe deuice of your owne, which you would extraordinarily intrude vpon the word of God.

[a] *This is a death to the ſoule, as before we haue ſhewed: according to this ſenſe the Scriptures and Fathers before noted may rightly be vnderſtood not to denie it in Chriſt.*] When you glaunced before at the death of Chriſtes ſoule, you prayed vs to haue patience, till you came to the place, where we ſhould receiue a reaſonable ſatisfaction; and now you are come to the place, where you ſhould make iuſt and full proofe thereof, you ſend vs backe againe, and ſay you haue ſhewed it before. What meaneth this doubling and deceiuing of your Reader, but that you would ſeeme to haue many proofs, when indeed you haue none? and therefore you poſt vs to and fro, to ſeeke for that we ſhall neuer finde. In the 113. Page of this Defence, you went about by your miſerable miſconſtruing of certaine wordes vſed by ſome of the Fathers to enforce a ſhew of a death on the ſoule of Chriſt; but againſt the haire, as there I haue proued: and therefore ſtand not on your former vnfortunate aduentures, but either heere make proofe by the Scriptures, that Chriſt died the death of the ſoule, or leaue prating and publiſhing it ſo confidently as you and your adherents do for the chiefe part of mans redemption. [*The Scriptures and Fathers*, you ſay, *before noted, may rightly be vnderſtood not to denie it in Chriſt.*] Is this all you haue to ſay for the death of Chriſtes ſoule, that the *Scriptures and Fathers may be vnderſtood not to denie it?* The Scriptures muſt affirme it, before you can make it any point of Chriſtian religion, or part of our reconciliation to God. [b] *Faith* (is) *by hearing, and hearing by the word of God*; and not by not denying. If that be your courſe, to put any thing to the Creed which you liſt to ſay the Scriptures doe not denie, you may quickly haue a large Creed, containing all things which the Scriptures, abuſed with your figures and wreſted to your fanſies, ſhall not in expreſſe words, as you thinke, denie.

[a] Defenc. pag. 136. li. 5.

When the Defender ſhould proue the death of Chriſts ſoule, he ſayeth hee hath proued it already.

[b] Rom. 10.

[c] *Moreouer, let it be obſerued: that if we had no proofes at all in Scripture for this point, yet our queſtion is fully proued and confirmed by thoſe other ſufficient and pregnant proofs alleaged and iuſtified before.*] Your palpable and pregnant follies are ſufficiently ſeene before: your proofs were none but bald and falſe preſumptions, conceiued by your ſelfe, though otherwiſe voide of all reaſon and authoritie: with ſuch props you haue hitherto ſupported your Defence, and now you be come to the maine iſſue, whether the Scriptures or Fathers doe teach, that Chriſt for our redemption died the death of the ſoule, or the death of the damned, which is the ſecond death, you would paſſe it ouer as a matter of no moment, and here tell vs if you had no ſuch proofe (as indeed you haue none) yet you haue played your part before, which was to ſet a good face on an euill cauſe, and to proue iuſt nothing.

[c] Defenc. pag. 136. li. 9.

[d] *For it is to be noted, that no man ſetteth the queſtion in theſe tearmes that Chriſt died in his ſoule, neither doe we at all vſe them very much in ſpeaking of this matter.*] The Scriptures themſelues ſet that for the queſtion. Firſt of all, *I* [e] *deliuered vnto you* (ſayeth Paul) *that which I receiued, how that Chriſt died for our ſinnes according to the Scriptures.* Since then [f] *we were reconciled to God by the death of his Sonne*; *and Chriſt is the* [g] *Mediatour of the New Teſtament, through death for the redemption of the tranſgreſſions in the former Teſtament*; *and where a Teſtament is, there muſt be the death of him that made the Teſtament.* The queſtion riſeth of it ſelfe what death the Sonne of God died for our ſinnes, by the witneſſe of holy Scripture. And hitherto for theſe fifteene hundred yeeres and vpward the Chriſtian world, both of learned and vnlearned, hath beleeued that the Sonne of God by the death of his bodie on the tree ranſomed our ſinnes, reconciled vs to God, and vtterly deſtroyed the kingdome of Satan; and that he neither did nor could ſuffer any other kinde of death, as the death of the ſoule, or the

[d] Defenc. pag 136. li. 13.

[e] 1. Cor. 15.

[f] Rom. 5.

[g] Hebr. 9.

death of the damned, which are the ſorts of death that the Scriptures mention beſides the death of mans bodie. If you could content your ſelfe with their faith which is cleerely deliuered in the ſacred Scriptures, no queſtion needed: but you and others haue of late deuiſed a new kinde of death that Chriſt muſt die before he could performe the worke of our redemption. And though you haue neither Scripture nor Father for your direction in that cauſe, yet you vpholde it as the principall part of our redemption, without which the reſt were, as you thinke, of little force. And to that end ſome ſeeke to adde it to the Creed, vnder thoſe words, *Chriſt deſcended into Hell*, that is, ſay they, to the paines of hell on the Croſſe; or as you are come to expound it, though you now would ſeeme to refraine it, to the ſecond death which is not only the death of the ſoule, but the death of the damned.

[h] Defenc. pag. 136. li. 15. [h] *We doe, only when ſome ſpeciall occaſion draweth it from vs.*] You would faine hide the falſeneſſe and abſurdneſſe of your doctrine vnder certaine generall and doubtfull phraſes that you might the more ſmoothly carie it, but when you be preſſed, that according to the teſtimony of holy Scripture we were redeemed by the death of the Sonne of God, vnder the name of death in that and other places of the Scriptures you ſticke not to compriſe the death of the ſoule, and the death of the damned as ſuffered by Chriſt. Yea your maine promiſe and purpoſe is to prooue it in this place, though you labour to mitigate the harſhneſſe of the ſpeech before hand, leſt Chriſtian eares ſhould abhorre it. And if it be, as you and others pretend, the principall part and ground of our redemption and ſaluation, why ſhould you conceale it or forbeare to vſe it? Is the Chriſtian faith of late become ſo dangerous, that it may not plainly and freely be profeſſed? With you it is, that haue pieced your owne deuices to the trueth of God; with vs it is not, who beleeue ſtedfaſtly and confeſſe openly what we reade in the word of God. And therefore leaue this nice and needleſſe Preface, and go directly to worke: if your doctrine be true, neuer ſhame to ſpeake it; trueth wanteth no proofs, nor ſeeketh no corners.

[i] Defenc. pag. 136. li. 29. [i] *We denie not, but that both theſe phraſes* (the death of Chriſts ſoule and his ſuffering the paines of hell) *may be well and rightly applied to Chriſt, on occaſion as before is obſerued and may both ſerue truely and moſt emphatically to expreſſe the infiniteneſſe of the paines and ſorowes of his ſufferings for vs.*] When you come to deliuer principles of doctrine, it is not enough to ſay theſe or thoſe phraſes may be vſed: emphatically to expreſſe your conceits. It is a ſigne of an vnquiet head & an vnſound faith, to ſtand on other phraſes than the Spirit of God hath allowed and authorized in ſo weighty matters as the ſubſtance of our ſaluation: and were the queſtion but for words, this contention would ſoone ceaſe; but theſe words, that in Chriſts ſuffrings are no where found, but in your owne writings, you ſtraine to the higheſt degree of hell paines (ſaue place and perpetuitie) and to ſharper torments than any are in hell; and yet you would ſeeme to defend but the vſe of the words, which may be metaphoricall and hyperbolicall, as well as proper and emphaticall; and ſo at your owne liking you racke and ſlacke theſe phraſes to your beſt aduantage. [k] Defenc. pag. 136. li. 32. [k] *This very phraſe of death, extended in Chriſt further than to his meere bodily dying, hath (I doubt not) expreſſe ground in the Scripture, and therefore may the better be vſed ſoberly, and admitted charitably.*] If the Scriptures auouch any other death of Chriſt than the death of the bodie, it muſt needs be the death of the ſoule, or the death of the damned, which they call the ſecond death: and if for that you haue expreſſe ground in the Scripture you need not beſpeake other ſobrietie or charitie for thoſe words. The Holy Ghoſt vſeth no words in the grounds of our ſaluation, wherein there is any want of ſobrietie or charitie; but if you wreſt the words of the Holy Ghoſt to a farre other end than he vttered them, then no ſobrietie will excuſe the Peruerter of the wordes of God, nor charitie the Conſenter.

[l] Prou. 30. [l] *Adde nothing to the words* (of God) *leſt thou be found a liar.*

[m] Defenc pag. 136. li. 35. [m] *You will aske where is there any Scripture, that Chriſt ſuffered any other death, then that meerely of his bodie. I anſwere firſt conſider well that to the Hebrewes, he offered vp praiers and ſupplications with ſtrong cries and teares to him that was able to ſaue him from death.*]

death.] I haue long asked you for it, and many delayes you made before you came to it, and now you approch it with Prefaces and Prouiſoes, as if you could not touch it without burning your fingers. I hope now you be come to eye the marke, you will ſhoot right, though your skill or ſtrength do not ſerue you to ſhoot home; leſt in the depth of all your doctrine you ſhew your ſelfe an arrant Trifler now, as you haue beene all this while a vaine Preſumer. Out of theſe words which you quote what conclude you?

[a] *It is not poſſible that this death heere ſhould be his meere bodily death, which he ſo wofully and impotently feared: as I haue before ſufficiently confirmed. Therefore it was the death of the ſoule, the ſecond death which heere is vnderſtood to haue ſo mightily afflicted Chriſt.*] You deceiue me nothing at all, I euer tooke you for an inſolent and impotent Wrangler, and ſo you ſhew your ſelfe to be, when you come to the very touch of your new redemption. Before you onely skimming at things, reſerued vs to this place and time to receiue full ſatisfaction, and now you returne vs backe againe to that which was formerly fanſied by you, and refuted by me, and make that the chiefe ground of your proofe, which is falſe, fooliſh, and repugnant to the very text which you bring. For firſt in this place of the Apoſtle, there are no words to prooue that Chriſt ſo wofully and impotently feared death as you haue alreadie conceited, and here crake of as confirmed. Secondly, there is no conſequent out of theſe words, that Chriſt ſuffered that which he feared, but the contrarie rather is thence iuſtly deduced. For the Apoſtle ſayth, Chriſt *was heard in that he feared*, (if we keepe that interpretation of the word) not meaning after he had ſuffered it, as your gloze glaunceth at it with corrupting the text, but that he did not ſuffer it. *He was heard in that he* (feared or) *ſhunned*, that is, he was freed from ſuffering it. So that here producing the Apoſtles words, which make nothing to your purpoſe, you adde your feares and fanſies, deuiſed by your ſelfe, to them, and make your additions the foundations of your new profeſsion. Otherwiſe you doe not ſo much as rightly conceiue the ſcope of the Apoſtle in this place, and much leſſe his words, and leaſt of all conclude from them with any force.

[a] Defenc. pag. 137. li. 2.

The Apoſtles maine intent in that place is to compare Chriſtes Prieſthood with the Iewiſh Prieſthood, and to ſhew in what things they did concurre or differ. The firſt compariſon is, that as [b] *Aaron was called of God*, ſo was Chriſt, but with greater honour and more ſingular eminence, as when with an oath it was ſayd vnto him, [c] *Thou art a Prieſt for euer after the order of Melchiſedech.* The ſecond point of their concordance is, that as euery high Prieſt was ordeined for men to offer [d] *gifts and ſacrifices for ſinnes*; ſo Chriſt the true high Prieſt [e] *offered vp prayers and ſupplications* (for ſinne and ſinners) *and was heard &c.* [f] *And though he were the Sonne, yet learned he obedience by the things which he ſuffered:* And [g] *being conſummate, was made the authour of eternall ſaluation to all that obey him.* For his owne ſinne as other high Prieſts, [h] *he needed not to offer vp prayer or ſacrifice:* in that was a manifeſt difference betweene Chriſt and others, becauſe he alone was [i] *holy, vndefiled, and ſeparate from ſinners.* Theſe ſtrong cries and teares therefore being a part of his Prieſthood, were not for himſelfe, but as Eſay foreſayd he ſhould, [k] *he prayed for the tranſgreſſors.* He deſired ſo far as might ſtand with his Fathers will, to haue the Cup paſſe from him; but when he had ceaſed that kinde of petition, and was *comforted by an Angell from heauen*, then fell he to thoſe vehement and *intentiue prayers* whereof the Apoſtle heere ſpeaketh, and wherein for zeale, not for feare, *Chriſts* [l] *ſweat was like drops of blond, trickling downe to the ground*; as S. Luke reporteth.

[b] Heb. 5. v. 4.
[c] Heb. 5. v. 6.
[d] Ibid. verſ. 1.
[e] Verſ. 7.
[f] ve. 1. 8.
[g] verſ. 9.
[h] Heb. 7. v. 27.
[i] verſ 26.
[k] Eſa. 53.
[l] Luc. 22.

The Apoſtles wordes you thinke implie this to be the purpoſe of Chriſtes vehement cries and teares euen to be ſaued from death; becauſe the text is, *Chriſt offered vp praiers and ſupplications with ſtrong cries and teares to him, that was able to ſaue him from death*; but beſides that there is great difference betwixt your wordes to be ſaued from death, and the Apoſtles, to him that was able to keepe him from death, the next words following plainly impugne your conſtruction. For it is added, *and he was heard.*

So that the reference of the Apoſtles words ſtandeth thus; *he offered vp praiers and ſupplications with ſtrong cries and teares* to him that was able to ſaue him from (all touch of death) *and was heard (in that he prayed for,) and though he were the ſonne*, and god was *able to keepe him vntouched of death*, that is, to make him the Sauiour of the world without taſting any kind of death, yet ſuch was Gods counſell and his owne liking, that he learned (or perfourmed) the obedience of a ſonne by the things which he ſuffered. Whereby the Apoſtle teacheth vs, it was neither want of power in God, that Chriſt died, for God was able to haue ſaued the world by him without his death, neither was it lacke of fauour towards his ſonne, for God HEARD him in that he asked; but to manifeſt in his perſon the perfect ſubmiſsion of a ſonne to his father, God would haue him obedient to death, euen vnto the *death of the croſſe*; and ſo *make him the author of eternall ſaluation to all that obey him*, As he obeied God his Father. Thoſe words then, *Chriſt offered praiers to him that was able to keep him from death*, prooue not death to be the cauſe of Chriſts feare, nor the ſcaping therefrom to be the ſcope of Chriſtes ſtrong cries and teares; but the Apoſtle thereby noteth that Chriſt neither doubted of his Fathers power nor loue, when he praied ſo earneſtly vnto him, but was aſſured of both, and enioyed both in ſuch ſort as might beſt ſtand with the honor and wiſedome of God the father, and of Chriſt his ſonne. And therefore all your collections and illations built on that falſe ground do fall of themſelues, as hauing nothing to ſupport them but your idle and vaine ſuppoſals.

[a] Defenc. pag. 137. li. 6. [a] *Your owne ſelfe doe fully grant and affirme it with me; yea you affirme farder then we doe, or then the trueth is or poſſibly can be, you ſay Chriſt heere thus feared eternall death, and euerlaſting damnation.*] I muſt take no ſcorne to haue you wreſt and wring my words to a contrary ſenſe, when you offer that courſe to the Apoſtles words. The place which you quote for proofe of my meaning will conuince you to be a malitious falſifier. My words a man would thinke are plaine enough, and my expoſition of that ſpeach vſed by ſome men, is ſuch that no man of any intelligence or conſcience would ſo groſly peruert it. Thus I ſay pag: 23. [b] *Diſtruſt of his owne ſaluation or doubt of Gods diſpleaſure againſt himſelfe, we cannot ſo much as imagine in Chriſt, without euident want of grace, and loſſe of faith, which we may not attribute to Chriſts perſon no not for an inſtant.* And againe, [c] *I refraine to ſpeake, what wrong it is to put either doubtfulneſſe, or forgetfulneſſe of theſe things in part of Chriſts humane nature.* And to the queſtion thereon demanded, [d] *Why then did he pray, that the cup might paſſe from him?* I anſwere, *he had no need to pray for himſelfe, but only for vs, who then ſuffered with him, and in him.* What learning I cannot ſay, but what lewdneſſe is this, to father that on me, which I fully forſake; and ſtill to preſſe me with that, which I ſo often preuent and repell? I did not intend in my Sermons to note any by name, nor ſharply to cenſure their ſayings; but repeating as much as I ſaw, I gaue the beſt conſtruction or mittigation to their words, that any trueth would endure. Where then ſome men (whom by your importunity you haue vrged me to name) as the Catechiſme of maſter Nowel, which you would ſeeme ſo much to reuerence, in plaine words auoucheth, that Chriſt was [e] *aeterne mortis horrore perfuſus; perfuſed or plunged with the horror of eternall death*; And maſter Caluin ſaith, [f] *Oportuit eum cum inferorum copijs aeternaque mortis horrore quaſi conſertis manibus luctari; Chriſt was to wraſtle with the powers of hell and with the horror of eternall death, as it were hand to hand*; Their words, ſuppreſsing their names, I there taught might be tolerated, if we tooke horror for a religious feare only trembling at the terror of hell, and praying againſt it, or did attribute that trembling and feare of eternall death to Chriſt in reſpect and compaſsion of vs, that were his members, and whom he ioined and reckened in his ſufferings for vs, as one perſon or body with him. Which moderation of mine you euery where conceale, and make your Reader beleeue, that *I fully grant and affirme* that, which I expreſſely denie. And not content therewith, you enterlace my words with your lewd additions, as if I ſaid, Chriſt *thus feared eternall death*; You meane with ſtrong cries and teares, and with a bloudy ſweat; where I referred his earneſt cries and teares to one purpoſe, and his feare to another;

[b] Serm. pag. 23. li. 4.

[c] Ibid. li. 17.

[d] li. 20.

[e] Pag. 286.

[f] Inſtitutione li. 2. ca. 16. ſect. 10.

yeelding

yeelding to Christ a religious feare to decline the force of hell, and a carefull praier against the power of hell by the example of Dauid; who describing the passion of Christ in the 22 Psalme, saith expressely of his person and in his person, [g] *They pearced mine hands, and my feete, they part my garments among them, and cast lots on my vesture. But be not thou farre of, O Lord my strength, hast thee to help me. Deliuer my soule from the sword; my desolate* (soule) *from the power of the Dogge, saue me from the Lions mouth, and answere me* (or protect me) *from the hornes of the Vnicorne*; praying in this place not against any man, but against Satan the author and vpholder of all mischiefe.

[g] Psal. 22.

[h] *Christ could not possibly feare in such wofull maner that, which he perfectly knew should neuer come nere him: but he perfectly knew that eternall death and the cup of Gods euerlasting malediction should neuer touch him. Therefore he could not by any meanes pray in such sort against it.*] You refute your selfe, and not any thing which I affirmed. That Christ praied against the power and rage of hell and Satan, is plaine by Dauids words, that he praied in *such wofull maner*, are not my words, but yours. And yet this proposition, that Christ praied for nothing, which he perfectly knew was *Gods almighty and vnchangeable decree*, is not true. For Christ was most assured and most certainly knew of all thinges, whatsoeuer were decreed and appointed by God for himselfe; and yet he praied for many things, not as doubting of them, but as confessing whence he must, and did receaue them. He perfectly knew he should be glorified with the glory which he had with his Father before the world was; and yet [i] *he praied for it*. In the former words of Dauid Christ perfectly knew, that God would saue and deliuer his soule from the Lions mouth, from the power of the Dogge, and from the hornes of the Vnicorne, and yet he earnestly praieth for it. Christes praiers then doe not proue that he feared the contrary to his petition, but that he was assured to obtaine, and by praier professed whence it came whatsoeuer he had, euen from his Father. The next assertion, which you make, is a direct contradiction to your selfe, and not to me. For if Christ in those vehement praiers had such exact and perfect knowledge of Gods counsell and loue, as heere you auouche, then was Christ in no such confusion and forgetfulnesse, as you put him in at the time of his agony to saue him from sinne. And where not foure leaues before, you made a shamefull shift to rescue your selfe from a plaine contradiction, and bobbed your Reader with a manifest fitten, that I did you wrong, [k] *You did argue from my supposition*, that Christ was not astonished at the time of his praiers in the garden, but *in his perfect memory (which I seemed to affirme, and you denied)* a man may heere perceiue, that you want witte to see what hangeth together in your owne tale, or that your memory is very short to relapse so soone to the cleere crossing of your selfe againe. For heere you positiuely, frequently, and earnestly affirme that in his praiers *Christ* [m] *perfectly knew and saw* [l] *what was ordeined by God for him*, and [n] *that the cup of Gods eternall malediction should neuer touch him.*] So brickle are your braines, that you egerly and openly say and vnsay in the space of foure leaues; and reuerse your owne positions, wherein the Reader if he be wise, will see you more constant, before he credit you.

[i] Iohn 17.

[k] Defenc. pag. 129.

[l] Defenc. pag. 137. li. 18. [m] 11. [n] 12. 13.

[o] *Againe that which he feared and so pittifully praied against, was that which he knew was by God ordeined for him. Yea feare is alwaies of that which is to come, but eternall death was not by God ordeined for him, that was not to come vpon him (which Christ* [p] *knew right well.) Therefore it was not eternall death which he so feared.*] Your reasons be like rotten retters that when you would push forward, recuyle on your head. Out of the Apostles text the 5. to the Hebrewes, you draw a maior directly against the Apostles words. For he saith, *Christ was heard in that he* FEARED, (supposing that as yet to be the sense of the last word;) you say, he was not heard, but knew that which he feared to be ordeined of God for him, and not to be auoided. So skilfull you are, that out of the Scriptures, you frame assertions expressely repugnant to the Scriptures, and yet you fansie them to be inuincible arguments. Wherefore the Apostle denieth your first proposition, *That whatsoeuer Christ praied against, was ordeined of God for him*, And if his authority be not currant with you, Christ himselfe assureth you, it is false. His owne

[o] Defenc. pag. 137. li. 17.

[p] In the margine.

words

q Iohn 11. words are, againſt which I hope you will not open your mouth; q *Father I know thou heareſt me alwaies.* If Chriſt were alwaies heard in his praiers, then that which he praid againſt, was not ordeined of God for him. For God did not alter or innouate the thinges ordeined for his ſonne; neither would Chriſt haue ſo ſtrongly praied againſt them, if he had knowen them to be ordained of God for him. So that heere you are as ſound as in the reſt, broching ſtill your owne fanſies without any warrant beſides your owne, which is grounded on falſe and abſurd poſitions, you taking no care what you ſay, nor heede what you ſhould prooue.

o pag. 137. li. 19. For who beſides you would flaunt this out for a foundation of his cauſe, o *feare is alwaies of that which is to come?* Where if you meane certainly and infalliblely to come, (as you muſt, otherwiſe it prooueth nothing) the propoſition is generally true neither in the wicked, nor in the godlie, and leaſt of all in Chriſt himſelfe. The wicked doe feare manie things, that fall not on them, yea they often feare, as Dauid ſaith, r *where no feare is.* The godly by fearing before hand, what may come; do often preuent the comming of it. Mary was s atraid at the ſight of the Angell, that ſaluted her, and yet brought he a greate bleſsing to her. Peter walking on the water, was t *afraid,* when he ſaw a mighty wind, and began to ſincke, but Chriſt preſently reached forth his hand, and rebuked him for doubting. The Diſciples were u *abaſhed and afraid* at the ſuddaine preſence of there maſter in the middeſt of them, and yet no euill was towards them. So that feare may grow as well from appearance, and opinion, when no hurt is imminent, as from the certainty of euil preſent, or comming. Chriſt taught all his Diſciples to feare him, euen God; x *who after he hath killed, hath power to caſt into hell.* Shall we thence inferre by your diuinitie, that God will caſt all the faithfull into hell, becauſe he hath power ſo to doe, which they muſt feare? y *Finiſh your ſaluation with feare and trembling,* ſaith the Apoſtle. Shall we therefore neuer be ſaued, becauſe we muſt alwayes tremble and feare vnder the mightie hand of God? Vnder the ſame hand of God migh Chriſt feare and tremble, not doubting of his ſaluation, nor diſtruſting his Fathers loue, but knowing that the hand of God was Almightie, and able to impoſe farre greater paine on his bodie then his humane fleſh was able to beare. It is therefore due to Gods power from all the faithfull, and was likewiſe from Chriſtes manhoode, for men to be afrayd of the ſtrength of Gods hand, when he ariſeth to puniſh ſinne, though when and how he will doe it, we may not, or cannot determine. And if we ſhould graunt, that Chriſts fleſh euen thus feared the power of Gods hand, that was able to keepe him from death, and to inflict what paine pleaſed him, you are no whit the nearer to your new found hell, or to your ſecond death of Chriſts ſoule, which you labour to deriue from theſe words of the Apoſtle to the Hebrewes.

r Pſal. 53.
s Luc. 1.
t Mat. 14.
u Luc. 24.
x Luc. 12.
y Philip. 2.

But to let the reader ſee, how raſhly & rudely you conclude, what you liſt, out of the Apoſtles words without any ſure ground. The word, which all this while you haue taken to import a coufuſed and perplexed feare in Chriſt, hath no ſuch ſignification in the Greeke tongue; and in this place of the Apoſtle, by the iudgement of the ancient and beſt learned interpreters of all ages, that are not infected with this new fanſie, is taken for reuerence, or a religious feare of God. Of which ſignification there can be no queſtion with any man, that is meanely learned. And albeit ſome fauouring your fanſie, haue ſough farre and neere for examples, where εὐλάβεια might ſignifie a painefull and amazing feare, yet find they none, neither in prophane nor ſacred writers, but only a carefull feare to decline euill, or a religious feare honoring God, to be the true force of that word. How prophane men vſe the word, (with that I haue elſewhere ſayd) this may ſuffice. Diogenes Laertius deliuering the decrees and opinions of the beſt philoſophers, ſaith of them: *they affirme,* a τὴν εὐλάβειαν τοῦ φόβου ἐναντίαν, ὅτι ἐυλογον ἔκκλισιν; *that (eulabeia) carefulneſſe is contrary to feare, as being an honeſt and reaſonable declination of euill:* (φοβεῖσθαι μὲν γὰρ τὸν σοφὸν οὐδαμῶς, εὐλαβεῖσθαι δὲ) and that *a wiſe man is neuer amazed with feare, but wary to decline euill.* Saint Ierom confeſſeth as *much among Chriſtians.* b *He that feareth, hath paine, and is not perfect. According*

a Laertius de placitis Philoſophorum li. 7. in Zenone.
b Hierom li 3. c. 5. epiſt ad. epheſ.

to

to which ſignification of feare, ſeruants haue the ſpirit of bondage in feare. There is another kind of feare named by the Philoſophers, εὐλάβεια, *and with vs it may be called reuerence, though this doe not fully match the force of the word. The Prophet (Dauid) knew the feare of the perfect, when he ſaid, nothing wanteth to them that feare the Lord.* Of Simeon, that tooke Chriſt in his armes, when he was brought to the Temple, by his mother, Saint Luke ſaith, *he was a iuſt man,* [c] καὶ εὐλαβὴς, *and one that religiouſly feared God.* So of thoſe that buried Steuen the Martyr, he ſaith; [d] *ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς, certaine men* FEARING GOD *caried Steuen to bee buried.* And in the twelfth of this Epiſtle, the ſame Apoſtle vſeth the very word which he applied before to Chriſt, for the common duetie of all the godly. [e] *Let vs haue grace, by which we may ſerue and pleaſe God with reuerence,* καὶ εὐλαβείας, *and a religious feare.* Which is M. [f] Bezaes owne interpretation of that place, howſoeuer he ſwarue from it in the former words of the ſame Epiſtle. Neither doth the Syriack tranſlation any thing helpe him, ſince the word *dechalta*, which in the fift Chapter is affirmed of Chriſt, in the 12. Chapter of the ſame Epiſtle, and indiuers other places of the new Teſtament is by the ſame tranſlator referred to al Chriſtians, as expreſsing a generall duty belonging to God. And therfore there is no need, why any man ſhould tranſlate the one otherwiſe then he doth the other; ſpecially the whole Greeke and Latin Church, concurring in one and the ſame ſignification and expoſition of the word; which is a better precedent to follow, then any one mans tranſlation.

[c] Luc. 2.
[d] Acts 8.
[e] Hebr. 12.
[f] *Beza Annotatio in 12. ca. epiſtolæ ad Hebreos.*

And where ſome others would take aduantage of the Greeke prepoſition ἀπὸ as ſignifying alwayes from, and not for; it is an euident ouerſight in them, abuſing their skill to maintaine their will, more then trueth enforceth. For ἀπὸ in the new Teſtament, and with the Septuagint noteth vſually as well *for*, as *from*. In the 14. of Saint Matthewes Goſpell, when the diſciples ſaw Chriſt walking on the waters at the fourth watch of the night, and approching the ſhip wherein they were; *they cryed* [g] ἀπὸ τῦ φόβυ *for feare*. The ſouldiers likewiſe, that kept the Sepulchre, when they ſaw the Angell, that rolled away the ſtone, and ſate on it, *they were* [h] *aſtoniſhed* ἀπὸ τῦ φόβυ *for feare, and became as dead men.* Zacheus by reaſon of his low ſtature could not ſee Ieſus, [i] ἀπὸ τῦ ὄχλυ *for the multitude*, or preſſe that was about him. The Apoſtles that caſt their net into the ſea at Chriſts commandement, could not draw it, ἀπὸ τῦ πλήθυς *for the number of fiſhes*, that were in the net. Paul reporting the maner of his conuerſion, how he was ſtroken to the ground with a great light, that ſuddenly ſhined on him from heauen, ſayth; *When I could not ſee* [l] ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης *becauſe of the glory of that light, I was led by the hand to Damaſcus.* The Septuagint in many places vſe the ſame propoſition in the ſame ſenſe; *Iſraels eyes were dimme* [m] ἀπὸ τῦ γήρως *for age. My bones* (ſayth Iob) *are drie* [n] ἀπὸ τῦ καύματος *for heat.* You ſhall crie [o] διὰ τὸν πόνον, *for griefe of heart, and houle* [o] ἀπὸ συντετριμμένης πνεύματος *for affliction of ſpirit*, ſayth Eſay of the Iewes reiected. Where the Septuagint doe make ἀπὸ equiualent to *dia with* an accuſatiue, which noteth the cauſe of any thing. Infinite are the examples, that might be brought out of ſacred and prophane writers for farder proofe hereof, but theſe are enough to ſhew, that Chryſoſtom, Photius, Oecumenius, Theophylactus, and other Græcians commenting on thoſe words of the Apoſtle, did not forget the propriety of their owne tongue, when they expounded this text as declaring, that Chriſt was heard for the reuerend reſpect of God to his ſonne, or for the religious ſubmiſsion of the ſonne to his Father: and the Latin Fathers Ierom, Ambroſe, Primaſius, Sedulius, Bede, Haymo and others following the ſame tranſlation did not erre of ignorance, but duely conſidered the nature and force of the Apoſtles words. Where then you haue made vs a ſtout concluſion, that Chriſt thus fearing could feare nothing but the death of the ſoule, or the ſecond death, you cannot iuſtly prooue by any words heere vſed, that Chriſt had any feare, much leſſe ſuch a feare as you imagine; though I may ſafely grant a feare, and ſuch a feare, as the Scriptures deſcribe or expreſſe of Chriſt, and you nothing the neerer to your preſumptuous conceit.

ἀπὸ *ſignifieth for, aſwell as from.*
[g] Matth. 14. verſ. 26.
[h] Matth. 28. verſ. 4.
[i] Luc. 19. v. 3.
[k] Ioh 21. v. 6.
[l] Acts 22. ver.
[m] Gen. 48. v. 14
[n] Iob. 30. v. 30
[o] Eſa. 65. v. 14.

Now if we giue eare to the auncient Fathers diſcuſsing this place, your deuice hath neither ſtrength nor ſtay in theſe words. [p] *Beatus Paulus hic dicit preces eum et ſupplicationes*

[p] *Ambroſ. in 5. ca. epiſtolæ ad Hebreos.*

cationes fundere non timore mortis, ſed noſtræ cauſa ſalutis. Vnde & in alio loco dicit ſanguinem Chriſti melius clamaſſe pro nobis quam ſanguinem Abel. Bleſſed Paul heere ſaith, (as Ambroſe writeth) *that Chriſt offered praiers and ſupplications, not for any feare of* (his owne) *death, but for the cauſe of our ſaluation. Wherevpon in another place* (Paul) *ſaith, the bloud of Chriſt cried better things for vs, then the bloud of Abel.* And againe, [q] *Totum quicquid egit Chriſtus in carne, preces ſunt & ſupplicationes pro peccatis humani generis. All whatſoeuer Chriſt did in the fleſh, were praiers and ſupplications for the ſinnes of mankind.* So ſaith Primaſius. [r] *All that Chriſt did in the fleſh, were praiers and ſupplications for the ſinnes of mankind: and the ſacred ſhedding of his bloud was a ſtrong crie, in which he was heard of God his Father: for his reuerence]* That is, *for his voluntary obedience, and moſt perfect charity.* [s] *Chriſt heere is ſayd to haue powred forth prayers and ſupplications, not for feare of death, but rather in the behoofe of our ſaluation. And we muſt note, that reuerence, as Caſſiodorus ſayth, is taken ſometimes for loue, and ſometimes for feare: but here it is put for the exceeding loue wherewith the Sonne of God embraced vs, and for the perfect obedience, whereby he was ſubiect to his Father euen vnto death.* So Sedulius: [t] *Chriſt prayed with teares] not ſhed for feare of death, but for our ſaluation, and was heard] of God the Father, when the Angel did comfort him. For his reuerence] either his with his fathers, or his fathers towards him.* Haymo treadeth in the ſame ſteps with Primaſius. [u] *The Apoſtle ſpeaketh this of Chriſt meaning plainly to expreſſe, what our hie Prieſt did in his Prieſthood. What is, in the daies of his fleſh?] as long as he dwelt in this mortall body, he offered vp praiers and ſupplications with ſtrong cries and teares to God his father. All that Chriſt did in the fleſh, were praiers and ſupplications for the ſinnes of mankind, and the ſacred ſhedding of his bloud was a ſtrong crie, wherein he was heard of God his Father for his reuerence, that is for his voluntary obedience and moſt perfect charity. God heard him in raiſing him vp the third day, as the Pſalmiſt ſaith, thou wilt not ſuffer thine holy one to ſee corruption.* If then the Apoſtles purpoſe were to note (as theſe Fathers affirme) that Chriſt all the time of his conuerſing heere with men ſhewed himſelfe our hie Prieſt with ſtrong cries and teares for vs to God, that was able to ſaue him and his members from death, or to raiſe him againe from death as conquerer thereof, and was heard for his religious obedience and loue to God and man; what ſhew hath the death of Chriſtes ſoule in theſe words, or what ſequence from them?

Neither is there any part of this expoſition; that wanteth good warrant from the Scriptures, and likewiſe allowance from the fathers. For beſides that Chriſt ſaid to Paul as yet a perſecutor, [x] *Saul, Saul why perſecuteſt thou me*, not in perſon but in members; the Apoſtle ſetteth theſe things downe for aſſured points of doctrine, that [y] *our old man was crucified with Chriſt, and we* [z] *buried with him; and raiſed vp, and quickened together with him, and* [a] *made ſit together in heauenly* (places) *in Chriſt Ieſus.* [b] *We were in him as in a ſecond firſt fruits* (or new reſtoring) *of our nature, praying with a ſtrong crie and not without teares deſiring the impery of death to be aboliſhed, and the life, which was at firſt giuen to our nature to be reſtored.* But hereof I haue ſpoken ſo much before, that I may ſpare my paines, in this place. Only if we follow the ſenſe, which the Syriak interpreter propoſeth agreeable to the greeke and latin Fathers, that Chriſt, [c] *when he was compaſſed with fleſh offered praiers and petitions with a vehement crie and teares to him, that was able to raiſe him* (or quicken him) *from death, and was heard:* We need none other ſubuerſion of all your ſyllogiſmes. For then the thing which Chriſt ſo earneſtly deſired with ſtrong cries and teares, was the reſurrection of himſelfe and of all his members after the death of the body into a perpetuall and celeſtiall life.

[d] *When in the garden Chriſt praied againſt that cup, which he feared; that it might paſſe from him, there he yeeldeth and ſubmitteth himſelfe preſently to the vndergoing of it. But it were, I know not what, to ſaie, that Chriſt did euer yeeld and ſubmit himſelfe to vndergoe eternall death, or to taſt the cup of gods eternall malediction. Therefore it was not this, that he feared and heere praid againſt.*] You are ſomwhat idle headed to make ſuch a ſtur for that, which I am farder from, then you are. At the ſharpeneſſe of Chriſts bodily death, which he would not fruſtrate nor mitigate, and in the paines whereof he was to yeeld more

q Ibidem.
r Primaſius in 5. epiſtolæ ad Hebreos.
s Ibidem.
t Sedulius in 5. ca. epiſtolæ ad Hebreos.
u Haymo in 5. ca. epiſtolæ ad Hebreos.
x Acts 9.
y Rom. 6.
z Coloſſ. 2.
a Epheſ. 2.
b Cyrillus de recta fide ad Reginas li. 2.
c Teſtamentum Syriacum ca. 5. ad Hebreos.
d Defenc. pag. 137. li. 22.

more perfect obedience and patience, then all mankind beſides was able to doe, the weakneſſe of his humane fleſh might naturally ſomewhat ſtagger: and the power of Gods hand againſt ſinne, which might be laied on his ſoule or body, he might vehemently but righteouſly feare, and with ſtrong cries and teares deprecate the force thereof, and in neither of theſe is there any vicinity with the ſecond death, or with the death of the ſoule; and ſo neglecting what you ſhould prooue, you vainly puſh againſt that, which I doe not vphold. And yet if we admit theſe cries and teares to be powred forth, not for himſelfe, but for vs, then might he moſt wofully bewaile our deſerued deſtruction, which was no leſſe then euerlaſting damnation of body and ſoule; if he did not ranſome and releaſe vs from it. To his fathers will Chriſt ſubmitted himſelfe in the garden, but what he diſliked in that cup which he named, and how much thereof he taſted, is knowen neither to you, nor to me, nor to any man liuing. That it was very ſharp, we may iuſtly collect by his naturall diſlike thereof, but what degrees or ſorts of paines were adherent to his paſsion, is not for you or me to determine. What he might ſuffer with piety, patience, and obedience to his father, is aboue mans reach to define, but the ſecond death or the death of the ſoule, if we follow the leading of the Scriptures, and not fall to deuiſing a new hell, and a new death of the ſoule to ſupport our fanſies, are things, that by no colour of Scripture can be confirmed, howſoeuer you ſtraine and ſtretch the word of God to find them there.

[*And yet it was, I grant, the death of the ſoule, or the ſecond death, that is, ſimply the eſſence thereof, Gods withdrawing himſelfe from him in the paines and torments thereof.*] Your grant is the ground of your doctrine, beſides that which you haue nothing els to beare the burden of your deuices. But what a ieſt is this, when you ſhould iuſtly prooue, and fully conclude your aſſertions, to fall to granting of them, whereas your graunt with me, and with any man that is wiſe, is not worth a grey gooſe quill. Howbeit theſe are the beſt buttreſſes of your cauſe, euen your owne violent conceits, that force the Scriptures to your liking. But Sir, remember you are neither Prophet, nor Apoſtle, and ſo your granting of theſe nouelties, may ſhew your owne gyddineſſe, it cannot preiudice the true and vndoubted rules of the Chriſtian faith. [*Hence it followeth inuincibly that Chriſt indeed ſuffered, (ſith thus he feared) more then the meere bodily death, euen the death of the ſoule. For he could not I ſay thus feare, but he muſt needes know that it was to come, or might come vnto him. If he but knew that it might come vnto him, then it certainly did come vnto him at one time or another in his paſſion before he left the world.*] Here is the prime and pride of your obſeruations out of this place of the Apoſtle to the Hebrewes; and except a man were out of his witts, he would not reuell in this ſort with ſuch wateriſh and witleſſe reſumptions. Palpable vntrueths you call inuincible certainties, and trifles wherewith children will not be deceiued, you obtrude to the whole Church of Chriſt, as fortreſſes of their faith. *Chriſt feared*, ergo *he ſuffered*; *more then a bodily death*, ergo *the death of the ſoule. What he knew might come, that certainly did come.* Theſe be ſuch bables, that boyes in the ſtreet will deride them, and yet you conceaue and propoſe them as Sapientiall and ſoueraigne collections. But he that wilfully wandreth, thinketh no way ſtraighter, then that he traceth, and dreamers are often delighted with empty ſhadowes; now if we take your owne tranſlation, the Apoſtle telleth vs, that Chriſt *was heard in that he feared*, *ergo* he did not ſuffer it, and though it might come, yet becauſe he was freed from it, certainly it came not; and many things might come more then the death of the body, and yet not the death of the ſoule. If then you haue no ſtronger meanes to conclude the death of Chriſts ſoule, then theſe, the ſimpleſt Reader will ſoone perceiue, that your reaſons be as frigent, as your humours be feruent; and though there be fire in your mind, yet there is water in your mouth, for you truly conceaue, or iuſtly conclude nothing.

[*Sec. to the Hebrewes. Chriſt abeliſhed through death him, that had the power of death, that is, the Diuell, and ſo deliuered all them, which for feare of death were all their life time ſubiect to bondage. Heere I ſee no reaſon in the world but that the Apoſtle by the often repeating of death, and by the naturall referring of it in one place (as it were) to the other, doth vnderſtand*

« Defenc. pag. 137. li. 28.

[Defenc. pag. 138. li. 3.

vnderstand and signifie one and the same death altogether. But it is the death of the soule which the Diuell hath power and execution of, also the death of the soule sinnefull men were held in feare of all their life long. It followeth then (I suppose) that euen through the death of the soule, Christ abolished the Diuell, and deliuered his children.] I know not whether your eies be open, or your braines sound that you see nothing, but what pleaseth your selfe. And what if they be either so dimme or so dull, that you see not the truth, is that a reason that your ignorance or wilfulnesse must be the loadstone of our creed? with such peeuish and priuate presumption would you preuaile against Scriptures, Fathers, and the whole church of Christ, that what you doe not, or will not see, we must relinquish as false and erroneous? to let you see (if you be not blinded with preferring your fansies before the trueth of Christ,) that this is a lazie, loose, and lewd argument, which heere you make; take your owne maior or first proposition, that Christ suffered the selfe same death, which he abolished, whereof the Diuell had power and execution and whereof we were in feare (being not redeemed) all our life long; and set this for the second proposition or assumption; but it is most euident, that the Diuell had power and execution of eternall death, and to the feare of euerlasting *Destruction* were we subiect all the time of our life, before we were deliuered by Christ: *ergo* Christ suffered eternall death and damnation in hell. For he abolished that from the faithfull; and thereof the Diuell had power and execution, as also we were in feare and danger of that without the Redeemer. What say you to this conclusion grounded on your owne collection and proposition? see you the falsenesse and wickednesse thereof? and yet if your assertion be true, that Christ must redeeme vs with the same kind of death, whereof we were in feare and bondage without him, and abolish the Diuell with that verie death, whereof he had power and execution, the one is as strong as the other. But who besides you would warble thus in so waighty matters?

True it is, that the name of death compriseth all the kinds of death, I meane *of bodie, of soule, of both* for euer; and this chaine of death is inseparable and ineuitable, where Christ doth not breake it. By the malice of the diuell perswading sinne, which is the losse of grace, and death of the soule in this life, came into the world the death of the bodie; that hence both body and soule might be haled to hell; though first the soule, and after the bodie, when at the last day it shall rise from the corruption of the graue to euerlasting destruction. To thinke that Christ submitted himselfe to all these sorts of death, corporall, spirituall and eternall, is most hellish blasphemie; for so he should not haue redeemed vs, but destroyed himselfe, bodie and soule for euer. To say that Christ deliuered vs not from all these lincks of death, from spirituall death (whiles here we liue) from eternall death, after this life, and at the generall resurrection, from the power of the graue, where our bodies rot in the meane time, is heathenish impietie and heresie denying the whole force and fruit of our redemption by Christ. Since then he cleered vs from all, and yet suffered not all sorts of death, it is manifest (which is the Apostles meaning in the wordes by you cited) that by one kind of death, which in Christ was corporall, he freed vs from all power of death, heere and hereafter in bodie and soule; not preseruing our bodies, that they should not turne to dust, but restoring them after death, which is the farre more marueilous and mightie worke of God. And this is euery where so plainly witnessed in the Scriptures, and plentifully confessed by the learned and auncient fathers, that none but he that is blinder then a bat, would professe he seeth no such thing. Christ [g] *gaue his life a ransome for many, and* [h] *by the bloud of his crosse pacified things in heauen and in earth.* [i] *By the sacrifice of his bodie once* (made) *we are sanctified, and* [k] *healed by his stripes; who bare our sinnes in his bodie on the tree.* If then the *bloud of Christ clense vs from all sinne*, by which the diuell and death had power ouer vs; It is most certaine, that Christ abolished sinne and Satan by suffering his bloud to be shed vnto death for the remission of sinnes, & raising himself, that is the Temple of his bodie from death into a glorious and blessed life, by which the power and kingdome of Satan, were vtterly ouerthrowen.

g Matth 20.
h Colosſ. 2.
i Hebr. 9.
k 1. Peter 1.

[l] *Against*

[1] *Against this you haue no reason at all, but wordes and wrestings, and vaine ostentation of Fathers, none of them all denying our sense.*] The reason of all reasons is against it; which is, that no man, nor Angell may adde, or alter any thing in the Christian faith, without the sure warrant of the sacred Scriptures. [m] *Faith is by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.* It is reason enough for me, and for all the faithfull, that there is no such thing deliuered in the word of God. You talke of words and wrestings, as knowing them best, and vsing them most; and herein I am content to stand to the iudgement of the wise and indifferent Reader, whether you haue brought ought yet for the death of Christes soule, or his suffering the second death, but your owne speaches and surmises, abusing the wordes of the holy Ghost to your owne fansies without either cause or colour.

[1] Defenc. pag. 137. li. 15.

[m] Rom. 10.

And touching the vaine ostentation of Fathers; who, as you vaunt, deny not your sense, I brought ancient & learned writers not ignorant of the Christian faith, as being the pillars of their times, that with great perspicuitie and vehemence denied, as I doe, the death of Christs soule; and affirmed with me the death, which Christ suffered in the body of his flesh, to be a most sufficient ransome for the sinnes of the whole world. Augustins words were; [n] *The same flesh, in which only Christ died, rose againe by the quickning of the spirit. For that Christ was dead in soule, that is in his humane spirit, who dare auouch, since the death of the soule* (in this life) *is none else but sinne, from which he was altogether free?* This you say denieth not your sense: and why? because you auouch the death of Christs soule, which Austen asketh who dare auouch? to say that Christ suffered the death of the soule, is with Austen an impudent and wicked presumption, and no part of the Christian faith, or of mans redemption. Austen by the death of the soule ment sinne, you will say, which you meane not. You say by your leaue, that Christ [o] *became defiled and hatefull to God by our sinnes*; And so if pollution of sinne be the death of the soule, that kind of death you ascribe to Christ, though not for his owne sinnes, yet for ours, then made his, no lesse by guilt then by punishment, as you teach directly against the assertion of Saint Austen, who saith: [p] *Christ tooke our punishment without* (our) *guilt, that thereby he might release our guilt, and end our punishment.* But you vnderstand not Austen, when he saith, there is no death of the soule (here) but sinne; he doth not thence exclude the consequents and adherents to sinne in this life, but noteth, that onely sinne doth kill the soule, because it doth separate vs from God, who is the life of the soule; and the light and grace of God departing from the soule by sinne, the soule dieth, that is looseth all her sense of God, and motion to God, by which she liueth vnto God. This with Austen, and this indeede by the word of God, is the death of the soule, which if you attribute to Christ, you incurre open and exquisite infidelitie. For your meaning therefore it maketh no great matter, if you will offer to correct our Creede you must speake as the Scriptures speake, and not deliuer vs your priuate dreames for the publike doctrine of Christs Church.

[n] *August. epist. 99.*

[o] Trea. pa. 42. li. 20.

[p] *August contra Faustum li. 14. ca. 4.*

With like neglect you skip the rest auouched by Saint Austen, that Christ *died onely in his flesh*, which *rose againe* by the *quickning of the spirit*. Wherein least you should vse your accustomed euasion, that the flesh of Christ compriseth as well his soule, as his bodie, Saint Austen hath wisely preuented you, in saying, *the same flesh onely died, Which rose againe*. Where if your learning serue you to say, that Christes soule rose againe the third day, you shall make vs a new resurrection of soules, after this life, as the Scripture doth of bodies, which were a meete deuice for such a diuine, as you are. Howbeit Saint Austen naming Christs soule a part from his flesh, and affirming of Christs soule, that no man (in his right wits) dare auouch Christs soule died, but onely that flesh, which rose againe; it is as cleere, as mans speech may be, that he vtterly refuseth the death of Christs soule, as an irreligious and vnchristian position, and directly teacheth this as a ground confessed in Christian religion, that Christ died in his bodie alone, which rose againe the third day, and not in his soule, which no Christian man durst auouch was euer dead. Of all the elect he saith likewise, that they who [q] *pertaine to the grace of Christ, so farre die, as Christ died for them, Carnis tantum morte,*

[q] *August. de trinitate li. 13. ca. 15.*

morte, non spiritus; the death of the flesh onely, and not of the spirit. If this make not against you, nothing that I say, maketh against you, for I can vse none other, nor plainer words, then Austen and the rest of the Fathers doe in teaching, that Christ died the death of the bodie onely, and not of the soule; and that by his death which was onely corporall, he destroyed the dominion of sinne, and the strength of euerlasting death.

[t] *Augusti. sermo. 162.* [t] *There is a first death,* (saith Austen) *and there is a second. The first death hath two parts; one, whereby the sinfull soule by transgressing departeth from her creator; the other whereby she is excluded from her bodie through the iudgement of God for a punishment. The second death is the euerlasting torment of the bodie and soule: either of these deaths had euery man obliged vnto them, but the immortall and righteous sonne of God came to die for vs, in whose flesh because there could be no sinne, hee suffered the punishment of sinne, without the guilt thereof. Wherefore he admitted for vs the second part of the first death, that is the death of the bodie onely, by which he tooke from vs the dominion of sinne, and the paine of eternall punishment.*

Say as Saint Austen here saith, and our controuersies are ended. If he denie not your sense, you may the sooner accept this confession of the Catholike and Christian faith, from which no man yet swarued these fifteene hundred yeeres. But then you must teare both your Treatise and your defence in pieces. For by this, as by infinite other places in Austen, it is euident; first, that Christ tooke not vnto him the guilt of our sinne: secondly, that hee died the death of the bodie onely: thirdly, that by that his corporall death he destroyed sinne, hell, and Satan: fourthly, that the death of the soule he could not die, because he could haue no sinne; and lastly, that he was farre from the second death, which is the eternall damnation of bodie and soule. Acknowledge these, which neuer Christian man yet refused, and we shall soone resolue all other questions. If you haue of late gotten you a faith besides this, and against this generall Creede of all Christendome, looke well to your new deuices; you may sooner be excluded from the faith, then your fansies be included in the faith.

[s] Defenc. pag. 137. li. 17. [s] *Thirdly, it seemeth also that Peter teacheth the same, saying, Christ in his suffering was donne to death in the flesh, but made aliue by the spirit. Where death may be very well referred both to the soule and bodie of Christ, because the text heere speaketh (as I iudge) of the whole and entire sufferings of Christ.*] Be these the demonstrations you bring vs out of the Scriptures for the death of Christes soule, that these words of Peter MAY BE *referred both to the soule and bodie of Christ*, IT SEEMETH SO and YOV IVDGE SO? To you that hunt after your conceits in euery syllable of the scriptures, that is any thing doutfull, may things SEEME, that are not, and if you may be iudge, what sense eche place may beare, we shall quickely haue a new doctrine and discipline in the Church of God, framed to your fansies, though no way deduced by iust proofe from the word of God. But heere Christian Reader thou mayest see the foundation of this new redemption by the death of Christs soule, and his suffering the second death; H.I. so iudgeth; and to him it so seemeth. Indeede it is common with you and your consorts to set downe euery thing for the vndoubted word of God, what you once conceite may seeme to be within the compasse of any text. But I hope the wise and Godly Reader will looke better about him, then to take your *maying*, your *seeming*, your *iudging*, for the ground of his faith against the plaine and expresse places of the Scriptures, and against the continuall and generall vnderstanding of the whole Church of Christ. Yet let vs heare the reason of your seeming, since other proofe for your purpose you bring none, neither heere, nor elsewhere.

[t] 1 Peter 3. [u] Defenc. pag. 137. li. 25. Christ, as Peter teacheth, *was* [t] *mortified* (or put to death) *in the flesh, but quickned in* (or by) *the spirit.* What conclude you out of these words? [u] *The word flesh, it seemeth, cannot heere in this place be vnderstood to signifie only the bodie of Christ.* If that cannot be, then was S. Austen much deceiued, who out of these very words cōcluded, that Christ died in [x] *flesh alone, and not in soule*; & addeth a better reason out of Peters words, then you bring any; since Christ was in that part mortified, in which hee was afterwardes quickned; & of the soule of Christ as none durst auouch, it was euer mortified, so neuer being

[x] *Epist. 99.*

being dead, there was no cause it should be quickned; and therefore neither of these attributes agreed to the soule of Christ, but to his flesh onely. [y *My reason is, because wheresoeuer in the Scripture the flesh and the spirit are noted oppositely together in Christ, there the flesh signifieth alwayes the whole humanity, euen both parts thereof, the soule also, and not only the bodie.*] First that rule hath no ground nor truth; and if it were addmitted, it proueth no such thing, as you would enforce. For in a case farre plainer, the name of Christ whersoeuer it is applied to Christ liuing, I meane, saying, suffering, or doing any thing, there without all question the whole humanitie is compriſed in that name, since Christes bodie without his soule could neither say, suffer, nor doe any thing. And yet were it mad diuinitie to attribute euery action and passion affirmed of Christ in the Scriptures, as well to his soule, as to his bodie. That Christ sate, that he hungred, that he did eate, that he slept, and was circumcised, buffited, whipped, and a number such like are auouched in the Scriptures of Christ liuing, that is of his whole humanitie, (for without bodie and soule he could doe, nor suffer none of these things:) And yet I trust you will not therefore conclude, that Christs soule did *sleepe, hunger, eate, or sit*, or that it was *circumcised, buffited, and whipped*, as well as his body. So that the word may containe the whole man, as doubtles the name of Christs person doth, and yet the things ascribed to the person doe not alwayes properly agree to both parts alike. For so we shall make the soule to haue flesh and bones as well as the bodie hath, which were to make it no soule, but a bodie. Wherefore your illation is as weake as your obseruation is false, and you farre from inferring your purpose. I know the soule doth partake in all these and such like actions, and passions with the bodie. For the force to doe, and since to feele, is from the soule; and so in the death of the bodie, the soule is partaker with the bodie, not to lie dead and senseless as the bodie doth, but to feele the paine of death, and suffer the separation from the bodie, whereby the effects of death appeare in the bodie: But that the soule doth die, when the whole compound of bodie and soule dieth, is no consequent, neither in Philosophie, nor Diuinitie. [z *The text heere speaketh (as I iudge) of the whole and intire sufferings of Christ.*] The text heere speaketh of death bereauing life, which was after restored when Christes bodie was againe quickned by the power of his spirit; the rest of Christes sufferings during the whole time of his life are not compriſed in the name of death; otherwise Peter must haue sayd, Christ was alwayes dead, since his affections beganne with circumcision, if not before; which is no part of Peters speach, nor meaning; yea rather it is repugnant to both, since Peter saith, *Christ* [a] *suffered once for sinnes*, when he was put to death, and not euer and alwayes, whiles he liued on earth.

[b] *Against this obseruation what pretended you? some Scriptures palpably abused. first Matthew, where Christ speaketh of his Disciples, that their spirit (their inward regenerate man) was ready to watch, but their flesh (their corrupt Nature) was weake and sluggish. What is this to Christs flesh and spirit?*] If my authoritie were as good as yours, and my learning as great I could say as you doe, *I iudge it so*; but if I shew not better reason for me to affirme, those wordes Christ ment of himselfe, then you doe or can, that he ment them not of himselfe, I am content your consistorian seeming shall goe before my laborious prooving, my vse is not to relie too much on mine owne iudgement, as you doe, though I thanke God, I can examine both your and other mens interpretations, but when I finde a thing maturely and rightly considered and concorded by the learned and auncient Fathers in matters of faith, or exposition of the Scriptures, I goe not easily from them. Tertullian saith, [c] *Christ himselfe professed his soule was sadde vnto death, his flesh weake, that he might shew to thee, there were in himselfe both the substances of man by the propertie of heauinesse in the soule, and weakenesse in the flesh.* Athanasius likewise. [d] *A lutle afore his death Christ cried, the spirit was willing, but the flesh weake, that our aduersarie* (the diuell) *encountring him as a man, might feele his diuine power.* Theophilus Alexandrinus. [e] *If Christ tooke onely the flesh of man,* (and not the soule of man) *why in his Passion did he say, the spirit is prompt, but the flesh weake.*

y Defenc. pag. 137. li. 28.

z Defenc. pag. 137. li. 20.

a 1. Peter. 3.

b Defenc. pag. 137. li. 35.

c *Tertullianus de fuga in persecutione.*

d *Athanasius de Passione & Cruce Domini.*

e *Theophilus epistola Paschali prima contra Appollinaristas.*

weake. Ambrose, [f] *If Christes body had beene spirituall; he would not haue said; the spirit it is prompt, but the flesh is weake. Heare the voice of either in Christ, as well of weake flesh, as of a readie spirit.* The auncient writer among the works of Saint Austen. [g] *The trueth it selfe, our Lord Iesus Christ saith of himselfe, the spirit is prompt, but the flesh weake.* Cyrill. [h] *Though Christ abhorred death as a man, yet as a man he refused not to doe the will of his Father, and his owne as God; and therefore he said the spirit is prompt, but the flesh is weake.* Vigilius. [i] *What is that, wherein he suffered and tried weakenesse, but mans nature, whereof he said at the time of his passion, the spirit is prompt, but the flesh weake? tasting of which infirmitie he learned to helpe the weake.* Seuerianus. [k] *My soule* (saith Christ) *is heauie vnto death.* And *interpreting to what his Passions pertained, the spirit,* saith he, *is ready, but the flesh weake.* Remigius. [l] *In these words Christ sheweth, that he tooke true flesh of the Virgine, and that he had a true soule; Wherefore he now saith, that his spirit is ready to suffer, but that his weake flesh feareth the paine of his Passion.* Euthymius. [m] *My God, my God,* (said Christ) *why hast thou forsaken me, that is, why hast thou left me in this feare, knowing* (my) *spirit is ready, but* (my) *flesh weake.* What thinke you had I no more reason to say, as I saide, then you haue to denie it? where also you may note, that all these learned Fathers refuse your lame obseruation, as well as I doe; and so you had neede seeke some better authoritie then your owne, or perhaps some one, that deceaued you with this rule seruing to none other end, but to helpe forward your hell fansie.

[f] *Ambros. li. 4. in Luca, ca. 4.*
[g] *De Salutaribus documentis. ca. 64.*
[h] *Cyrill. Thesauri. li. 10. ca. 3.*
[i] *Vigilius contra Eutichem. li. 5. ca. 4.*
[k] *Seuerianus contra Nouatum citatur a Gelas. contra Eutichem.*
[l] *Remigius in Matth. 26. citat. a Tho. Aquinate in catena super Euangelia.*
[m] *Euthymius in Psal. 21.*

[n] *Thinke you that Christs soule was willing to suffer as God had appointed, but that his flesh resisted? verily so you seeme heere to vnderstand, and it is as likely, as your applying of flesh and spirit to Christ in your pag. 104.*] Put on your visard before you take in hand to controle the iudgement of so many Fathers. Your pride is greater then your wit in this and most things that passe your pen. Is it such newes to you for me, or for them to say, that Christes flesh was *weake*, that is, not so ready to suffer, as was his soule? seeth your mastership no difference betwixt weakenesse and resistance, specially when in comparison of the readinesse of the spirit, the flesh is said to be weaker, that is, lesse ready to suffer then the soule? doth not the Apostle applie the same word vnto Christ when he saith, Christ was [o] *crucified through weakenesse*? and long before, the Prophet said of Christ; [p] *He is a man full of sorrowes, and one that hath experience in infirmites.* So that your chol or was kindled without cause, when you strooke such an heat with my saying, that Christs flesh was weake; the Prophet foretold he should be a man *full of sorrowes, and well acquainted with infirmities.*

[n] *Defenc pag. 139. li. 1.*
[o] *2. Cor. 13.*
[p] *Esa. 53.*

The vntrue conceit which you challenge in the 104. Page of my Sermons touching Christes flesh, where I sayd, it must haue force to cleanse and quicken, when you impugne, I will defend; in the meane time it may serue, I sayd nothing, but what our Sauiour sayd before me; [q] *He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my bloud, dwelleth in me, and I in him, he hath eternall life, and I will raise him vp at the last day.* If you could take any hold, I doubt not the sharpenesse of your teeth, but your fooliish conceits are caried like clouds in the aire, they rest not, before they vanish.

[q] *Iob. 6. vers. 56. 54.*

[r] *Then Luke; where both spirit and flesh are not intended of Christ (as our obseruation requireth) but only the flesh.*] Your obseruation is made to fitte S. Peters words to your fansie. For there are not many places in Scripture, where spirit and flesh are expressed and intended of the two natures of Christ, though in other places some words adioyned doe prooue him to be God, as well as man. In that of S. Luke, Christ doth not denie himselfe to be a diuine spirit, for then he were no God, since God is a [s] *spirit*; nor to haue an humane spirit, for then he were no man; but that which they saw with their eies, he affirmed was flesh and bloud, and not any apparition in the shape of a man. And the words following, [t] *as ye see me to haue*, containe and note the other part of his humane nature, which was his soule and spirit, and consequently inferre, that he was a man, and had an humane spirit, though compassed with flesh and bones, as we haue.

[r] *Defenc pag. 139. li. 5.*
[s] *Iohn 4.*
[t] *Luke 24.*

[u] *Then the Romans: where I affirme that flesh signifieth the whole manhood of Christ, according*

[u] *Defenc. pag. 139. li. 7.*

cording to the which he came from Dauid, euen as well as Salomon or Nathan did, who were Dauids ſonnes in their intire and perfect nature.] Whether Chriſts body without a ſoule, which was but a Carcaſſe, be alwaies in the Scriptures intended by the name of Chriſts fleſh, this is not the queſtion; there is but one place in the new Teſtament, where Chriſts fleſh importeth his dead body, as when Peter ſaith, *Chriſtes* [x] *fleſh ſaw no corruption*; but whether whatſoeuer is attributed to Chriſts fleſh with compariſon or mention of his diuine nature, doe properly agree as well to his ſoule as to his body, this is the thing in queſtion betwixt you and me. That the man Chriſt was borne of the Virgin, and died on the Croſſe, there is no doubt, but that his ſoule was made of the ſeed of Dauid, and circumciſed, & crucified as well as his body, this is your error; and for this you haue no ſhew in the word of God, and therefore you ſeeke by rules of your owne making to draw it in by the heeles, when you cannot by the head. It is but a ſhift to ſaue your ſelfe, when you tell your Reader, that *Chriſts whole manhood came from Dauid, as well as Salomon, or Nathan did*; The point is whether Chriſtes ſoule *were made of the ſeed of Dauid*, as well as his body was. That I denie, and haue the Apoſtle for my warrant, that men are only the [y] *Fathers of our bodies*, and God is the immediate *Father of (our) ſpirits*. Which if it be true in all men, then Salomon and Nathan were the ſonnes of Dauid, not becauſe their ſoules were made of the ſeed of Dauid, but only their bodies; and yet ſince they drew as much from their father, as children by Gods ordinance do or may do, therefore were they the ſonnes of Dauid. In Chriſt it is moſt ſure, which the Apoſtle ſaith, that *according to the fleſh he was made of the ſeed of Dauid*. This by no meanes can be verified of his ſoule, howſoeuer you would ſlubber it vp by calling his whole manhood the ſonne of Dauid, which I doe not denie. Not that his ſoule was made of the ſeed of Dauid, as was his body that is an open and an odious error; but that his fleſh made of the ſeed of Dauid which was the Virgins body, was alſo quickened with a ſoule from God in due time, that came not out of Dauids loines. Euen ſo the whole man in Chriſt died on the Croſſe, not that his ſoule was depriued of life, or left dead, as was his body; but that the coniunction of ſoule and body, which maketh the whole man, was diſſolued by death, his fleſh lying in the graue without corruption, and his ſoule remaining in the hands of God, to which it was commended.

x Acts 2.

y Heb. 12.

[z] *So likewiſe Chriſt was kinne to the Iewes according to his whole humanity, as well as Paul was.*] When you can ſhew kindred in ſpirits, as well as in fleſh, that is deriued from parents, then ſay that Paul and Chriſt were kin to the Iewes according to their whole humanity; ſtill you proue that, howſoeuer vſe of ſpeach may be endured which muſt be interpreted according to the truth, you can neuer conclude there is conſanguinity betweene ſoules, as there is betweene bodies. And ſpight of your heart, if you will not maintaine vntrueths to vphold your credit, as your maner is, the Apoſtle teacheth you how to vnderſtand thoſe words, that as we haue fathers of our bodies, from whom our ſpirits come not, but immediatly from God; ſo kindred and conſanguinity, which commeth by the parents, goeth by fleſh and bloud receiued from them, and not by ſoules infuſed from God. S. Iohn leadeth you to the ſame rule, that men are *borne of bloud, and of the will of the fleſh*, and ſo by fleſh and bloud commeth kindred; God giuing ſoules to quicken their bodies. Wherefore the Scriptures, when they expreſſe kindred, they note it by fleſh and bone. As when Laban ſaid to Iacob, *Thou art my* [a] *bone, and my fleſh*; So Iudah of Ioſeph, [b] *he is our brother, and our fleſh*. So Abimelech to his mothers brethren, [c] *I am your bone and your fleſh*. And vſualy where kindred is claimed or yeelded, the Scriptures expreſſe it by [d] *fleſh and bones*, as Adam ſaid to Eue, [e] *This now is bone of my bone, and fleſh of my fleſh*. So that howſoeuer you dreame or talke of the conſanguinity of ſoules, it is like the reſt of your nouelties which haue no handfaſt but in your head; and the exception taken by me will ſtand good, doe you and your adherents what you can, that in theſe attributes to the manhood of Chriſt you ſhall neuer prooue they properly pertaine to both parts, but to the whole conioyned, or to one part ſeuerally reſpected.

z Defenc. pag. 139.

a Gene. 29.
b Gene. 37.
c Iudic. 9.
d 2. Sam. 5. 19
e Gen. 2.

[f Defenc.pag. 139. li.21.

f *Further, that which you bring out of the Corinthians compared with this in Peter, doth most cleerely open and confirme the same. He was crucified touching his infirmitie, but liueth by the power of God. His soule had infirmities of suffering in it, aswell as his bodie: therefore his soule also is vnderstood here that it was crucified and died, that is, according to the condition thereof.*] You proue not what you promise, but pronounce what you please, which if any man will suffer you to doe, we shall soone haue a new Church, a new Faith, and all things new. Afore you pretended rules at least, though void of reason and trueth; now you bend against all rules of learning, Logicke, Grammar, and Diuinitie. For I pray you in Grammar what is ἐξ ἀσθενείας, and ἐκ δυνάμεως here vsed by the Apostle? Are the parts heere noted, that were crucified and raised to life, or the cause from which first death was suffered, and after life was recouered by our Sauiour? A man would thinke, that ἐξ ἀσθενείας were *by or through weakenesse*, euen as ἐκ δυνάμεως is *by or through the power of God*. Christ then was crucified, not by the immediate hand of God, but by the Iewes, who could not crucifie his soule, as they did his bodie. If you know not who crucified Christ, reade the Gospell afresh, or hearken to S. Peter, who sayd to the Iewes; [g Act.2. g *Iesus of Nazaret haue ye taken by the hands of the wicked, and crucified and slaine*: and proclaimed openly to the Rulers of the people, and Elders of Israel, [h Act. 4. h *Be it knowen to you all and to all the people of Israel, that by the name of Iesus Christ of Nazaret, whom ye haue crucified, whom God raised againe from the dead*, by him this Creeple standeth whole before you. The Iewes then [i 1.Cor.2. i *crucified the Lord of glorie*, who could not kill the soule but onely the bodie. Therefore they crucified onely his bodie; and other crucifiers of Christ the Scripture nameth none. How come you then against all learning and trueth to collect that Christs soule was crucified?

[k Defenc pag. 139.li.25. k *His infirmitie the text heere nameth metonimically vnderstanding in Christ that in which his infirmities were.*] When the plaine text will not serue your turne, you fasten what you list with figures to it, and then by as good Logicke, you change a part into the whole, and conclude like a Doter in Diuinitie (for you skorne all degrees, as you doe all rules of Schoole) that Christs soule was nailed to the crosse (for that is crucifying) and died as well as his body. These be woonderous leapes in my small vnderstanding, and such as few men but you could light on so readily. In sted of the Apostles speech, that Christ was crucified ἐξ ἀσθενείας *through infirmitie*, (or by reason of infirmitie voluntarily imbraced, whiles he submitted himselfe to his Fathers will) to clap in this conclusion, that Christ was crucified and died as well in soule, as in body. Had you liued in former ages, what heresies could not you haue deduced from the text it selfe, if not by Grammaticall or Logicall inference yet by metonymicall and metaphoricall excurrence. Sampsons riddle was, out of the strong came sweetnesse, and we may say, out of the weake commeth bitternesse.

[l Defenc.pag. 139.li.37. l *Other reasons also I noted serving well heereunto, but I omit to rehearse them againe. For it seemeth your selfe agreeth with vs in them, holding expresly that the spirit heere in Peter is the Deitie of Christ according to Austins iudgement. Now this being granted and acknowledged, how can it be likely but that the other opposite part of the flesh must needes import his whole and entire Manhood.* [m Pag.140. li.11. m *Now this being so, then it followeth by the text, that Christ in his Passion was done to death both in soule and body.*] Your other reasons tended after your maner to shew, that *spirit* in Peters words did not signifie the soule of Christ; to which I said nothing, because I therein agreed with you. Where then you conclude ouer-hastily, that therefore it signifieth the Deitie of the second person in Trinitie, the text enforceth no such thing; as that the second person in Trinitie did in the daies of Noe preach by his owne Godhead, and not by his spirit. [n Gene.6. n *The Lorde said, my spirit shall not alway strine with man, his daies shall be* 120. *yeeres.* Which whether we take to be the wordes of the Father, or the Sonne, by the spirit there is ment the holy Ghost, which proceedeth from the Father and the Sonne, and is called the spirit of them both, and did by the tongue of Noe the Preacher of righteousnesse witnesse the iudgement of God to come by the floud vpon the wicked and disobedient world. By this power of his which is his spirit, God quickned the humane flesh

of

of Chriſt, when it was crucified and dead in the graue, and by the ſame ſpirit ſhall he reſtore and quicken all the bodies of the faithfull after they be turned to duſt. And although I haue no doubt but the workes of the Trinitie towards all creatures are vndeuided, and the power of the Father is the power of the Sonne, yet when the Scriptures doe teſtifie, that Chriſtes humane fleſh was quickned by the ſpirit we muſt vnderſtand the holy Ghoſt: God the Father raiſing his Sonne, and the Sonne raiſing himſelfe by the ſpirit of ſanctification, which is the power of the Father and of the Sonne. So ſpeaketh the Apoſtle to the Romanes. ° *Chriſt made of the ſeede of Dauid as touching the fleſh, and declared to be the Sonne of God, with power through the ſpirit of ſanctification, by the reſurrection from the dead.* Where his fleſh made of the ſeede of Dauid prooueth him to be a true man, and the mightie declaration of him to be the Sonne of God ſheweth his Diuine nature and glorie, which moſt appeared by the woonderfull works and gifts of the ſpirit of ſanctification, powred out on all his after he was once riſen from the dead.

° Rom.1.

Leaſt you thinke this my deuice to defeate your obſeruation, heare what the learned and auncient Fathers ſay thereof. Chryſoſtome vpon thoſe wordes of Paule, Chriſt *was declared to be the Sonne of God with power through the ſpirit of ſanctification.*] [p] *The fourth argument* (of Chriſts Diuinitie) *is drawen* (ſaith he) *from the ſpirit, which he gaue to thoſe that beleeued in him, and by which he ſanctified them all. Wherefore Paule ſaith, through the ſpirit of ſanctification. For onely God was able to giue thoſe kindes of giftes.* Ierom. *Through the ſpirit of ſanctification.*] Paul [q] *noteth heere the holie Ghoſt the Creator.* Ambroſe, Paul [r] *calling Chriſt the Sonne of God, ſheweth God to be his father, and adding the ſpirit of ſanctification, noteth the miſtery of the Trinity.* Auguſtine. that Paul ſaith, [s] *Through the ſpirit of ſanctification, he meaneth, becauſe they receaued the gift of the ſpirit after Chriſts reſurrection.* Theodoret, the Apoſtle heere teacheth, [t] *that he, who was called the Sonne of Dauid according to the fleſh was declared to be the ſonne of God by the power, which was ſhewed from the holy Ghoſt after our Lord Ieſus was riſen from the dead.* Oecumenius, [u] *through the ſpirit of ſanctification.*] *He meaneth by the holy Ghoſt, which Chriſt gaue to the beleeuers in him.* Theodulus [x] *through the ſpirit of ſanctification*, that is, *by the holy ſpirit, which Chriſt gaue to thoſe that beleeued in him.* Theophylactus [y] *by the ſpirit of ſanctification*, that is, *by the ſpirit, with which he maketh the beleeuers holy.* Haymo [z] *the ſpirit of ſanctification is heere taken for the holy Ghoſt, who giueth ſanctity to men and Angels, who alſo faſhioned, quickened and ſanctified Chriſts manhood in the Virgins womb, of the ſeed of the Virgin, without the ſeed of man.*

[p] *Chryſoſt. in epiſtolam ad Romanos homil.1.*
[q] *Hieron. in ca. 1. epiſtolæ ad Romanos.*
[r] *Ambroſ in ca. primum Epiſtolæ ad Romanos.*
[s] *Auguſt. in expoſitio. inchoat a epiſtolæ ad Rom.*
[t] *Theodoretus in ca. 1. epiſt. ad Rom.*
[u] *Oecumenius in ca. 1. epiſt. ad Rom.*
[x] *Theodulus in cap. 1. epiſt. ad Romanos.*
[y] *Theophylact. in ca. 1. epiſt. ad Romanos.*
[z] *Haymo in ca. 1. epiſtolæ ad Romanos.*

The new writers with one conſent, as *Eraſmus, Zuinglius, Peter Martyr, Bullinger, Muſculus, Gualter, Hemmingius, Aretius, and Caluine* himſelfe follow the ſame interpretation, ſo that your obſeruation againſt and after all their iudgements is misbegotten and borne out of time; and brought in of purpoſe to paue the way for your new found fanſies, which haue no ground, but in your new made notes as much croſſing probabilitie, as authoritie. Yea the obſeruation wrongeth the diſtinction of the perſons in the moſt bleſſed Trinitie, and diſhonoreth rather the Deitie of the Sonne of God then aduanceth it; whiles the Sonne of God, and the ſpirit of holineſſe, being both expreſly named, you take them both for one perſon; and make the Sonne of God in his diuine nature to be leſſe then the poſſeſſor, or giuer of life and righteouſneſſe, eueu a receauer of both. For in all theſe places where you ſay the name of ſpirit is vſed to ſignifie Chriſts Godhead, the power and worke of the holy Ghoſt is there intended and expreſſed, as that *Chriſt was* [a] *declared to be the Sonne of God by the ſpirit of ſanctification; and was* [b] *God manifeſted in the fleſh, iuſtified by the ſpirit*, as alſo [c] *mortified in the fleſh, but quickned by the ſpirit.* The ſpirit of ſanctification is the title of the holy Ghoſt ſanctifying as well the Manhood of Chriſt, as his members; and the giuing thereof declareth the Sonne to be true God, whoſe ſpirit this is as well as the Fathers, and by whom the Sonne worketh as well as the Father. And where it is written, that Chriſt was *Iuſtified and quickned by the ſpirit*, if there you reade *in the ſpirit*,

[a] Rom.1.
[b] 1.Tim.3.
[c] 1.Pet.3.

rit, meaning *in the Deitie* of Chriſt, then Chriſtes Godhead receaued life and righteouſneſſe, which by your leaue is a ſpeech ne allowed ne frequented in the Scriptures. For though the ſecond perſon in Trinitie by his internall and eternall generation receaued all, that he hath, from the Father, who begat him, yet of this generation, which is ſecret, ſubſtantiall, and eternall, the Apoſtles ſpeake not, when they ſay Chriſt was *quickned* and *iuſtified*; but the one ſheweth that Chriſtes body, which was put to death was raiſed againe to life by the power of his ſpirit: the other noteth that he was *God manifeſted in the fleſh and iuſtified*, that is, prooued and confirmed ſo to be by the mightie workes and graces of Gods ſpirit ſhewed as well in his owne perſon, as in all his members. For that is the intent of the Apoſtles wordes, not that his diuine glorie was onely praiſed or acknowledged of men, but that *the world beleeued, the Angels admired, the ſpirit iuſtified*, that is *moſt* mightily and cleerely *witneſſed him to be God manifeſted in the fleſh*. Then hath your obſeruation his full diſcharge, ſince there is no one place, where theſe wordes the ſpirit and fleſh are applied to Chriſt to note his two natures, though his Godhead be teſtified and plainely prooued in moſt of the ſame places by more pregnant wordes then ſpirit, which is common to Angels, ſoules, and windes; and onely ſheweth, that it is no palpable or ſenſible body; where the name of ſpirit alone in the Scriptures ſtanding for the third perſon in Trinity noteth the power and grace of the holy Ghoſt, by which theſe things were wrought for Chriſts manhood. And in that place of Peter, on which you moſt depend, if you follow the Syriac tranſlation to which your owne adherents ſo often appeale, the Apoſtles words are, *Chriſt was dead in body, but liued in ſpirit*, which conuinceth firſt, that fleſh is there taken for the body of Chriſt contrary to your obſeruation, and that Chriſt ſtill liued in ſpirit, which euerteth your maine concluſion intended from this place for the death of Chriſts ſoule.

But were it, as you ſuppoſe, that fleſh and ſpirit were aſcribed to Chriſt to declare his two natures, the one to be corporall and humane, the other to be ſpirituall and diuine; how doth it follow, that euery thing affirmed of his manhood muſt properly agree both to body and ſoule? by what Logicke conclude you that? you may as well auouch that Chriſts ſoule is truely corporall or carnall, becauſe it is compriſed vnder the name of fleſh, as that other attributes of the body are verified in the ſoule. Which if you thinke abſurd, though the name of fleſh by a figure of ſpeach import the whole man, becauſe the Scripture ſpeaketh not of a dead, but of a liuing man: then is there leſſe cauſe, that ech action or paſsion affirmed of the fleſh ſhould exactly or properly be referred to the ſoule, ſince the common vſe of ſpeach intending the whole by a part is figuratiue; and in figuratiue ſpeaches, as where the ſoule or the fleſh are taken for the whole man, the attributes cannot be properly reſtrained to ech part, no more then the names are. And euen out of thoſe places by which you would collect death to be common to the body and ſoule of Chriſt, the auncient fathers conclude death to be proper to the body of Chriſt, and not common to the ſoule; as Auſtin out of Saint Peter. [d] *Quid eſt enim, quòd viuificatus eſt ſpiritu, niſi quòd eadem caro, qua ſola fuerat mortificatus, viuificante ſpiritu reſurrexit? What other meaning hath this that Chriſt was quickned by the ſpirit, but that the ſame fleſh, in which onely he was put to death, roſe againe by the quickning of the ſpirit?* And Cyrill. [e] *Was it not a worke of infirmitie to endure the croſſe? I confeſſe* (ſaith Paul) *hee was weake in the fleſh, but he reuiued againe by the power of God. And how was he weake? by ſuffering his owne bodie to taſte death for vs, and reſtoring to life againe that very temple* (of his bodie) *not doing this by the weakeneſſe of his fleſh, but by the power of God.* Chriſt [f] *died for vs, not as a man like one of vs, but as a God in fleſh, giuing his owne bodie a ranſome for the life of all. Wherefore his Diſciple* (Peter) ſaith *wiſely and warily, that he ſuffered in the fleſh.* But of the fathers iudgement in this caſe more ſhalbe ſaid afterward.

[d] *Auguſt. epiſtola 99.*

[e] *Cyrill de recta fide ad Reginas li. 2.*

[f] Ibidem.

[g] Defenc. pag. 139. li. 12.

[g] *Heere you obiect, thus I note all the attributes of the bodie common to the ſoule. Nay forſooth that I doe not;*] Forſooth the ground of your concluſion inferreth ſo much what euer your meaning is, or may be. For this you vrge, that whereſoeuer the fleſh of

of Chriſt is taken for the whole manhood of Chriſt, the thing affirmed of Chriſts fleſh muſt be common to ſoule and bodie; and thence you conclude, that ſince Chriſt ſuffered death in his fleſh by Saint Peters wordes, he muſt by the Scriptures be ſayd to haue died as well in the ſoule as in the bodie. You regard no more but death to bee common to both, which of all others is not common to both, becauſe they are ſeuered by death; but vpon this collection it followeth, if your rule bee not falſe, that ſince through out the Scrtptures, where mention is made of Chriſtes liuing fleſh, or of his actions, or paſsions, the whole manhood of Chriſt is there vnderſtoode, then conſequently all thoſe thinges ſo affirmed of Chriſt muſt be common to both the parts of Chriſts humane nature, that is as well to his ſoule, as to his bodie. To pretend your meaning againſt your ſpeach, when you ſee how abſurd your ſaying is, is a childiſh vanitie; if your obſeruation and illation be true, this that I obiect, followeth; if thoſe be not true, then faile you of your firſt purpoſe, that death muſt be common to both parts of Chriſtes manhood. Beſides the falſitie of your collection appeareth by this, that when things are attributed to Chriſt liuing, which are proper to the ſoule or bodie, and yet are aſcribed to Chriſts perſon, this kind of ſpeach is figuratiue, either becauſe the whole is taken fot a part, or becauſe either part hath ſome concurrence or reference to the actions and paſsions auouched of Chriſt. But thence you may not inferre, that all ſuch things moſt properly agree to either part in Chriſt; that is ſuch palpable ignorance, that you ſeeme not to conceiue, what a man is, or whereof he conſiſteth. For ſo you may conclude, that the ſoule eateth, drinketh, ſleepeth, ſitteth, falleth, and ſuch like, as well as the bodie, becauſe theſe things are affirmed of the perſon, that is of the whole man, though indeed performed by meanes of the bodie.

More follie it is to vrge the ſame in death, which ſeuereth the ſoule from the bodie, and ſo leaueth nothing common to bodie and ſoule, but the generall attributes of a Creature, as to be locall, finite, and ſuch like. For where death is the priuation of life, and the ſoule is the life of her bodie, what reaſon or ſenſe can it haue, becauſe man dieth, to ſay the loſſe of life muſt be common to the ſoule, which is the cauſe of life, as well as to the bodie, which is but the veſſell, or vehicle of life. True it is, the ſoule by death is driuen to depart from her bodie, but ſo long, as ſhe is preſent, there is life, and ſhe muſt firſt be gone before death, which is the lacke of life, can ſeaze on the bodie. To draw this conſequent then from reaſon, that the ſoule muſt die, when man dieth, is the part of him that vnderſtandeth not what reaſon meaneth; except by the dying of the ſoule he note the departing of the ſoule from the bodie, in which ſenſe the Scriptures ſometimes applie the name of death to the ſoule, as wee ſhall afterwardes ſee.

[b] *This attribute of dying vnderſtood in ſuch ſort and manner as the bodie properly dieth, that is to become without life and ſenſe, I make not common to the ſoule.*] The whole man conſiſting of bodie and ſoule, is moſt properly ſaid to die, that is to be diſſolued, the ſoule departing from the bodie; the bodie is properly ſaid to bee dead, that is to bee void of life and ſenſe. and if we ſay, the bodie dieth, as ſpeach is often guided rather by vſe then by rule, we meane the bodie beginneth to lacke ſenſe and life, and to bee poſſeſſed by death. And though the ſoule cannot be void of life and ſenſe in ſuch ſort as the bodie is, becauſe ſhe is the life of the bodie, yet when the ſoule is dead, ſhee is vtterly void of her life, which is God, and hath no more ſenſe or feeling of him, then the bodie lying dead hath of the ſoule. How then doth it follow, that becauſe Chriſt died in the fleſh, or in his manhood, that his ſoule muſt be dead after her manner of dying, as well as his bodie after his ſort of death? [*where the whole dieth, either part*, you will ſay, *muſt die*.] But Peter doth not ſay, Chriſt died in his whole manhood, that is your lame and blind conceit, but that Chriſt died in the *fleſh*. And yet the whole manhood may die, and not both parts, becauſe the whole is a thing conioyned of parts, and ſo diſſolued, where they are ſeuered, though both parts doe not die. [*the whole*, you meane for *euery part*.] Your meaning is, not the matter, but Peters words are the thing that I ſtand on. Now what doe they inferre, when he ſaith, Chriſt *died in the*

[b] Defenc. pag. 140. li. 14.

fleſh

fleſh? you ſay the *whole*, and euery part thereof, becauſe the ſpirit heere oppoſite to the fleſh importeth the whole dietie, and therefore the fleſh muſt compriſe the whole humanitie.] This is that bold and falſe obſeruation, that hath deceiued you and your leaders. For beſides all other exceptions heeretofore taken, which are enough; the
[i] Rom. 1. words of Paul in the ſame caſe, which is alſo one of your examples, Chriſt was [i] *made of the ſeed of Dauid according to the fleſh*, do they inferre that Chriſtes whole manhood, and euery part thereof, as well ſoule as bodie, was made of the ſeede of Dauid? If you and your inſtructors ſee the falſeneſſe of this collection, with what face vrge you ſo earneſtly the ſame illation from Peters words? but your wills, not Peters words, are the foundation of your faith; and ſo you can make a ſhew to wrangle, you little care for trueth or ſubſtance.

[k] Defenc. pag. 140. li. 25. [k] *This if you do not acknowledge, the ſhame of abſurditie and contrarietie, which in your fanſie you accuſe me of, that Chriſts ſoule died and died not, will ſit neerer to you than to me.*] Is this enough to ſay the word? You may ſoone write, if you make it ſufficient to ſay what you liſt; but your abſurdities and contrarieties are not ſo eaſily declined, as you would ſleightly ouerſlippe them. Looke backe to your former footing, and ſee how ſhamefully you ſhun your owne aſſertions. Examining the place of Peter after your learned maner, and labouring, as you thought, with impregnable force to prooue, when Peter ſayth, *Chriſt was mortified in the fleſh, but quickened in* (or by) *the ſpirit*, that
[l] Trea. pa. 78. li. 25. the ſpirit could not there be taken for Chriſts humane ſoule; you [l] *butted* both *theſe as abſurd and moſt falſe, that Chriſt was made aliue either in his humane ſoule, or by the ſame.* I replied, that you refuted your owne poſition. For if in the former words of Peter, his meaning were to ſay, that Chriſtes ſoule and bodie, as you conceaue him, were done to death; then of neceſsitie Chriſt muſt be *quickned* and reſtored to life, as well in his humane *Soule*, as in his Bodie. And this is ſo farre from being abſurd and falſe, as you proclaimed it, that it is openly blaſphemous otherwiſe to ſaie or thinke, that Chriſt was neuer made aliue in his humane ſoule, if once it were dead, as you collected out of Peters words. What courſe now take you to colour theſe incongruities. You ment it was abſurd to ſay, that Chriſtes ſoule was quickned, as was his bodie. Of the maner of death you ſpeake there not a word, but onely ſeeke to prooue, that ſpirit in that place can not be taken for Chriſtes ſoule, becauſe *it is moſt abſurd and falſe*, (as you ſay) *that Chriſt was made aliue in his humane ſoule*. How you will iangle or iuggle touching your intent, is not to this purpoſe; you muſt anſwere for the ſenſe, which you would patch to Peters words. The *death*, which Chriſt ſuffered in his fleſh by Peters aſſertion, was it the death of the body alone, or of both body and ſoule? if of the body only; then is your commentarie, which corrupteth Peters words, abſurd, falſe, and wicked. Did Peter intend to teach, that Chriſt died in both parts of his manhood, that is in ſoule as well as in bodie? then is it a neceſſarie trueth, and point of piety to confeſſe and affirme, that Chiſt was made aliue in his humane ſoule, which you ſay is abſurd and falſe. Which way will your wiſedome winde out of this grinne? you ment it is abſurd for the ſoule to be quickened, as the body is. You ment as beſt ſerued your turne, but what ment Peter? if he affirmed the ſoule of Chriſt died, as you interprete him, muſt not his words auouch that Chriſtes ſoule was made aliue, except you reſolue, that Chriſts ſoule once dead was neuer quickned againe? and though you ſet a bold face on theſe contradictions, and ſay you are farre from them, yet ech meane Reader may ſoone perceaue how farre you were ouerſhot in them, though heere you would outface them. And where you now ſay, that in ſuch a ſenſe you doe not denie, but Chriſt may be ſaid to be quickned in the ſpirit, what is this but to grant that now, which before you called abſurd and moſt falſe.

[m] Defenc. pag. 140. li. 37. [m] *I hope it is cleere to reaſonable men, that Chriſtes ſoule according to the Scriptures phraſe may be ſaid in ſome ſort to haue taſted & ſuffered death, that is the extreameſt feelings of Gods wrath for ſinne, and the moſt vehement paines of the damned, but in a ſinguler maner and extraordinarie vvay.*] And to the ſame reaſonable men I referre it, whether you haue brought one word or ſyllable out of holy Scripture concluding that Chriſt died

the

the death of the soule, or the second death. The Scripture phrase you haue peruerted and distorted to your meaning, but the words are farre from inferring any such thing euen in the iudgement of the meanest. Your mittigations, *In some sort, in a singular manner, and extraordinarie way*, What argue they but your wresting of the Scriptures from their right sense, since no such thing is there affirmed, yea the death of the soule, and the second death in the Scriptures are such, as you dare not auouch of Christ, but with these limitations, which are no where mentioned in the Scriptures, but are houels to shroud your absurd and false doctrine from the tempest of the word of God conuincing you of impiety and heresie, if you did not thus delude the force of them? But in vaine doe you seeke for these vnsound refuges, when you be once driuen from your footing in the word of God. For you must not only proove by the Scriptures, which you neither haue done, nor can doe, that Christ suffered the death of the soule, and the second death, as you say he did; but you must shew also where these exceptions are written of Christ, otherwise they are but shifts declining the maine and generall trueth of the Scriptures touching the death of the soule, and the second death; which can no more agree to Christ then sinne and damnation; which you may as well defend, IN A SORT, *in a singular manner, and extraordinary way* to be found in Christ, as the other. And therefore dally not with the word of God, and faith of Christ, your singular manner will not saue you from abusing the one, and defacing the other, except you can shew, where your assertion as well as your exceptions be written in the booke of God. As for the most vehement paines of the damned, when you take the paines to prooue any thing otherwise then by the meale of your owne mouth, you shalbe answered. The paines of the damned expressed in the Scriptures are reiection, confusion, worme of conscience, and torment of hell fire, which if by your cunning conueyance you cast vppon the soule of Christ you shall cough me a *singular* and *extraordinary* miscreant.

[n] *Now besides the matter you gird at me in diuers places, as where I say, the death of the soule is such paines and sufferings of Gods wrath as alwayes accompanie them that are separated from the grace and loue of God.*] This geere deserued more then *girding*; other men vse to blush at such falsehoods, but shamefastnesse and you are parted. When you had thus grossely thwarted the trueth, as to say, that the paines of Gods wrath, which here you make the most [o] *vehement paines of the damned, doe alwayes accompanie them that are separated from the grace and loue of God*; your Printer or Corrector ashamed of that more then childish ouersight, would not take vpon him to altar your text, and so to amend your error, but with a marginall note bridled your wordes, making an addition cleane contrarie to your text. For where you said, *alwayes, he said, ordinarily*, which is not alwayes, and so he giueth you the lie; and yet himselfe is as farre from the trueth as you are. For neither alwayes, nor ordinarily, much lesse alwayes ordinarily, (which is as much as *alwayes sometimes*) doe the most vehement paines of the damned accompanie them that are strangers to the grace and loue of God; and therefore this Laborinth is like your other riddles in religion, neither Writer, Reader, nor Corrector can tell what to make of them, nor how to temper them with any trueth. But now you will make amends for all.

[n] Defenc. pag. 141. li. 6.

[o] Treatis. pag. 77. li. 5.

[p] *Forsooth it is true, they are alwayes wicked whom these paines do accompanie ordinarily.*] It is the first time I heard you speake towards a trueth, but this is cleane kam to that you said before. Your former speach was, *these paines doe alwayes accompanie the wicked*, and now you turne the cake in the pan, as if that side were not burnt, and tell vs, *they are alwayes wicked whom those paines doe accompanie ordinarily*. Forsooth this is not that, you said before; and if you be ashamed of your follie and falsehood, I am not against repentance. But it were plaine dealing to confesse the fault, and not to bring in an ape for an owle, and say it is the same Creature. And yet forsooth whether this position be true or not, is without the compasse of your skill. For first what is ordinarie with you? once a weeke, once a moneth, or once in seuen yeeres? you haue gotten a word, that you may winde at your will, and limite as you like best; and yet without all proofe

[p] Defenc. pag. 141. li. 10.

How handsomly the defender shifteth hands.

proofe you reſolue, that theſe paines doe ordinarily accompanie the wicked: experience I truſt you will take none vpon you, for then by your owne rule you muſt be alwayes wicked; to ſift other mens ſoules, what paines they feele, though they be wicked, I win you haue no way, but by report or coniecture, which are both vncertaine. Warrant in the word you haue none; that ſuch paines doe alwayes or ordinarily accompany the wicked, the contrarie may rather be thence collected. For when the wicked ſhall ſay, [q] *Peace and ſafetie, then ſhall ſuddaine deſtruction come vpon them.* Peace and ſafetie in the paines of hell I ſuppoſe they haue nor cauſe, nor will to ſay. In *Peace* then & *ſafety*, not in the pains of the damned, are many, if not moſt of the wicked till deſtruction come vpon them, which is not alwaies, nor ordinary, ſince they can be deſtroyed but once, and vntill that time their eaſe and abundance make them forget God.

[q] 1. Theſſ. 5.

[r] *Againe you pretend to haue much againſt me where I ſay, the feeling of the ſorrowes of Gods wrath due to ſinne in a broken and contrite heart is indeede the onely true and perfectly accepted ſacrifie to God. True ſo I ſaid, and againe I ſay it. What ſee you amiſſe in it? Then vnhappie men are the godlie* (ſay you) *which are at any time free from the paines of the damned, to what purpoſe is this? I ſpeake of Chriſts ſacrifice. Thus your triumphs before the victorie come to nothing but blaſts of vanitie.*] If I miſtooke your meaning, you are the more beholding to me; the ſenſe, which you now expreſſe, is worſe then that I charged you with; and yet I tooke your words, as they lay, which becauſe they were namely applied neither to Chriſt nor to vs by you, I preſſed you with the leſſer abſurditie of the twaine. Why your words might not be referred to the faithfull, I ſaw no cauſe; Dauid confeſſing that *the* [s] *ſacrifices of God* (he meaneth eſteemed and required of God) *are a troubled ſpirit, and a contrite and broken heart cauſeth the ſacrifice of righteouſneſſe to be accepted.* I ſtrained your words no farder then Dauids, but ſayd you miſconſtrued the wordes of the holy Ghoſt; if you tooke a broken and contrite heart repenting his former ſinnes for the paines of hell ſuffered in the ſoule. You now ſay, you ment this of Chriſt, that his broken and contrite heart feeling the moſt vehement paines of the damned was the onely true, and perfectly accepted ſacrifice to God, and aske me what I ſee amiſſe in this? I will ſoone tell you. Where I would haue charged you with a ſingle error againſt the Godly, by reaſon your wordes are indiſtinct and doubtfull, you loade your ſelfe with a double iniurie againſt God and his Sonne. For firſt the ſacrifice of Chriſtes bodie, by which we are ſanctified, as ſaith the Apoſtle, is excluded from being a true and perfectly accepted ſacrifice, if the paines of hell in his ſoule be onely the true ſacrifice. Secondly a falſe ſacrifice deuiſed by your ſelfe, and neuer offered by Chriſt, is obtruded by you vnto God as the onely true ſacrifice, which he muſt perfectly accept: and ſo where before you blazed an vntrueth, you be now come to bolſter it vp with impietie. For where no Scripture doth witneſſe, that Chriſt ſuffered any ſuch ſorrowes and paines of hell, as you ſurmiſe, you now openly profeſſe, that all ſorrowes and ſacrifices beſides this were neither true nor acceptable vnto God, and that this your deuice ſurpaſſeth all the merits and obedience of Chriſt whatſoeuer.

[r] Defenc. pag. 141. li. 18.

[s] Pſal. 51. v. 17.

[t] *Where Auſten ſeemeth to denie that Chriſtes ſoule might die, he denieth that Chriſt ſuffered any paines of damation locally in hell after his death, as it ſeemeth ſome held about his time, whom heere he Laboureth to confute.*] If your ignorance were not euery where patent, ſome man perhaps would ſtumble at your report: but you are growen to ſuch a trade of outfacing, that almoſt you can doe nothing elſe. That any ſuch opinion was held in Auſtens time, as you talke of, and that he laboured there to confute the ſame, is a maske of your making to hide your owne blemiſhes; Auſten refelleth that as a fable in exact words, when he ſaith, *Quis audeat dicere, who dare ſay ſo?* Now if ſome had ſo held, he muſt haue ſaid, *ſome doe ſay ſo*; but who dare ſay ſo, is as much as no man dareth ſay ſo. If no man durſt ſo to ſay, then no man was ſo wicked or irreligious in Auſtens time as to dare ſay, that Chriſts ſoule died, which now is become the greateſt pillar of your pater noſter. As for ſuffering in hell locally, it is a fiction of yours faſtened to S. Auſten, he hath no ſuch words, and therefore no ſuch meaning.

[t] Defenc. pag. 141. li. 30.

[a] *He had no neceſſary cauſe to ſpeake of the ſecond ſenſe thereof, how the ſoule may be ſayd to ſuffer death extraordinarily for ſinne imputed onely, neither doth he ſpeake againſt that in Chriſt.*] S. Auſten a man would thinke had cauſe to know how we were redeemed by Chriſt, and ſurely if he were ignorant thereof, you would not iudge him worthy to be a Curate in your Conuenticles : but ſhew that he, who taught ſo much, and wrote ſo much (as his works declare) euer ſpake word of your new-found redemption by the paines of hell ſuffered in the ſoule of Chriſt ; or by the ſecond death. Againſt it he often ſpeaketh, when he ſo ſoundly and ſincerely collecteth out of the Scriptures, that Chriſt died for vs the death of the body onely, and not the death of the ſoule. And this how could it be a true or tolerable aſſertion, if the Scriptures did auouch, or the church in his time had profeſſed the death of Chriſts ſoule to be the chiefeſt part of our redemption for ſinne, and reconciliation to God ? Wherefore neuer dreame he had no neceſſarie cauſe to ſpeake of your ſenſe ; if your ſenſe had beene a part of the Chriſtian faith, would any man in his right wits haue asked, as Auſten doth ; *Who dare auouch it ?* He diſcuſſeth the place of S. Peter, and when he commeth to thoſe words, Chriſt *was quickened in the ſpirit*, or by the ſpirit, he reſolueth this cannot be ſpoken of Chriſts humane ſoule, becauſe that, which was afterwards quickened, was firſt mortified, and therefore we could not ſay, that Chriſts humane ſpirit or ſoule was reſtored to life, except we firſt yeelded, that it was before ſubiected to death. Now that Chriſts ſoule was euer dead, *who durſt auouch it ?* The reaſon, why Chriſts ſoule could neuer die, he rendreth thus, for that the Scriptures acknowledge no death of the ſoule in any but *ſin* and *damnation*, to neither of which the ſoule of Chriſt could be ſubiect. [x] *Certè anima Chriſti nullo mortificata peccato, vel damnatione punita eſt, quibus duabus cauſis mors animæ intelligi poteſt. Surely the ſoule of Chriſt was neither dead with any ſin, nor puniſhed with damnation, which are the two waies how the death of the ſoule may be poſſibly vnderſtood.* This collection of S. Auſtins out of the Scriptures touching the death of the ſoule is moſt ſound, and cannot be ſhaken with all your ſhewes and ſhifts, talke of *ordinarie* and *extraordinarie* as long as you will. That ſtanding good, which yet we ſee immooueable for all your battery, it followeth ineuitably, that Chriſt ne did ne could die the death of the ſoule, ne may any man defend it, without apparent falſity and impiety. What proofes you haue profered againſt S. Auſtins concluſion, let the Reader iudge, I muſt confeſſe my ſelfe very blind, if he ſee any ; for I ſee none, and therefore not only S. Auſtins words, but his reaſons out of holy Scripture ſtand firme, and hold you faſt to the grinding ſtone, being no way as yet counteruailed or controled, but with your vaine ſpeaches and moſt vnlearned euaſions.

[a] Defenc. pag. 141. li. 37.

[x] *Auguſt. epiſt. 99.*

[y] *Nay according to Auſtins owne definition of the ſoules dying it will eaſily appeare, that Chriſtes ſoule may be ſaid to haue ſuffered ſome kind of death. Mors eſt ſpiritus, deſeri a Deo. The death of the ſoule ſaith he, is Gods forſaking of it, but the Scripture ſaith, God did forſake him for a ſeaſon : yea the Fathers alſo agree fully thereunto. Therefore by Auſtins definition largely and rightly taken, Chriſt may be ſaid in ſome ſenſe to haue died in ſoule.*] From your ſhifts you returne againe to your proofes, and neither barrell is better herring. The maior you thinke, is Auſtins, the minor is Chriſts owne words, and what, trow you, ſhould hinder the cōcluſion. This reaſon hath but three of your wonted flowers, I muſt not ſay faults, the maior is larger then Auſten euer ment, and the minor no way matcheth it, except you quite alter the words of Chriſt, and the concluſion commeth nothing neere to your purpoſe. Examine them in order. Not euery forſaking of the ſoule is death, for the godly often in the Scriptures complaine (as I haue ſhewed) that they are forſaken of God, when yet their ſoules liue : but as life is repugnant to death, and God is the life of the ſoule, ſo till God haue vtterly forſaken the ſoule, ſhe is not dead. Whiles ſhe retaineth any fellowſhip of grace with God, who is her life, ſhe is not dead, becauſe ſhe partaketh with life. As then death is the vtter priuation of life, ſo God muſt vtterly forſake the ſoule, before ſhe can be pronounced to be dead ; and that kind of forſaking is indeed the death of the ſoule in this life. So that your maior, if euer you will come neere S. Auſtins meaning, muſt be *the*

[y] Defenc pag. 142. li. 2.

death of the soule is Gods vtter forsaking of the same. And that thus you must conster S. Austins words, appeareth *euery where* by his [z] *comparison* with the death of the bodie, which is not dead, till the soule be vtterly departed from it. For as the body which hath in it any power or presence of the soule, is not dead but liuing, so the soule, that hath any communion with God who is her life, can not be truely sayd to be dead, but as yet to haue life. Were you no Diuine, but a plaine Sophister, reason teacheth you so to vnderstand S. Austins words: for where life and death be priuatiues, as well in the soule, as in the bodie, the one hath no place, till the other be vtterly quenched. He is not blinde, that hath any sight; nor deafe that hath any hearing; the priuation vtterly excludeth the habite; neither is the soule dead, that hath any force or effect of life in her, and consequently not euerie forsaking, but onely an vtter forsaking of God is the death of the soule heere in this life.

[z] *In Psal. 70. in Iohan. tract. 47. de verbis Apost. Serm. 30.*

Your minor then should be, that Christes *Soule was vtterly forsaken of God*, which are not the words of Christ on the crosse, nor any way consonant to them: yea the verie entrance to that speech, when Christ saide, *My God, my God*, doth prooue the quite contrarie. [a] *God is not the God of the dead, but of the liuing.* Then directly by the plaine wordes of Scripture, when Christ said, My God, my God, his soule confessing God to be his God, was liuing, and consequently the wordes following, *why hast thou forsaken me, doe not prooue the death of the soule*, vnlesse you make the Sonne of God so vnwise as not to vnderstand, what he said, or so amazed, that he marked not his owne speech; which with you perchance is no absurditie, but with me it is a wicked and vnchristian impietie. Christes wordes therefore import, that he found a kinde of forsaking, but not that his soule was forsaken of the trueth, grace, or spirit of God, these be blasphemies to auouch, and no points of pietie; nor that he was vtterly or altogither forsaken, which onely is the death of the soule. And against this wresting of Christes wordes from their right sense, how many testimonies of scriptures and Fathers haue I formerly brought? all which you trippe ouer with a light foote, and make as though you felt them not. You haue beene told, [b] *the iust shall liue by faith.* So that if Christ wanted not faith, he could not choose but liue in soule. Againe, [c] *God is loue, and he that dwelleth in loue dwelleth in God.* Christ then must either haue *life*, or want *loue*, for the loue of God is the life of the soule. Farder, the *spirit* of God is the [d] *spirit* of *life*, that *quickneth* the soule; yea the *wisedome thereof is life and peace.* Then must you take from Christ the spirit of God with all the gifts and graces thereof, before you can depriue the soule of Christ from life. What an hellish heape of blasphemies are here before you can affirm, that Christs soule was dead according to the Scriptures, & according to Austins meaning, who herein ioineth with the Scriptures. Christ then lyuing in soule with perfect obedience and patience, and assuredly knowing God to be his God, & his *Father*, complaineth that he was left or forsaken, that is, either not deliuered from his troubles & afflictions, but left in sinners hands, to do their pleasure with him; or deuested of his power, and left through weakenesse vnto death, which should for a season seuer his soule from his bodie; or lastly left in this shame of the crosse, & anguish of body, without any open or sensible shew or signe of Gods fauour towards him, or care for him. All these kindes of forsaking the learned and ancient Fathers acknowledge in Christ on the crosse, and other forsaking of the soule they admit none, howsoeuer you falsly pretend their full agreement.

[a] Matth. 22.

[b] Galat. 3.

[c] 1. Iohn 4.

[d] Rom. 8.

Come now to your conclusion, if you could euince that Christes soule was vtterly forsaken of God, and depriued of life, which you can neuer; and to offer it, will conuince you of hainous and wilfull heresie and blasphemie: yet can you conclude no more, but the death of the soule in this life, which is either ignorance or contempt of God; Hell paines you cannot inferre, nor the torments of the damned, which are the second death; and so your great flourish out of Austen for the death of Christes soule is but a feltraw. And the Reader may see, with what vnderstanding and conscience you read and alleage the Fathers, that where you *acknowledge* [e] *they doe denie this phrase generally*, that Christ died in soule, yet you boldly and lewdly affirme the

[e] Defenc. pag. 142. li. 12.

next

next line before, *they* [f] *grant the thing in effect*; as if they denied that in wordes, which indeed they knew to be a part of the Christian faith, and were like you, who shift and lie for life to support your owne Deuices. But in all these shewes of yours the aduised Reader shall finde nothing but a careleſſe and senseleſſe resolution to saie anie thing, rather then to admit a trueth, or to relent from the least of your conceits: whereof he may haue a full proofe in your words next following. [f] li.11.

[g] *Let this be the answer touching all your Fathers and Councels, which you bring abundantly (heere and there) about this point of the soules death.*] A short answer indeede, if it had either trueth or sense in it. It is right a colts tricke when he will not or can not endure the loade, to cast the whole packe off at once. That they generally deny the death of Christes soule, you grant; and with a brazen face, and barren head you adde, they meane otherwise; they deny not the thing, but onely the phrase. What is this, but to suppe vp the trueth with a sadde countenance, and to belch foorth your shame with open mouth? had you examined their places, your shifts, sleights, and vntrueths would haue loaden a carrect; you haue better now prouided for your selfe, with belying them all at once, you haue incurred but one inconuenience. But like is your Defence to your cause, it entred first with aduantage of phrases, and so it will end with a wind-mill of wordes. Well, that the Christian Reader may perceaue, how auncient and vniuersally consented and confirmed by the church of Christ this truth hath beene, which I teach, that Christ died no death for our redemption, but the death of the body onely; to those Fathers, which you say are abundantly brought by me already, I will adde others, that though there be no care nor conscience in you, yet all men, in whom there is any sense, may see your deuice of the death of Christes soule and of hell paines, and the most vehement torments of the damned suffered by him, to be not onely a falsitie repugnant to the Scriptures, but a noueltie against the maine consent and confession of all antiquitie. If their testimonies be long and many, thou wilt beare with me Christian Reader, I hope; the expence of a little paper to me, or paine to thee is not so deare, as the cause it selfe both for thy direction, and for my discharge. First then thou shalt heare, that Christ died in bodie alone, which is my assertion: and withall that Christ died not in soule, which is their conceit, contradicted by all the Fathers; and in the end we will shortly view whether these Fathers crosse their new found redemption in words, or matter. The places I thinke good to repeate in Latine or Greeke, as much as shall need, (which otherwise I refraine of purpose to decrease the volume least it should be too great) that the Reader should neither distrust my translating, nor make long search for the wordes themselues in ech Writer, if happily he desire to see them. [g] Defenc pag. 142.li.16.

Tertullian proouing the resurrection of our bodies by Christs example, saith, [h] *Sine dubio, si mortuum, si sepultum audis secundum scripturas,* NON ALIAS QVAM IN CARNE, *aquæ resuscitatum in carne concedis: ipsum enim quod cecidit in mortem, quod iacuit in sepulchro, hoc & resurrexit, non tam Christus in carne, quàm caro Christi. Without question, if thou heare that* CHRIST DIED *that he was buried, according to the Scriptures* NONE OTHERWISE THEN IN THE FLESH, *thou wilt grant that he was likewise raised in the flesh. For that very thing which fell by death, which lay in the graue, that surely rose, not so much Christ in the flesh as the flesh of Christ.* And in the same place: *Dominus* [i] *quanquam animam circumferret trepidantem vsq; ad mortem, sed non cadentem* PER MORTEM. *The Lord though he caried about a soule fearing vnto death,* YET NOT FALLING BY DEATH. Origen, [k] *By sinne* (saith Paul) *came death, that death no doubt, whereof the Prophet saith, the soule that sinneth, the same shall die, whereof a man may iustly call this bodily death a shadow. For whithersoeuer that pierceth, of force this followeth as a shadow doth the bodie. If a man obiect, that our Sauiour did no sinne, neither was there in him the death of the soule by reason of any sinne, and yet he sustained a corporall death: we will answere him; that where Christ owed this death to none, nor was obnoxious to it, yet for our saluation of his owne accord, and by no necessitie he vndertooke this (so aboue called) shadow* (of death.) [l] *This common death then he did vndergoe, but that death of sinne, which raigned*

[h] *Tertull. de Resurrect. carnis. ca. 48.*

Christ died no death of the soule by the iudgement of all the Fathers.

[i] *Ibidem.*

[k] *Origen. li. 5. in ca. 5. epist. ad Romanos.*

[l] *Ibidem.*

raigned ouer all others, he did not admit. Athanasius: [m] τὶ γὰρ ὅτι τὸ σταυρούμενον ἦν τὸ σῶμα? *What els was that which was crucified, but the bodie* (of Christ?) And againe: *Christs* [n] *resurrection could not be without death.* θάνατος δὲ πῶς ἐγηγέρται, εἰμὴ τὸ ἀποθνῆσκον ἐσχήκει σῶμα? *And how could death haue had place in him, if he had not had a mortall bodie?* And againe: [o] *Death of it selfe could not appeare but in the bodie; and therefore Christ put on a bodie; that finding death in his bodie he might abolish it.* Ambrose; [p] *Who is he that would haue vs partakers of his flesh and blond? Surely the Sonne of God.* Quomodo nisi per carnem particeps factus est noster, aut PER QVAM, NISI CORPORIS MORTEM, *mortis vincula dissoluit?* IN QVO NISI IN CORPORE, *expiauit peccata populi?* IN QVO PASSVS EST, NISI IN CORPORE? *Sicut & supra diximus, Christo secundum carnem passo. How was he made our Partner but by flesh; and by what death, other than the death of his bodie, did he dissolue the bands of death?* WHEREIN, BVT IN HIS BODIE, *did he expiate the sinnes of the people?* WHEREIN, BVT IN HIS BODIE, *did he suffer? As wee sayd before, Christ suffered in the flesh.* Chrysostom:

[m] *Athanas. contra Arianos oratione 3.*
[n] *Ibidem.*
[o] *Idem de incarnat. verbi.*
[p] *Ambros. de fide ad Gratianum. li. 3. ca. 5.*

[q] Διπλοῦν ἡμεῖς ἀποθνήσκομεν τὸν θάνατον. ἐκεῖνον διπλοῦν ἀπεθνήσκομεν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν. ὁ Χριστὸς ἁπλοῦν ἀπέθανε τὸν θάνατον. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἁπλοῦν ἀνέστη ἀνάστασιν. ἀπέθανεν ὁ Ἀδὰμ, καὶ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ ἀπέθανε καὶ τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ καὶ τῇ φύσει. ᾗ γὰρ ἡμέρᾳ φάγητε, φησὶ, ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε. καὶ μὴν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπέθανεν ὁ Ἀδὰμ, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ ἀπέθανε, τῇ δὲ φύσει ὕστερον; ἐκεῖνος ὁ θάνατος τῆς ψυχῆς, ἕτερος ὁ θάνατος τοῦ σώματος. θάνατος δὲ ψυχῆς ὄζιν ἡ ἁμαρτία καὶ κόλασις αἰώνιος. ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἀνῶν διπλοῦς ὄζὶν ὁ θάνατος. ἐχρῆν διπλῆν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν γνώεσθαι δεῖ. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ θάνατος ἁπλοῦς. ὁ γὰρ ἥμαρτεν ὁ Χριστὸς, ἀλλα αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ ἁπλοῦς θάνατος δι' ἡμᾶς γέγονεν. ὁ γὰρ ὤφειλε τὸν θάνατον ἐκεῖνος, ἐφ' ἧν ὠδύνατο τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, διὸ ἐφὴ θανάτῳ. διὰ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνος μὴν ὡς ἀνάδυνος ἀνέστη τὴν ἀνάστασιν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁπλοῦ θανάτου: ἡμεῖς δὲ ὡς ἐπάξιοι διπλοῦν ἀποθανόντες θάνατον διπλῆν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν * ἀναπτάμεθα.

[q] *We died a double death, therefore we must looke for a double resurrection. Christ died but one kind of death, therefore he rose but one kind of resurrection. Adam died body and soule; he died to sinne, and to nature. In what day soeuer ye eat of the tree, said God, ye shall die the death. That very day Adam did not die* (in which he did eat) *but he then died to sinne, and long after to nature. The first is the death of the soule, the other is the death of the body. For the death of the soule is sinne or euerlasting punishment. To vs men there is a double death, and therefore we must haue a double resurrection. To Christ there was but one kinde of death, for he sinned not, and that one kinde of death was for vs. He owed no kind of death, for he was not subiect to sinne, and so not to death. Therefore he as free from sinne rose but one resurrection. We as guiltie of sinne, die a double death, and so must haue a double resurrection.* This Sermon, whence these words are taken, though it be not amongst Chrysostomes printed Volumes, yet besides that it was published in print by FRONTO DVCEVS, it is found in the written Greeke copie of Chrysostom lying in New Colledge Librarie in Oxford, whence these words are taken little differing from the printed copie.

* ἀναπτάμεθα.

[r] *Chrysostom against drunkards, and of the resurrection.*

Out of Augustine though much be sayd, and much more might be; yet thinke I not meet to omit some places as well for the cleerenesse as the rarenesse of them, some of them being sufficiently witnessed vnto vs by others, though they be not found at this day among his printed works. And first of those that are found: [s] *Vtrique rei nostræ, id est, & animæ & corpori medicina & resurrectione opus erat. Mors animæ impietas est, & mors corporis corruptibilitas. Sicut enim anima Deo deserente, sic corpus anima deserente meritur, vnde ille dixit insipiens, hoc exanime. Huic ergo* DVPLAE MORTI NOSTRAE *Saluator impendit* SIMPLAM SVAM, *& ad faciendam vtramq; resuscitationem nostram in Sacramento & exemplo præposuit & proposuit* VNAM SVAM. *Neque enim fuit peccator aut impius, vt ei tanquam spiritu mortuo in interiori homine renouari opus esset: sed Indutus carne mortali,* EA SOLA MORIENS, EA SOLA RESVRGENS, EA SOLA NOBIS *ad vtrumq; concinuit, cùm in ea fieret interioris hominis sacramentum, exterioris exemplum. Either part of vs, that is, both soule and body, needed curing and raising. The death of the soule is impietie, and the death of the bodie corruptibilitie. As the soule dieth when God forsaketh her, so the bodie dieth when the soule forsaketh it, whereupon*

[s] *August. de Trinitate. li. 4 ca. 3.*

the

the one is foolish, the other senseleſſe. To this double death of ours, our Sauiour applied his ſingle death, and to make a double reſurrection in vs, he preferred and propoſed his one kind of death for a Sacrament, and for a Precedent: for he was no ſinner or wicked perſon, that he ſhould need any renewing, as one dead in ſpirit, but putting on mortall fleſh, and dying in that ALONE, *and riſing in that* ALONE, *he fitted that* ALONE *to both our* (deaths) *placing therein a Sacrament for our inward man, and an example for our outward.* So againe: [t] *Senſit mortem* (Chriſtus) *ſicut omnes ſentiunt, qui moriente carne mentibus viuunt, &c. Credo mortuum eſſe filium Dei, illa quæ ſecundum naturam generalis eſt cunctis, non illa, quæ ſpecialis eſt malis.* Chriſt *felt* death, *as all feele it, who dying in the fleſh liue in their ſpirits. I beleeue the Sonne of God died that death, which by Nature is common to all, not that which is proper to euill men.* The words which the ſecond Councell of Hiſpalis doth cite out of S. Auſtins writing againſt Maximinus, are woorth the hearing, though they be not now in his printed works, as many other things are not, which Bede and others alleage out of him: [u] *Vbi reſurgit niſi in eo, quod potuit cadere? Vbi reſurrexit niſi in eo vbi mortuus? Quære mortem in verbo, nunquam eſſe potuit.* QVAERE MORTÆM IN ANIMA, NVNQVAM IBI FVIT. *Quære mortem in carne, planè ibi fuit. Et paulò pòſt, Quid miraris? Nec mortua eſt anima, nec verbum mortuum eſt.* CARO TANTVM MORTVA EST. *Where was Chriſt raiſed, but in that which might fall? Wherein did he riſe, but in that wherein he died? Seeke for death in* (his) *deitie, it could neuer be there. Seeke for death in his* SOVLE, IT NEVER VVAS THERE. *Seeke for death in his fleſh, there was it indeed. And a little after, Why doeſt thou maruell? Neither was Chriſtes ſoule dead, nor his Godhead;* ONLY HIS FLESH DIED. Neither want the ſame words in effect in his printed Sermons: [x] *Hoc ſuſcitabatur quod mriebatur. Nam verbum non eſt mortuum, anima illa non eſt mortua. That was raiſed* (in Chriſt) *which died. The Deitie died not, yea his ſoule died not.* [y] *Quid fecit mors niſi corpus ab anima ſeparauit? in morte ſola caro eſt a Iudæis occiſa. What did death in Chriſt more than ſeuer his bodie from his ſoule? in death his fleſh only was killed of the Iewes.*

[t] *Idem contra Felicianum Arianum, ca. 16. ca. 18.*

[u] *Concilium Hiſpalenſ. 2. ca. 13. ex Auguſt. aduerſus Maximinum.*

[x] *In Iohannem tractat. 47.*

[y] *Ibidem.*

The councell it ſelfe adding of their own faith. [z] *Prophetia quoq; in pſalmis paſſionem Chriſti in carne ſola ſic aſſerit. Foderunt manus meas & pedes meos, dinumerauerunt omnia oſſa mea. Vbi non deitatis, ſed tantum crucifixi corporis iniuria intelligitur. Sola in Chriſto materia carnis mortis fragilitate defuncta ſpem reſurrectionis expectabat. The propheſie in the Pſalmes auouch the paſſion of Chriſt in the fleſh only, when it ſaith they pearced my hands and my feet, and numbred all my bones. Where not the iniurie of his deity but of his body is perceaued in Chriſt the matter only of his fleſh yeelding to the frailty of death expected reſurrection. Petrus quoque Apoſtolus Chriſti ſupplicium ſic prædicat in ſolo corpore conſummatum: qui peccata* (inquit) *noſtra pertulit in corpore ſuo ſuper lignum. Peter alſo the Apoſtle preacheth the paſſion of Chriſt to haue beene performed* ONLY IN HIS BODY, *when he ſaith Chriſt bare our ſinnes in his body on the tree.* And againe [b] *Sola caro crucis exitium ſenſit, ſola caro lanceam pertulit, ſola ſanguine & aqua manauit. Ipſa ſola mortua, ipſa ſola in ſepulchro poſita, ipſa ſola tertio die reſuſcitata. Only the fleſh of Chriſt taſted the ſharpneſſe of the Croſſe, only the fleſh endured the ſpeare; only the fleſh yeelded forth bloud and water. That only died, that only lay in the graue, that* ONLY ROSE AGAINE. And aſſuring themſelues this to be the Chriſtian faith confirmed in the old and new teſtament, they ſay, [c] *Ecce pronunciata eſt paſſio corporis Chriſti ex lege & Prophetis. Cuius quidem fidei veritas tam eſt efficax, vt eam nec tyranni ſua potuerint crudelitate confundere, nec hæreticorum ſubdola circumuentio peſſumdare, nec hypocritarum diminuere fallax ſimulatio. The paſſion of the body of Chriſt is prooued by the law and the Prophets. The trueth of which faith is ſo forcible, that neither tyrants with their crueltie could confound it, nor Heretickes with their crafty deuices euert it, nor Hypocrites with their falſe diſſembling diminiſh it.*

[z] *Concilium Hiſpalenſ. 2. ca. 13*

[b] *Ibidem.*

[c] *Ibidem.*

Theodoret. [d] πῶς ἂν ἐκείνη τὴν φύσιν ἀθάνατον ἔχουσα, καὶ μηδὲ σμικρᾶς ἁμαρτίας ἀξιωθεῖσα κηλῖδα, ἐδέξατο ἂν τὸ θανάτου τοὐγκεντρον; *how could the ſoule* (of our Sauiour) *hauing an immortall nature, and not touched with the leaſt ſpot of ſinne, be poſſibly taken with the hooke of death?* Cyril. [e] εἰ δὲ δὴ νοεῖτο Θεὸς ἐνανθρωπήσας, καὶ σαρκὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ παθῶν, ἀπόχρη πρὸς λύτρωσιν τῶν ἅπαξ ἐφικνεῖσθαι θανάτου. *If we conceaue Chriſt to be God incarnate, and ſuffering*

[d] *Theodoret. Dialogo. 3.*

[e] *Cyril. de recta fide ad Reginas. li. 1.*

ring in his owne flesh, the death of his flesh alone sufficeth for the redemption of the world. Fulgentius.[f] *Quis ignoret Christum nec in diuinitate sed* IN SOLO CORPORE MORTVVM *& sepultum. Who can be ignorant, that Christ was dead and buried, not in his deity, but in his body only. Cum sola caro moreretur, & resuscitaretur in Christo, filius Dei dicitur mortuus. Idem Christus secundum solam carnem mortuus, secundum solam animam ad infernum descendit. When the flesh onely died, and was raised againe in Christ, the Sonne of God is said to haue died. The same Christ died in his flesh onely, and descended into hell in his soule* ONELY. [g] *Moriente carne non solum Dietas, sed nec anima Christi potest ostendi commortua, The flesh dying, not onely the dietie, but the soule of Christ cannot be shewed to haue bene also dead.* The same Father and fifteene other Bishops of Africa make this confession of their faith. [h] *Mors filij Dei quam sola carne suscepit, vtramque in nobis mortem, animæ scilicet carnisq; destruxit. The death of the Sonne of God, which he* SVFFERED IN HIS FLESH ALONE, *destroyed in vs both our deaths, to wit the death of soule & body.* This confession Gregory followed when he said, [i] *Solum pro nobis mortem carnis suscepit. Christ vndertooke for vs the only death of the flesh.* And againe, *comming to vs, who were in the death of spirit and flesh, Christ brought his owne death to vs, and loosed both our deaths. His single death he applied to our double death, and dying vanquished our double death.* Vigius [k] *Secundum proprietatem naturæ, sola caro mortem sensit, sola caro sepulturæ officium habuit. Ergo dicimus dominum iacuisse in sepulchro, sed in sola carne, & Dominum descendisse ad infernum sed in sola anima. According to the propriety of nature, onely the flesh (of Christ) felt death, onely the flesh was buried. Therefore we say the Lord lay in the graue, but in flesh alone, and descended into hell, but in* SOVLE ALONE. Bede treadeth iust in their steps. [l] *Hoc sustinebatur quod moriebatur. Nam verbum mori non potuit, nec anima illa mortua fuit. Caro tantum mortua est, & resurrexit tertia die. That was raised, which died, the Godhead could not die; his soule was not dead, onely his flesh died and rose againe.* And againe, [m] *Veniens ad nos, qui in morte carnis & spiritus eramus, vnam suam, id est, carnis mortem pertulit; & duas nostras absoluit: simplam suam nostræ duplæ contulit, & dulpam nostram subegit. Christ comming to vs that were in death of bodie and spirit, suffered onely one death, that is the death of the flesh, and freed both our deaths: hee applied his one death to our double death, and vanquished them both.* Albinus. [n] *Quid significat morte morieris? duplicem mortem hominis designat, animæ videlicit & corporis. Animæ mors est, dum propter peccatum quodlibet animam deserit Deus. Corporis mors est dum propter necessitatem quamlibet corpus deseritur ab anima. Et hanc duplam Christus sua simpla destruxit. Nam sola carne mortuus est ad tempus, anima vero nunquam, qui nunquam peccauit. What is ment by this, thou shalt die the death? it noteth a double death in man, to wit, of soule and body. The death of the soule is when for any sinne God forsaketh it, the death of the bodie is when for any necessitie the bodie is deprined of the soule. This double death of ours, Christ destroyed with his single death; for hee died onely in flesh for a time, but in soule he neuer died, who neuer sinned.* This continued without change to Bernards time, who saith of Christ, [o] *Ex duabus mortibus nostris, cum altera nobis in culpæ meritum, altera in pœnæ debitum reputaretur, suscipiens pœnam & nesciens culpam, dum sponte &* TANTVM IN CORPORE MORITVR, *& vitam nobis & iustitiam promeretur. Of our two deaths, where one was the desert of sinne, the other the due of punishment, Christs taking our punishment but cleere from sinne, whiles hee dieth willingly and* ONELY IN BODIE, *hee meriteth for vs life and righteousnesse.*

I haue bene the longer good Reader in alleaging these fathers, to assure thee that I deliuer no doctrine touching our redemption; but such as the whole Church of Christ in the best & purest times professed to be principles of the Christian faith; and that in so euident and pertinent manner, that I know not how to lighten or strengthen their wordes. Thou hearest them with one voice affirme, that Christ died not A DOVBLE, but A SINGLE death for vs; which they likewise auouch was the death of HIS BODY ONLY, AND NOT OF HIS SOVLE; and THE DEATH OF THE SOVLE HE DIED NOT. The death of the soule they truely deriue from the Scriptures to be either sinne, or damnation: sinne, by which men are depriued of all grace,

[f] Fulgentius ad Thrasimundum. li. 3. ca. 7.
[g] Idem. ca. 5.
[h] Inter opera fulgentij de incarnatione & gratia Christi ca. 8.
[i] Gregorius in Iob. li. 4. ca. 17.
[k] Vigilius contra Eutychem li. 2. ca. 3.
[l] Beda in ca. 10. Euangelij Iohannis.
[m] Idem Homilia ferie 4. in quadragesima.
[n] Albini questiones in Genesin.
[o] Bernardus ad Milites templi ca. 11.

grace, and so of the life of God: and damnation, which is a perpetuall reiection from all blisse, addicting the wicked to eternall and intollerable miserie in the torments of hell fire. Which of these things will this dreamer denie? will he say, that Christ died moe deaths then ONE, and as well the death of the soule, as of the bodie? So he must say, if he will vphold his new redemption by the death of Christs soule, and so he doth say: but whether there in he crosse not the full consent of Christs whole Church, I leaue it to thy censure. Will he shift, as hee hath hitherto done, with the name of flesh, that it compriseth as well the soule as the bodie, and therefore by the death of Christs flesh onely, the Fathers doe not exclude the death of Christs soule, but the death of his Godhead? they prooue indeed against the Arians, that the Sonne of God could not die in his Diuine nature, but onely in his humane flesh. And this, as we now see, is one of their maine reasons: The soule of Christ died not, nor coulde die; much lesse then his Godhead. And therefore the most of them do expresse that argument, vtterly denying that Christes soule died any kinde of death, but onely his flesh. Besides a number of them not onely expresse by circumstances and consequents *of burying and rising againe*, what the rest meane by the flesh, but they vse the word *body*, which can not be taken for the soule, and with like zeale and truth auouch, that Christ died in his body onely. So that these three stand for cleere and sounde conclusions with all these Fathers: First, that Christ died BVT ONE KIND of death. Secondly, that HE DIED ONELY IN HIS FLESH, OR BODY; and thirdly, that THE DEATH OF THE SOVLE HE NEITHER DID, NOR COVLD DIE.

Will hee shuffle with the name of death, and say they ment not his kind of death? that will nothing relieue him. For first if Christ died but *one kinde* of death; and of his bodily death no Christian may so much as doubt, then by maine consequent out of their wordes, Christ died no death of the soule, let him take it how and which way he will. Againe, if Christ DIED ONELY IN BODY, as they likewise witnesse, then apparantly he died not any death of the soule, neither in your sense Sir Defenser nor in theirs. Lastly, what death of the soule can you shew mentioned in the Scriptures without the compasse of their diuision, that is, which is not sinne, or damnation? Of sinne the Apostles wordes are plaine. [p] *Sinne seduced me, and slew me; sinne reuiued, and I died*; as likewise that [q] *we were dead in (our) sinnes*. This death men liuing may die, as the Apostle saith of wanton widowes, [r] *liuing she is dead*; and of *all the Gentils* [s] *walking in the vanitie of their minde, they are strangers from the life of God, through the ignorance that is in them, because of the hardnesse of their heart, who being past feeling haue giuen themselues to worke all vncleannesse euen with greedinesse*. Where the *hardnesse* of mans *heart*, voide of all feeling or sense of God, and so running on in all wickednesse, is by the Apostle defined to be the death of the soule which is a depriuing or estranging from the life of God. The second death, as I before haue shewed, is the *lake burning with fire and brimstone*, into which the diuell and all the wicked shall be cast. Shew now a third death of the soule not in your extraordinarie fansie and folly, but in the word of God; to which these Fathers proportion their speeches. If there be no such thing there, then directly, earnestly, and truely do these Fathers auouch, that Christ died no death of the soule.

[p] Rom. 7.
[q] Ephes. 2. Coloss. 2.
[r] 1. Tim. 5.
[s] Ephes. 4.

Of Fathers it may be your Mastership maketh small account, and will not sticke in the high perswasion of your great and deepe learning to reiect them all, as ignorant of the principles of their faith, and so fitter to be taught then to teach: but that proud peeuishnesse (to giue it no worse words) I leaue to the sober to censure: for an vpshot the Reader shall haue a cleere conclusion out of the sacred Scriptures, that the soule of Christ neuer was, nor could be dead; and consequently that these learned and ancient Fathers deliuered sound and true doctrine touching the soule of Christ, and fully build their assertions on the maine foundations of the Diuine Scriptures. It is euident by nature, sense, and trueth, that priuatiues can not concurre at one and the same time, in one and the same subiect. For the one expelleth the other, and so can not

The soule of Christ liuing by grace, could no way be dead.

not be found both together. Yea ſince the one of them cleerely remooueth the other, they can no more ſtand together, then may contradiction. For that which liueth, is not dead; and that which is dead, liueth not. I meane alwaies the ſame time, and the ſame part. But the ſoule of Chriſt by the manifeſt and manifold teſtimonies of holie Scripture did alwaies liue in the fulneſſe of *faith, of hope, of loue, of grace, of trueth, of ſpirit.* It is euident therefore that the ſoule of Chriſt neuer died, nor could die. Which of theſe aſſertions will you encounter? that Chriſtes ſoule may be aliue and dead both at one time? You would ſeeme the leafe before, to ſhunne the ſhame of [t] *this abſurditie, that Chriſtes ſoule died and died not:* will you now come plainely and groſſely to it by auouching that Chriſtes ſoule was at one and the ſame time LIVING AND NOT LIVING, DEAD AND NOT DEAD, that is both ALIVE AND DEAD? If you doe, there is no man in England that hath either eies or eares to ſee or heare, but he will reprooue you for a manifeſt beliar of his ſenſe, as well as of Chriſts ſoule. Will you ſmoothly ſet your ſelfe to one ſide, and ſay that Chriſts ſoule was not aliue? ſo many parts of life, as I haue named in the ſoule of Chriſt, ſo many pregnant proofes are there in holy Scripture that Chriſtes ſoule was not onely liuing, but as full of life as of grace during the whole time of his paſsion. Neither is there any one of thoſe things named by mee concerning the life of Chriſtes ſoule, which you can take from Chriſt without apparent blaſphemie. For if you depriue him of *faith, hope, loue, grace, trueth, or the ſpirit* of God; you leaue him in *Infidelitie, deſperation, hatred of God, reprobation, falſhood,* and make him no way the Sonne of God, ſince they onely are the ſonnes of God, who are ledde by the ſpirit of God. Now what ſhamefull and impious enormities theſe are, you can eaſily coniecture. So that of force you muſt confeſſe the ſoule of Chriſt to be liuing, and endued with all theſe parts and powers of the life of God, or elſe you muſt profeſſe your ſelfe to be nothing leſſe then a Chriſtian. And euen the praiers which he made and obedience which he ſhewed in all and euerie his conflicts and agonies, prooue his ſoule not onely to liue, but to reſt aſſuredly on the fauour and loue of God towards him, which are no fruites nor effects of the death of the ſoule, but exactly the conrrarie.

[t] Defenc. pag. 140. li. 25.

Yet paine you thinke Chriſt might all this while ſuffer, and that moſt extreame; which you call the death of the ſoule.] Your calling ſweete ſower, good badde; light darkneſſe, and life death; changeth not the natures of the things, but conuinceth your owne ignorant and wilfull headineſſe. You muſt call things in Chriſt, not as pleaſeth your fanſie, but as the word of God directeth; and by witneſſe thereof ſhall you neuer be able to proue, that Chriſts ſoule was dead; ſince thence ſo many ſure demonſtrations may be brought, that Chriſts ſoule was alwaies [a] *full of truth and grace,* and of the *Holy Ghoſt,* not only in a greater abundance then either man or Angel hath, or can haue, but aboue all *meaſure.* And in this ſtate if we ſhould imagine with you, that Chriſts ſoule ſuffred the greateſt ſenſe of torments that any creature can feele, yet this doth not inferre Chriſts ſoule to be dead, but expreſſely the contrary, ſince all paine, yea if it were poſsible, paine equall with hell it ſelfe ſuffered in this life with obedience and patience, (ſuch as all Chriſts ſufferings were, except you will wrappe him as well within ſinning as ſuffering) doth conuince the ſoule of Chriſt to be rather liuing then dead; as the martyrs of Chriſt had their ſoules then moſt liuing in their greateſt torments, when force of intolerable paine excluded their ſpirits from their bodies. And therefore I doe not a little maruaile how lightly you leape to determine and defend the death of Chriſts ſoule, ſince all paine endured with patience, obedience, and confidence, prooueth the ſoule to be moſt aliue to God-ward, euen when ſhe departeth, as not able to ſuſtaine the fury and violence of the torment encreaſing. And heerein appeareth your notable error in calling that the death of Chriſts ſoule, which the Scripture calleth *his obedience and victory.* For he was [y] *obedient to the death, euen the death of the Croſſe*; that is, in all his ſufferings vnto the end: he [z] *ouercame, and ſate with his Father in his Throne,* as we *ouercomming ſhall ſit with Chriſt in his Throne.* And other conqueſt in our conflicts there is none, then conſtant reſiſting all temptations, and

[a] Iohn 1.
[a] Iohn 3.

The ſoule of Chriſt in her greateſt paines did moſt ſhew the life of patience and obedience to God.

[y] Phil. 2.
[z] Reuel. 3.

and patient enduring all afflictions, which Christ did before vs, and we must after him by his example, both which are most euident signes & effects of the life and strength of the soule. To beleeue, and loue God, to hope in him, and call on him in prosperity, declareth the soule to be liuing; but in aduersity and extreamity to continue and encrease those ducties of piety; are as forcible powers and parts of the life of the soule, as the Scripture maketh any. Wherefore it is a grosse ouersight in you to call that the death of the soule, which the Scripture maketh the life of the soule, and to pronounce Christs soule to be dead in those respects, which the word of God teacheth to be the chiefest proofes of the life of the soule.

If you slide from the sense of absolute and inherent paine to the feare and horror of dereliction and desperation in the soule of Christ (for you role at your pleasure from one to another, and are constant in nothing, but in generall and doubtfull speaches, as were the first authors of this conceit;) and make that the death of the soule; then know you that these temptations kill not the soule, till they plant infidelity and desperation in the soule of man; from which I trust you will cleere Christ, or els I must aske what difference betwixt you and a Turke. For the Iewes were not so wicked, as to take from Christ his trust in God, they said of him, as he hung on the Crosse, [a] *he trusteth in God*, but they thought God had failed him in suffering him to come to that cursed kind of death, wherein they knew not the wisedome or power of God. But no Christian can be excused by ignorance, if he *diminish the faith, hope, loue, patience or obedience* of Christ in all his sufferings; and those not decreasing, it was no way possible for the soule of Christ to be but liuing, yea full of life & grace, how great soeuer the paines were, which he endured, or the temptations which he resisted. So that both fathers and Scriptures persue you narrowly to this straight, that Christes soule must either alwaies liue, and so your doctrine is vtterly false, which auoucheth the death of Christs soule to be the ground of our redemption; or if it died, it must die with sinne, since without sinne there is no death of the soule; and all paines and torments, that are possible in this life, if they be suffered with obedience and patience, doe rather demonstrate the life, then confirme the death of the soule, euen in the person of Christ Iesus.

No temptations without desparation kill the soule.

[a] Matth. 27.

[b] *But our authorised Catechisme published by master Nowel and the homily sheweth that Christ suffered farre more sharpely then meere bodily death*, euen the *infinite paines of Gods wrath in his soule: which I pointed you vnto before, but you fairely leape it ouer.*] You belie the one, and confute the other; and then charge me with leaping them both ouer. The homily which indeed is authorised, hath no such thing, as you report; the Catechisme, which is only approoued to be taught to children in schooles, hath more then you any way like or receaue, and yet not that, which you now defend. The sorow and paine, which the Catechisme supposeth in Christs soule, was the *feare and horror of eternall death*; that you not only refuse in plaine words, but refell with many reasons, as you thinke. The like you doe for Christs descent to hell, which the Catechisme confesseth to be, not the presence of Christs soule in Paradise, but an *effectuall force thereof* in hell, whereby the soules of *the faithlesse saw their damnation to be iust, and the Diuel himselfe perceaued all his power to be destroyed and ouerthrowen.* If you regard the Catechisme so highly as you pretend, why slippe you from it in these or other points at your pleasure? why obtrude you that to others as authorised, which your selfe doe not admit? indeed some men haue of late yeeres inclined to vehement and violent temptations offered to the soule of Christ in his sufferings, and some to feares and horrors euen of eternall death, as master Caluin, and the Catechisme, which you cite; but if you may be suffered to shrincke from them at your liking, neuer blame me, if I doe not preferre them before all these fathers. Howbeit to speake vprightly without wronging them, I doe not see, that either the Catechisme or master Caluin doe expressely defend the death of Christs soule, or the second death, but only the feare and horror, not of a temporall hell, as you haue distilled their infusion, but of eternall death; which you with might and maine reiect. And surely if they did contradict

[b] Defenc. pag. 142. li. 24.

the

the confession of all these fathers, I would adhere to the primatiue church of Christ in matters of faith, rather then to the deuices of late writers dissenting from themselues and others. But touching the death of Christes soule I see no cause to depart from them, since they define no such thing, and therefore they are idlely alleadged by you euen as the rest are by you proudly neglected. And till you leaue this contemning of ancient Fathers, and straining of later writers beyond their meaning, I for my part thinke you worthie of no charge in the church of Christ, neither of that you had, wherein you sowed as much cockle as corne, nor of that you may haue, except you change your mind; and learne to teach nothing to the people of God, but what is warranted by the word of God.

[a] Defenc. pag. 142. li. 36. *'You say I should haue donne well to haue laied downe for a shew, which is written in Esay he laied downe his soule vnto death; Verily if I had, it would haue made some shew.*] I said indeed the Prophet Esay would make a better shew for the death of Christs soule, then the Poet Terence, whom only you produced for proofe thereof: but such was then and still is your presumption, that on your bare word you will pronounce, what best pleaseth your fansie. Howbeit the words of Esay are but a shew for the death of Christes soule, since they exactly declare his bodily death to be the redemption of mankind. For when the soule in the Hebrew tongue, and in the old Testament is said to die, either by the soule are ment the vegetatiue and sensitiue powers of the soule, whereby the spirit of man is vnited to his body, and which are quenched by death; or by death is ment the distraction of the soule from the body, which violence of death is common as well to the soule thrust from her body, as to the body left without a soule. That signification of the word soule the Apostle sheweth, when he praieth, the [d] *whole spirit, and soule, and body* of the faithfull *may be kept blamelesse vnto the comming of Christ*, and saith [e] *The word of God pearceth to the diuiding asunder of the soule, and the spirit*: And this sense of the word *death* the Scriptures expresse, when they often mention, that the soules of the godly doe, or would die. When Iosephs brethren would haue slaine him, Ruben said vnto them; [f] *Let vs not strike him in the soule*, that is, let vs not kill him. So Balaam seeing the glory of Gods people, said, [g] *Let my soule die the death of the Righteous, and mine end be like his*: that is, *Let my soule depart in peace* as the Righteous doe. And least any thinke, that Balaam spake he knew not what, Sampson willing to end his life with reuenge of the dishonour done to God by the Philistines insulting at his bonds and blindnesse, when he pulled the house on his and their heades, said, [h] *Let my soule die with the Philistines*. So Elias wearie of his life, [i] *desired for his soule to die*, saying *Lord take my soule*; he ment from his body. So Moses comparing a rape with murder, saith. [k] *This is as if a man should fall vpon his fellow, and kill him in the soule*. And so Ieremie to Ierusalem, [l] *In thy bosome is found the bloud of the soules of the poore innocents*. Infinite places are there in the Scripture to like effect. All which declare, that the soule of man feeleth the death of the body by her departing from it; and that the Prophet Esay, when he said of Christ, *He* [m] *powred forth his soule vnto death*, Had no meaning but to describe Christs bodily death, in which the soule is powred out from the body, that is, wholy separated from it. The very phrase of powring forth the soule, which must needes be from the body, sheweth that the Prophet directly described the death of Christs body, by which the soule is emptied and powred out of the body, as out of a vessel replenished with it. So that heere you haue as much hold for the death of Christs soule, as you had before, which is vtterly none.

[d] 1. Thess. 5.
[e] Hebr. 4.
[f] Genes. 37. vers. 21.
[g] Numb. 23. vers. 10.
[h] Iudg. 16. vers. 30.
[i] 1. Kings. 19. vers. 4.
[k] Deuter. 22. vers. 26.
[l] Iere 2. v 34.
[m] Esa. 53. v. 12.

[n] Defenc. pag. 143. li. 1. *You earnestly affirme that this word signifieth soule or spirit in a proper sense. Also how resolute are you forbidding to diuert from the native and proper significations of words, but when the letter impugneth the grounds of Christian faith and charity.*] In the Page; 167. which you quote, I neither spake of this place, nor of this word; and therefore your considering cappe was not on, when you so much mistooke my words. I know Nephesh is applied as well to beasts, who haue no soules, as to bodies once liuing, but then dead. And therefore of Nephesh I affirmed no such thing: of S. Lukes words repeating

repeating Dauids, and exactly diſtinguiſhing the ſoule from the fleſh in Chriſt, I did indeed auouch, and ſtill doe, that we muſt not raſhly depart from the proper ſignifications of that and other words in the Scripture, except the letter breed ſome inconuenience to faith or good-maners. But what is that to this place, where though the word Nepheſh be granted properly to import the ſoule, yet the reſt ſheweth it to be referred to the death of the body, becauſe the ſoule is powred forth of the body by the death thereof, where before it was conteined and incloſed.

° *The rather if we note that which followeth: he was counted with ſinners; that is he was puniſhed by God as ſinners are puniſhed, and not by the Iewes only counted among Theeues.*] You take vpon you to controle both the Prophet and the Euangeliſt; who refer this miſiudging of Chriſt to men, & not to God. Eſay ſaith, ᵖ *We did iudge him as plagued, and ſmitten of God, but he was wounded for our tranſgreſſions.* And S. Marke, when the Iewes had crucified Chriſt amidſt two theeues, ſaith; ᵠ *Thus the Scripture was fulfilled, which ſaith he was counted among the wicked:* Thereby noting their errour, not Chriſts deſert. Beſides it is ſomewhat ſaucily ſaid, that Chriſt was accounted wicked in the righteous iudgement of God, & not by the malitious error of the Iewes. Such pleaſure you take againſt both Scriptures and Fathers to auouch what you liſt, yea though it draw with it an iniurious ſlander to the ſonne of God. The words of the Prophet, *he* ʳ *made his graue with the wicked*, compared with thoſe that folow, *though he did no wickedneſſe*; clearely conuince, that Chriſt was an innocent, though he were counted and vſed with malefactours; and that the Prophet neuer ment to correct Gods iudgement as corrupt, but to ſhew the wiſedome and goodneſſe of God, deliuering his Sonne to be eſteemed and vſed as wicked by the wicked, and not by himſelfe. Howbeit there is no neceſsity to referre theſe words to the perſon of God the Father, but they more fittely expreſſe the humility of Chriſt himſelfe, who *made his graue*, that is, was content to die in the midſt of two Theeues, and to be buried as they were, conſidering the coherence with the words precedent; which out of all queſtion muſt be vnderſtood of Chriſt himſelfe. For thus they ſtand. ˢ *He was cut out of the land of the liuing, he was plagued for the tranſgreſſion of my people.* ᵗ *He made his graue with the wicked* Where no reaſon forceth any change of perſons; and ſo the ſame perſon of Chriſt, who was cut from the land of the liuing, *made his graue with the wicked.*

° Defenc. pag. 143. li. 15.

ᵖ Eſa. 53. v. 4.

ᵠ Mark. 15. verſ. 28.

ʳ verſ. 9.

ˢ verſ. 8.

ᵗ verſ. 9.

ᵘ *But chiefly conſidering withall, that alſo before he made his ſoule a ſinne offering. Therefore you muſt needs graunt, that Gods word maketh Chriſts ſoule to be ſacrificed for our ſinne. And we deſire no other death of the ſoule.*] It is maruaile you doe not out of this place inferre, that Chriſts ſoule was *made ſinne*, for the words are, *when he ſhall make his ſoule ſinne.* But an offering for ſinne is the vſuall ſignification of that word in the Scriptures, and therefore you did well in confeſsing ſo much, to ſaue me that labour. Chriſt then made his ſoule an offering for ſinne; what deduce you out of thoſe words? [*we deſire no other death of the ſoule.*] In faith you be a ſillie ſacrificer, that know not a dead ſoule to be no ſacrifice for ſinne. A dead ſoule is void of all things, which ſhould pleaſe God; and ſo can be no ſacrifice accepted for ſinne. ˣ *A troubled ſpirit* (ſorrowing for ſinne) *is a ſacrifice to God*, ſaith Dauid. But doth repentance kill or quicken the ſoule? *God* ʸ *giueth repentance vnto life*, that is, he raiſeth the ſoule firſt dead in ſinne, by repentance vnto life. ᶻ *Worldly ſorrow cauſeth death, but Godly ſorrow cauſeth repentance vnto ſaluation.* Now ſaluation is not the death, but life of the ſoule. ᵃ *Without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe God.* And the ſacrifice, that ſhall aboliſh ſinne, muſt needs pleaſe God. It muſt then not want faith, *by which the righteous liue.* Wherefore by your leaue I make the cleane contrarie concluſion out of thoſe wordes. The ſoule of Chriſt was a ſacrifice for ſinne; but a dead ſoule is no ſacrfice for ſinne; the ſoule of Chriſt therefore was not dead. [Without death, you will ſay, there is no redemption for ſinne.] Without bloud, which noteth the death of the bodie, there is no redemption for ſinne; but the ſoule, I truſt, hath no bloud to be ſhed. And ſo much the bodies of beaſts offered, did prefigure, I meane the death of the bodie but not of the ſoule. Willing obedience, conſtant patience, and aſſured confidence in the ſoule of Chriſt ſubmitting

ᵘ Defenc. pag. 143. li. 11.

A dead ſoule is no ſacrifice for ſinne.

ˣ Pſal. 51.

ʸ Acts 11.

ᶻ 2. Cor 7.

ᵃ Hebr. 11.

mitting it selfe to the counsell and will of his Father, was the spirituall and inward sacrifice, which Christ ioyned with the externall and bloudie sacrifice of his bodie. For hauing two parts, as all men haue, a soule and a bodie; neither part might be withdrawen from this sacrifice; but his bodie must be yeelded vnto death, and his soule must yeeld her selfe pure, vndefiled, and void of all spot, yet feeling and enduring withall meekenesse and humblenesse of heart, the paine of death separating her from her bodie. And graunt the soule were heere taken for life, what so great improper or vnused speach is that, since the soule is truely and properly the life of the body.

[b] Defenc. pag. 143. li. 16. [b] *We denie not but this phrase, Animam ponere, is to lay downe the life, and in diuers places signifieth no more then simply to die, both concerning Christ and other men: yet this is no necessarie reason that heere in I say the soule should be taken figuratiuely for the life onely; the rather seeing heere the text precisely setteth downe the great worke of our redemption, and to take it as we doe literally, impugneth no ground at all of faith or charitie.*] The words to lay downe or power forth the soule import as you confesse, not the death of the soule, but the death of the bodie. And since in the words of Esai, Christ powred forth his soule vnto death, there can by no learning bee more concluded out of that place, but that Christ willingly layd downe his soule to depart from that bodie, which is no way the death of the soule, as you fansie, but a plaine description of the death of Christs body. And where for your pleasure you will take it litterally, that is no proofe for the death of Christs soule, because the word soule may bee properly taken, when it is powred forth of the bodie by death; but it noteth a willing submission to death, where otherwise our soules are taken from vs, or we loose them whether we will or no, when we are left or put to death against our wils.

[c] Defenc. pag. 143. li. 27. [c] *Austen hath not a word against vs, in that great place which you cite, his whole argument being to an other purpose.*] Austins wordes in that place be pregnant against you for all your dissembling. [d] *Augustin. in Iohannem tract. 47.* [d] *Quid fecit passio, quid fecit mors, nisi corpus ab anima separauit? What did* (Christs) *passion, what did death, but separate* (his) *bodie from his soule?* If the death and pasion of Christ did nothing but separate Christs soule from his body; then neither Christs death nor pasion preuailed to the death of his soule. And if his soule were not touched by death, then was it neuer dead: and so much Saint Austen witnesseth in the very same tractate. [e] Ibidem. [e] *Verbum non est mortuum, anima illa non est mortua. The word died not, the soule* (of Christ) *died not.* And therefore the death of Christ, which the Scriptures euery where note, was the breathing of his soule out of his body, & not the separating of his soule from God, as you would haue it. Austins purpose in that place you little conceiue, if you make him haue but one purpose. As occasion serued he taught many things pertinent & incident to his text, which was large, euen from the 10. verse vnto the 20. of that [f] Chapter: And these words, *I lay downe my soule for my sheepe*, being part of his text, he had iust occasion to treate, what death Christ died for his sheepe, which was neither the death of his diety, nor the death of his soule, but only the separating of his soule from his bodie, if this make not against you, you haue good lucke, that nothing will reach you: his words refute the foolish error, which you would establish, that by the Scriptures Christ may be said to haue died the death of the soule, as well as the death of the bodie, which Austen expresely contradicteth, auouching the one, and denying the other, in as plaine speach, as any wise man can require.

[f] Iohn 10.

[g] Defenc. pag. 143. li. 34. [g] *All your other discourse heere against me is almost nothing but reuilings and reproches and bitter skoffes. Yet you say you haue not learned nor vsed to giue reuiling speaches. Haue you not learned it? is it then naturall vnto you? Nay you meane these are fatherly warnings and admonitions. If your fatherly admonitions are such, what are your Lordly rebukes? If these be your bishoply blessings, what are your cursings?*] What my discourse is against you, must bee left neither to your censure nor mine, but to the Readers. If I called your conclusions bold and foolish, shewing neither learning nor wit; but sauouring onely of the vanitie of your owne conceits, the trueth forced me so to doe, which I might not betray. When you reiected the iudgements and expositions of the fathers one after an other, as [h] *fond and absurd, void of sense, reason, and likelihood; yea most absurd,*

Here your defendour is somwhat pleasurable.

[h] Trea. pa. 69. li. 67. 68.

ſurd, and too fond to be ſpoken; and trampled on their names & credits, as you would on nutſhels, affirming [i] *It is onely the Fathers abuſiue ſpeaking and altering the vſuall and ancient ſenſe of words, that bred this error; their vnapt and perillous tranſlating, that confirmed the ſame; and that is a thing too rife with the Fathers, yea with ſome of the auncienteſt of them, to alter and change the Authentike vſe of wordes, whereby it is eaſie for errors and groſſe miſtakings to creepe in*; is, or ought any good man to be ſo patient, or rather negligent as to heare a parrat thus prate againſt the whole Church of Chriſt in her beſt times next after the Apoſtles, and not onely to ſpare his folly, but to reuerence his pride? For my part I muſt confeſſe, I tooke my ſelfe bound in duety to yeeld him no more regard, then he deſerued, that thus ſought to blaze his errors with contempt of all men ſaue of himſelfe. If therefore your abſurd poſitions and proofes, S. Treatiſer, did not iuſtly prouoke theſe replies, which I made, in the opinion of any wiſe and Chriſtian Reader, I crie your mercie; but if you thinke me to blame for not taking you to be ſome Patriarke of Vtopia, becauſe you can ſcoffe and mocke as well at Biſhops, as at fathers, Salomon aduiſeth me to anſwere ſome men according to their merits, [k] *leaſt they ſeeme wiſe in their owne eyes*. Your Mockes I remit to your ſelfe, I am as readie to beare them for the trueth, as you to giue them. Howbeit you wanted colours in your coate, when you made ſuch paſtime with the bleſsing of Biſhops; and pepper in your porrage, when I taking learned for skilfull, (which is not ſtrange to any ſaue to you, whoſe skill is void of all good learning) you would needs make your ſelfe ſuch mirth, that railing muſt be *naturall* to me, becauſe I was not *learned* or expert therein. I wiſh theſe were the worſt of your toyes, and then my ſufferance ſhould quiet the whole.

[i] Ibid. pa. 95. 96.

[k] Prou. 26.

[l] *Finally that is not true, where you ſay, the fleſh doth often ſignifie the ſoule in vs.*] Is it ignorance or malice which driueth you to this waywardneſſe, to auouch you know not, or care not what, ſo you ſeeme to croſſe that I ſay? better learned then you, or I, obſerued that before me, which you affirme to be falſe. Auſten ſaith, [m] *Anima cum carnalia bona adhuc appetit, caro nominatur. The ſoule, ſo long as it affecteth fleſhly things, is called fleſh.* And Ambroſe. [n] *Caro aliquando corpus intelligitur, vel ipſa anima ſequens corporea vitia. The fleſh is ſometimes vnderſtoode to be the bodie of man, or the ſoule it ſelfe addicted to corporall vices.* And Ierom. [o] *Anima inter carnem ſpiritumque conſiſtens, quando ſe tradiderit carni, caro dicitur. The ſoule conſiſting betweene the fleſh and the ſpirit, when it yeeldeth it ſelfe to the fleſh, is called fleſh.* And leaſt you clamour againſt theſe Fathers, as your Treatiſe doth, that they change the authentike vſe of words, heare what Zanchius a man of good iudgement, though a late writer, ſaith thereof. [p] *Fleſh and bloud reuealed not this vnto thee, ſaith Chriſt to Peter. The mind of man he calleth fleſh and bloud: why ſo? becauſe it is wholy corrupted by the fleſh, ſo that it ſauoureth nothing but fleſh.* How thinke you Sir, is it true or falſe which I ſayd, that the ſoule is often called fleſh becauſe of her corruption, as well as the bodie?

[l] Defenc. pag. 144. li. 8.

[m] *Auguſt. de fide & Symbolo ca. 10.*

[n] *Ambroſ. in 6. ca. epiſt. ad Romanos.*

[o] *Hiero. in 5. ca. epiſt. ad Galat.*

[p] *Zanchij tract. Theologica de peccato originali Theſ. 6.*

[q] *Heere I deſire the Reader to change a worde or two in my former Treatiſe: for alwaies to ſet vſually, and for a Man to ſet Chriſt. Becauſe ſince I finde that fleſh and ſpirit together applied to men doe once (2. Corinth. 7. verſ. 1.) ſignifie meerely the body and ſoule. Which then I thought euery where did ſignifie in vs our corrupt and regenerate man. Which ouerſight the Biſhop ſpieth not, but in this place confirmeth.* The Biſhop, that profeſſed hee found fewe true ſentences in your Treatiſe, had neither will nor leaſure to traduce them all; but obſeruing your errors in doctrine, remitted this and many other ouerſights as not preiudicing the maine point in queſtion. As for his confirming it, that is one of your vſuall verities, who by the defending of falſhood haue gotten you ſuch an habite, that you can ſcant ſee or ſpeake a trueth, when it toucheth but the skirts of your cauſe. And how come you now to put ſo great a difference betwixt *alwaies and vſually*, where before you did interpret *alwaies* to be *ordinarily*? but now you *finde fleſh and ſpirit together applied to men once to ſignifie meerely the body and ſoule*. Meane you in all the Scriptures, or in the new Teſtament onely? You call it the [r] *perpetuall vſe of the Scripture*, and ſo muſt include the old Teſtament as well as the new, except you will

[q] Defenc. pag. 144. li. 12.

[r] Treatiſ. pag. 136. li. 8.

will barre the old from being part of the Scripture. What then shall become of that,
f Numb. 16. & 27. which Moses so often ascribeth to God, when he saith: f *O God, the God of the spirits of all flesh.* Praieth he for the spirits of men, or of beastes? If you will straighten your wordes to the new Testament, how insolent a bragger, and negligent a Reader of the Scripture are you; that first said it was *alwaies* so, and now correcting your error say you finde it once otherwise, where a childe might easily haue found it oftner. The
g 1. Cor. 5. Apostle decreed the Offender at Corinth *to be* g *deliuered vnto Sathan, for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be saued in the day of the Lord.* And to the Hebrewes
h Heb. 12. he telleth vs, h *We had fathers of our flesh, which corrected vs, and we reuerenced them. Should we not much more be subiect to the Father of spirits?* In both which places the spirit of force must signifie the substance of mans soule.

i Defenc. pag. 144. li. 19. i *Finally to make an end with your Fathers and Councels, I haue shewed before that your large claime prooueth a very short gaine. For in substance and full effect they are euidently and generally against you and for vs.* If thou thinke Christian Reader, that I charge this man vniustly with impudent facing, behold but these wordes, and say what thou thinkest of them. He that hath not brought, nor can not bring one euident or pertinent word out of any Father for the death of Christes soule; he yelleth out with open throate, that *generally and euidently they are in substance and full effect for him and against me.* It is no time heere to repeat, what is past; by that which is said, thou maist easily iudge, on which side the Fathers stand with full confession of the trueth and
k li. 24. their faith. Bragging is boies play, where all performance wanteth. k [*As for their denying that Christ died in his soule, I haue answered before.*] With senseless and shamefull shifts, that Christes soule died not as the body did, that he died not the ordinary death of the soule expressed in the Scriptures, but an extraordinary newly deuised by your selfe; and more then this in summe and substance you haue not said one word.
l li. 25. l [*Further where you bring them in many places saying by his bloud onely he redeemed vs, and he suffered onely in his body, they are abused by you woonderfully, not in their wordes but in their meaning.*] You would faine change *dying* into *suffering*, and haue your Reader imagine, that I say Christes soule suffered nothing at all; but these are now so stale tricks of yours, that euery man reiecteth them as fast as I doe. From *death* you flie to sufferings, from sufferings to proper *sufferings of the soule*, to which you adde as a suppluſſage, *the paines of the damned from the immediate hand of God.* And so where you finde any Father affirme that Christ GRIEVED, FEARED OR SORROWED in soule, which are the naturall passions of mans soule common to good and badde, you looke no farder, but presently pronounce that Father maketh euidently with you. But awake out of this ignorant lethargie, there be many steps betweene their words and your wiles, which you will neuer tread ouer with any the least shew of truth or proofe. If I haue not abused their wordes in alleaging them, as you confesse, and I assure my selfe, I haue not, but where the Printer perchance hath made some fault, which no man can auoid, (as pag. 81. *August. de Trinitate li.* 11. the Printer hath set for lib. 13. and some such) then haue I lesse abused their meaning; whereof I make euerie Reader iudge, and so referre my collecting to their censuring, which is no abuse.

m Defenc. pag. 144. li. 28. m *They striuing against Arians and such other heretikes, who would haue Christs Deitie to take part in his sufferings for our redemption; the godly auncient writers doe heereupon say, he suffered and satisfied for vs onely in his body, not excluding the proper and immediate sufferings of his spirit. Let the Authors themselues be viewed, if you thinke I affirme of them falsely.*] Against whom they write, is not so much, as what they write, and how they confute those heretikes, whom they vndertake. The positions, which they establish out of the Scriptures against such heresies, are most to be regarded; by their proofes you shall see their purpose. To confound those misbeleeuers, that would haue the Godhead of Christ suffer in his flesh, or together with his flesh, the Fathers do soundly oppose, first that the Godhead is inuiolable, impassible, immutable, and such like properties of the Godhead. Secondly that the soule of Christ was subiect to no kind of death, neither of sinne nor damnation, which are not the death of the body, as you wilfully,

wilfully, but moſt abſurdly would wreſt it: and therefore the Godhead was much more free, not onely from this death of the bodie, but from all touch of any kinde of death. Thirdly, to ſhew what it was in Chriſt that died, ſince neither the Deitie nor the ſoule of Chriſt could die any kinde of death, they prooue that that which died, was a *mortall bodie, buried and raiſed againe* the *third day* according to the Scriptures. Which accidents and attributes belonging onely to the body of Chriſt; It is moſt certaine by the ſacred Scriptures that onely the body of Chriſt was yeelded to death for the redemption of our ſinnes. Theſe be the chiefeſt of their reaſons, though they haue many others tending to the ſame iſſue, which whether they truely and effectually exclude the death of Chriſtes ſoule from the worke of our redemption, I leaue it to their iudgement, that ſhall peruſe the former places by me cited; or view the Fathers themſelues in their full diſcourſes. And yet a number of theſe Fathers in the places by me alleaged doe not refute the Arians, but handle profeſſedly other points of our redemption & ſaluation: as Tertullian in his booke of the Reſurrection of the fleſh, Chryſoſtom in his Homily of drunkenneſſe & of the reſurrection, Auguſtine in his 99. Epiſtle, & thoſe Chapters of his fourth Booke *de Trinitate*, which I produced; Gregorie vpon Iob, Bernard in his Sermons to the Souldiers of the Temple, Bede in his Homilies, and Albinus in his queſtions: theſe I ſay doe not there take in hand to refell the Arians, but to deliuer what kinde of death Chriſt died to free vs from all deaths; And reſolue, as we may read, that by one kinde of death, which was the death of Chriſtes bodie onely, both our deaths of body and ſoule were vtterly aboliſhed. And whether this be true or falſe, which I auouch, I wiſh no better triall then the preſent view of their ſayings, whom now you ſtroke as *auncient and godlie writers*, but not long ſince you ſtript as *fond, abſurd, the peruerters of Authentike words, and occaſioners of groſſe errors.*

[b] *Tertullian and Cyrill will giue a taſte heereof for all the reſt.*] You will giue a freſh taſte of your vnlearned miſtaking them, otherwiſe their places as they make nothing for your pretences, ſo were they obiected and anſwered before. [[c] *In Tertullians wordes, Chriſtes fleſh, is expreſly oppoſed to his Deitie, not to his ſoule; ſo that euidently he meaneth thereby his whole manhood.*] If you meane that Tertullian ſtill conceaued Chriſtes fleſh to be humane fleſh, that is not amiſſe, but wide from your matter: But if you would obſerue, that Tertullian in that tractate ſpeaking of Chriſtes fleſh, doth not diſtinguiſh it from Chriſtes ſoule, or maketh common to Chriſtes ſoule whatſoeuer he there affirmeth of Chriſtes fleſh, it is a palpable and peſtilent vntrueth. When he ſaith, *Hæc vox carnis & animæ, id eſt hominis. This was the voice of his fleſh, and of his ſoule; that is of his Manhood*; doth he not in exact wordes diſtinguiſh Chriſtes *fleſh* from his *ſoule*? Againe where he ſaith, [d] *Denique (ſpiritum) poſuit & ſtatim obiit: ſpiritu enim manente in carne, caro omnino mori non poteſt: Chriſt laid downe* (his ſpirit) *and ſtraight way died; for his ſpirit abiding in his fleſh, the fleſh could not die at all:* can there be any doubt, but the name of Chriſts fleſh here doth not containe his humane ſpirit or ſoule, though you auouch the contrarie? Of the attributes of Chriſtes fleſh he ſaith, [e] *videtur, & contrectatur per carnem.* Chriſt *is ſeene, and handled by the fleſh*; which I hope he is not by his ſoule. Though therefore he often interpret *carnem, id eſt hominem*; *fleſh*, that is *man*, ſhewing he ſpeaketh of Chriſt, who had both body and ſoule, yet that doth no way prooue, that what hee affirmeth of Chriſtes fleſh muſt be common to both parts of Chriſtes manhoode; which ſimple ſhift when you haue once taken vp, you can neuer make an end of it.

[f] *If he had ment to exclude any part or faculti of the ſoule from ſuffering, as he doth his Godhead, he had confirmed that hereſie againſt which he ſtriueth, as before I noted.*] You keepe cloſe to your owne notes, though they want both trueth and iudgement. To make Chriſtes ſoule as impaſsible as his Godhead, was to make him no man; for mans ſoule is mutable, & ſubiect to affections and paſsions, which God is not. But what is this to the death of Chriſtes ſoule, if it were an humane ſoule and not equall with his Deitie? or what hereſie doth this confirme, if Tertullian deny Chriſts ſoule

[b] Defenc. pag. 145. li. 1.

[c] li. 2.

[d] *Tertullianus aduerſus Praxeam.*

[e] *Ibidem.*

[f] Defenc. pag. 145. li. 5.

to be mortall, which he ascribeth to the flesh of Christ? You talke much of heresies, but take heed, you leape not head and eares into them, whiles you deuise new deaths, and new hels for the soule of Christ without and against the rules of the sacred Scriptures.

g Defenc. pag. 145. li. 7. [g] *It seemes he yeeldeth the name of death to this suffering of Christes whole manhood; in saying, quod vnctum est, mortuum ostendit: that died, which receaued the annointing. For I hope his spirit was anointed with the holy Ghost, as well as his flesh.*] You doe well to adde seeming to this saying: for to him that vnderstandeth little, it may so seeme, when in trueth it is nothing lesse. Tertullian interpreting the name Christ, which is as much as *Anointed*, saith; Christ died, not as he was the word, and Sonne of God, but as he was Anointed, that is in his humane flesh, which was anointed as well as his humane spirit. Doth he say, all that was anointed, died, as you most falsly would enforce his speech? It sufficeth then that he died, not as he was God, who can no way be subiect to death, but as he was man hauing one part mortall, which was his bodie; and he died that death, which is common to all, I meane the separating of the soule from the body; not that which is speciall to the wicked, as reiection from the fauour and grace of God. Tertullians owne words next before are these. [h] *Cum duæ substantiæ censeantur in Christo Iesu, diuina & humana, constet autem immortalem esse diuinam, cum mortalem quæ humana sit, apparet, quatenus eum mortuum dicat, id est quâ carnem, & hominem, & filium hominis, non quâ spiritum, & sermonem, & filium Dei. Dicendo denique Christus mortuus est, id est vnctus; id quod vnctum est, mortuum ostendit: id est carnem. Where there are two substances in Christ Iesus, a diuine and an humane, and it is certaine, that the diuine is immortall, and the humane mortall; it is plaine wherein* the Apostle *pronounced Christ to be dead, that is, as he was flesh and man, and the Sonne of man, not as he was a spirit, and the word, and Sonne of God. In saying then Christ, that is the Anointed, was dead, he sheweth that which was Annointed, euen his flesh to haue beene dead.* Will you teach out of these wordes, that Christes soule was certainely mortall, because it was not his diuine substance, and that he died in soule, because he died in his humane nature, as a man, which Tertullian expoundeth to be his flesh; and likewise his death to be the laying downe of his soule, or breathing out of his spirit as the Euangelist describeth it?

h *Tertullianus aduersus Praxeam.*

i Defenc. pag. 145. li 14. [i] *My false translating of him, which you note, is not worth the noting, but you doe worse in false placing those his last rehearsed words for aduantage: in Tertullian they are vsed more generally comming long before.*] Your mistranslating can not be defended, and my misplacing, as you call it, is no way preiudiciall either to the truth, or the authors intent. What should hinder me to alleage diuers sentences out of any Writer occurrent in one and the same Treatise, and tending all to declare his meaning, and to detect your misconstruction of him? I vse to set *Ibidem* by the side, to shew that it is a new sentence; which if the Printer omit, what wrong is done to the Reader, so long as I adde or alter nothing, as you do? He that will rightly conceiue anothers sense, must compare his words vttered in the same discourse, and belonging to the same matter. You say they are vsed more generally in their owne place, this were somewhat, if your saying were any thing worth; but if they be diuers proofes of one thing, though in place one before another, they all haue one intention, and must haue one construction. Your maner is to make what you list of euery mans wordes, my course is to shew by the wordes precedent and consequent, that I take the right sense of each Writer, not vpon the aduantage of one word wrested from the rest; but out of the whole context, to manifest the true meaning of ech mans speach. If therfore Tertullian had said, *Hæc mors est carnis & animæ, this is the death of soule and flesh*, as he saith, *Hæc vox est carnis & animæ, this is the voice of soule and flesh*, It had been worth the obiecting; and yet I must tell you, that Tertullian being of opinion, that the soule was traduced with the seed of the body, when he diuideth a man into flesh, soule, and spirit, as heere he doth, by naming all three parts; it may well be doubted, whether he spake of the substance of the soule, which is a spirit; or of the powers of sense and speach, which faile by death

and

and are often comprised in the name of the soule. But it is cleare by Tertullians owne words, that Christs humane spirit was not dead or forsaken, since he there vrgeth, it was committed to the fathers hands, and consequently was not forsaken, nor left to death, as the rest of Christs manhood was. [k] *Caterum non reliquit pater filium, in cuius manibus filius spiritum suum posuit. Deniq; posuit & statim obijt: spiritu enim manente in carne, caro omnio mori non potest. But the Father did not forsake the Sonne, into whose hands the sonne laid downe his spirit. For he laid it downe, and presently died: the spirit remaining in the flesh the flesh could not die at all.* The Father then left the flesh of his sonne vnto death, but he tooke Christs spirit into his hands, and so for the sonne to be forsaken, was nothing els but for his flesh to be left to death. This is Tertullians owne exposition of himselfe, howsoeuer you would dally and deceaue both your selfe and your Reader by *generall* or speciall, *before* or after.

[k] *Tertullianus aduersus Praxeam.*

[l] *Cyrill also euen in that booke which you cite for you sheweth that he excludeth but Christs deity though he mention only his suffering in flesh. Christ then is God, impassible as God, passible according to the flesh.*] You put a whole But to Cyrills sense, more then you find in his text, and yet the words *passible* and *impassible*, are not the things, we striue for. Impasible is that, which by no posibility can admit any mutation or alteration, by force or affection, which is proper to God alone. So no part of Christs manhood was impasible. But though his soule were pasible with diuers affections and impressions, how will it follow from these or any other words in Cyrill, that Christs soule died? Cyrill hath in many words shewed, which I before haue cited, that Christs soule was subiect to all humane and naturall pasions or affections but without sinne or corruption; in this sense what doth it helpe you to haue the soule of Christ pasible by nature, and not impasible as his godhead is? but you loue to loyter, that thus still repeat one lesson, not only besides your booke, but against your booke.

[l] Defenc. pag. 145. li. 24.

[m] *In a word so doe all the rest, as before is partly noted.*] A totall summe is as soone made of lies, as of trueths. All the answer you giue is, they spake against other Hereticks, not against you; but this is the danger, that if such points, as they prooue against other Hereticks, make against you, you had need beware of the coniunction and communion between you and other Hereticks. Against [n] *Nestorius they affirme*, you say, *the vnion of Christs natures.*] Why skippe you [o] *Athanasius, Epiphanius, Ambrose, and Augustine*, that neuer heard of Nestorius? who teach directly, that Christs suffering of death mentioned in the Scriptures, was the suffering thereof in his mortall bodie, which died and rose againe; and by the death of this body was the ransome for vs all payd. [p] *What pray* (saith Ambrose) *could there be* (for death and Satan) *but his bodie?* You say his soule. [q] *Accepit ex te vnde moreretur pro te. Non posset mori nisi caro. Non posset mori nisi mortale corpus.* Christ *tooke of thee* (sayth Austen) *wherein he might die for thee. There could die* (in him) *nothing but flesh. There could die* (in him) *nothing but his mortall bodie.* These and many such places yon cleanly skippe, and tell in a word they are all for you. [r] *They preserue the properties of ech. They therefore holde not his only bodily sufferings.*] Nay they therefore holde not the death of Christes soule, since that is no necessarie propertie of mans nature assumed by Christ. Their reasons likewise and expositions of the Scriptures, which you peruert, exclude your conceit of the death of Christes soule most apparently. ἀπαθὲς γὰρ τὸ θεῖον, ὅτι οὐ σῶμα. *The Deitie could not suffer* (death, say they) *because it was no bodie.* Then onely the bodie could suffer that death which Christ died. And since the soule is no bodie, that also must be free frō the death which Christ died. These positions likewise of the Christian faith, that the Son of God was *wounded, crucified, dead, and rose againe* for vs all, they expound to be expressly meant of his bodie wounded, crucified, dead, and raised the third day; so that where you would cauill, that the name of Christes flesh importeth his soule as well as his body, they directly refell you, and pronounce all these things to be verified of his body, and not of his soule or deity, since nothing in him could suffer death but his body. And the Scriptures that Christ *by the grace of God tasted death for all*, and *by death conquered him that had power ouer death*, and such like, they exactly referre to

[m] Defenc. pag 145. li 30.

[n] li. 31.

[o] Sermo. fo. 331.

[p] *Ambros. in Luca ca 4. de ductu Christi in desertum.*

[q] *August. in Psal. 148.*

[r] li. 32.

to be mortall, which he ascribeth to the flesh of Christ? You talke much of heresies, but take heed, you leape not head and eares into them, whiles you deuise new deaths, and new hels for the soule of Christ without and against the rules of the sacred Scriptures.

8 Defenc. pag. 145. li. 7. [8] *It seemes he yeeldeth the name of death to this suffering of Christes whole manhood; in saying, quod vnctum est, mortuum ostendit: that died, which receaued the annointing. For I hope his spirit was anointed with the holy Ghost, as well as his flesh.*] You doe well to adde seeming to this saying: for to him that vnderstandeth little, it may so seeme, when in trueth it is nothing lesse. Tertullian interpreting the name Christ, which is as much as *Anointed*, saith; Christ died, not as he was the word, and Sonne of God, but as he was Anointed, that is in his humane flesh, which was anointed as well as his humane spirit. Doth he say, all that was anointed, died, as you most falsly would enforce his speech? It sufficeth then that he died, not as he was God, who can no way be subiect to death, but as he was man hauing one part mortall, which was his bodie; and he died that death, which is common to all, I meane the separating of the soule from the body; not that which is speciall to the wicked, as reiection from the fauour and grace of God. Tertullians owne words next before are these. [b] *Cum duæ substantiæ censeantur in Christo Iesu, diuina & humana, constet autem immortalem esse diuinam, cum mortalem quæ humana sit, apparet, quatenus eum mortuum dicat, id est quâ carnem, & hominem, & filium hominis, non quâ spiritum, & sermonem, & filium Dei. Dicendo denique Christus mortuus est, id est vnctus; id quod vnctum est, mortuum ostendit: id est carnem. Where there are two substances in Christ Iesus, a diuine and an humane, and it is certaine, that the diuine is immortall, and the humane mortall; it is plaine wherein the Apostle pronounced Christ to be dead, that is, as he was flesh and man, and the Sonne of man, not as he was a spirit, and the word, and Sonne of God. In saying then Christ, that is the Annointed, was dead, he sheweth that which was Annointed, euen his flesh to haue beene dead.* Will you teach out of these wordes, that Christes soule was certainely mortall, because it was not his diuine substance, and that he died in soule, because he died in his humane nature, as a man, which Tertullian expoundeth to be his flesh; and likewise his death to be the laying downe of his soule, or breathing out of his spirit as the Euangelist describeth it?

[b] *Tertullianus aduersus Praxeam.*

1 Defenc. pag. 145. li 14. [1] *My false translating of him, which you note, is not worth the noting, but you doe worse in false placing those his last rehearsed words for aduantage: in Tertullian they are vsed more generally comming long before.*] Your mistranslating can not be defended, and my misplacing, as you call it, is no way preiudiciall either to the truth, or the authors intent. What should hinder me to alleage diuers sentences out of any Writer occurrent in one and the same Treatise, and tending all to declare his meaning, and to detect your misconstruction of him? I vse to set *Ibidem* by the side, to shew that it is a new sentence; which if the Printer omit, what wrong is done to the Reader, so long as I adde or alter nothing, as you do? He that will rightly conceiue anothers sense, must compare his words vttered in the same discourse, and belonging to the same matter. You say they are vsed more generally in their owne place, this were somewhat, if your saying were any thing worth; but if they be diuers proofes of one thing, though in place one before another, they all haue one intention, and must haue one construction. Your maner is to make what you list of euery mans wordes, my course is to shew by the wordes precedent and consequent, that I take the right sense of each Writer, not vpon the aduantage of one word wrested from the rest; but out of the whole context, to manifest the true meaning of ech mans speach. If therfore Tertullian had said, *Hæc mors est carnis & animæ, this is the death of soule and flesh*, as he saith, *Hæc vox est carnis & animæ, this is the voice of soule and flesh*, It had been worth the obiecting; and yet I must tell you, that Tertullian being of opinion, that the soule was traduced with the seed of the body, when he diuideth a man into flesh, soule, and spirit, as heere he doth, by naming all three parts; it may well be doubted, whether he spake of the substance of the soule, which is a spirit; or of the powers of sense and speach, which faile by death

and

and are often compriſed in the name of the ſoule. But it is cleare by Tertullians owne words, that Chriſts humane ſpirit was not dead or forſaken, ſince he there vrgeth, it was committed to the fathers hands, and conſequently was not forſaken, nor left to death, as the reſt of Chriſts manhood was. [k] *Caterum non reliquit pater filium, in cuius manibus filius ſpiritum ſuum poſuit. Denique poſuit & ſtatim obiit: ſpiritu enim manente in carne, caro omnio mori non poteſt. But the Father did not forſake the Sonne, into whoſe hands the ſonne laid downe his ſpirit. For he laid it downe, and preſently died: the ſpirit remaining in the fleſh the fleſh could not die at all.* The Father then left the fleſh of his ſonne vnto death, but he tooke Chriſts ſpirit into his hands, and ſo for the ſonne to be forſaken, was nothing els but for his fleſh to be left to death. This is Tertullians owne expoſition of himſelfe, howſoeuer you would dally and deceaue both your ſelfe and your Reader by *generall* or ſpeciall, *before* or after.

[k] *Tertullianus aduerſus Praxeam.*

[l] *Cyrill alſo euen in that booke which you cite for you ſheweth that he excludeth but Chriſts deity though he mention only his ſuffering in fleſh. Chriſt then is God, impaſſible as God, paſſible according to the fleſh.*] You put a whole But to Cyrills ſenſe, more then you find in his text, and yet the words *paſſible* and *impaſſible*, are not the things, we ſtriue for. Impaſsible is that, which by no poſsibility can admit any mutation or alteration, by force or affection, which is proper to God alone. So no part of Chriſts manhood was impaſsible. But though his ſoule were paſsible with diuers affections and impreſſions, how will it follow from theſe or any other words in Cyrill, that Chriſts ſoule died? Cyrill hath in many words ſhewed, which I before haue cited, that Chriſts ſoule was ſubiect to all humane and naturall paſsions or affections but without ſinne or corruption; in this ſenſe what doth it helpe you to haue the ſoule of Chriſt paſsible by nature, and not impaſsible as his godhead is? but you loue to loyter, that thus ſtill repeat one leſſon, not only beſides your booke, but againſt your booke.

[l] Defenc. pag. 145. li. 24.

[m] *In a word ſo doe all the reſt, as before is partly noted.*] A totall ſumme is as ſoone made of lies, as of trueths. All the anſwer you giue is, they ſpake againſt other Hereticks, not againſt you; but this is the danger, that if ſuch points, as they prooue againſt other Hereticks, make againſt you, you had need beware of the coniunction and communion between you and other Hereticks. Againſt [n] *Neſtorius they affirme*, you ſay, *the vnion of Chriſts natures.*] Why skippe you [o] *Athanaſius, Epiphanius, Ambroſe, and Auguſtine*, that neuer heard of Neſtorius? who teach directly, that Chriſts ſuffering of death mentioned in the Scriptures, was the ſuffering thereof in his mortall bodie, which died and roſe againe; and by the death of this body was the ranſome for vs all payd. [p] *What pray* (ſaith Ambroſe) *could there be* (for death and Satan) *but his bodie?* You ſay his ſoule. [q] *Accepit ex te vnde moreretur pro te. Non poſſet mori niſi caro. Non poſſet mori niſi mortale corpus.* Chriſt *tooke of thee* (ſayth Auſten) *wherein he might die for thee. There could die* (in him) *nothing but fleſh. There could die* (in him) *nothing but his mortall bodie.* Theſe and many ſuch places yon cleanly skippe, and tell in a word they are all for you. [r] *They preſerue the properties of ech. They therefore holde not his only bodily ſufferings.*] Nay they therefore holde not the death of Chriſtes ſoule, ſince that is no neceſſarie propertie of mans nature aſſumed by Chriſt. Their reaſons likewiſe and expoſitions of the Scriptures, which you peruert, exclude your conceit of the death of Chriſtes ſoule moſt apparently. ἀπαθὲς γὰρ τὸ θεῖον, ὅτι οὐ σῶμα. *The Deitie could not ſuffer* (death, ſay they) *becauſe it was no bodie.* Then onely the bodie could ſuffer that death which Chriſt died. And ſince the ſoule is no bodie, that alſo muſt be free frō the death which Chriſt died. Theſe poſitions likewiſe of the Chriſtian faith, that the Son of God was *wounded, crucified, dead, and roſe againe* for vs all, they expound to be expreſly meant of his bodie wounded, crucified, dead, and raiſed the third day; ſo that where you would cauill, that the name of Chriſtes fleſh importeth his ſoule as well as his body, they directly refell you, and pronounce all theſe things to be verified of his body, and not of his ſoule or deity, ſince nothing in him could ſuffer death but his body. And the Scriptures that Chriſt *by the grace of God taſted death for all*, and *by death conquered him that had power ouer death*, and ſuch like, they exactly referre to

[m] Defenc. pag 145. li 30.

[n] li. 31.

[o] Sermo. fo. 331.

[p] *Ambroſ. in Lucæ ca 4. de ductu Chriſti in deſertum.*

[q] *Auguſt. in Pſal. 148.*

[r] li 32.

the death of his body; which argueth all your doctrine of the death of Christs soule to be meerely superfluous, if not wholy pernicious.

r Defenc.pag. 145.li.33. [*Is this then your great boast of all the Fathers and councels? nay are they well vsed at your hands, to be thus drawen clean from their purpose to an opinion which they neuer thought of? is this good dealing towards Gods people to tell them, that the Fathers generally teach the only bodily sufferings of Christ and denie our assertion of his soules peculiar suffering, which they iustifie and confirme indeed?*] Intrueth good Reader if I were not too well acquainted with this mans vnshamefastnesse, I should thinke I rather heard a plaier on the stage, then a Pen-man in the Church. Is it possible for a man of any learning or vnderstanding thus in print and open view of the whole Realme to rage, revell, & rush on with lying, craking and facing, when he speaketh not one true word? for first, Sir flincher, is this the point heere or any where proposed by me, whether Christs sufferings *were only bodily*? did I promise or produce any Fathers to that end? is it not the death of the soule, and the paines of the damned, which I impugned in Christs sufferings? haue I not most truely performed, which I euer professed, that the whole Church of Christ for so many hundred yeeres neuer thought, neuer heard of the death of Christs soule in the worke of our redemption, but rested their faith on the death of Christs body as a most sufficient price both for the soules and bodies of the faithfull? What cunning then is this, first to shift your hands of that, you can no way prooue, though you still doe and must professe it, and then to clamour at me for drawing the Fathers cleane from their intent and meaning? is this the way to credit your new Creed, by such deuices and stratagemes to intertaine the people of God, least they should see how farre you be slid from the ancient & primatiue Church of Christ? take a while but the thought of a sober man, and this pangue will soone be ouerpast. Did you not vndertake to prooue the death of Christs soule, by Scriptures, which indeed I first and most required; and haue you so donne? looke backe to your miserable mistakings and palpable peruertings of the words of the holy Ghost, and tell vs what one syllable you haue brought sounding that way? are your secrets such that they be no where reuealed in the word of God? must all faith come from thence, and is your faith exempted, that it shall haue no foundation there? are men and Angels accursed, that preach any other Gospell then was deliuered and written by Christs Apostles; and shall you be excused for deuising a new kind of redemption by the death of Christs soule no where witnessed in the Scriptures? you see how easie it were to be eloquent against you in a iust and true cause; but words must not winne the field. What I impugned, my sermons will shew; what I haue prooued, I will not proclaime. If I haue failed in that I endeuoured, the labour is mine, the liberty is the Readers to iudge. Let the indifferent read it, they shall find somewhat to direct them: let the contentious skanne it, they shall see somewhat to harle their hast, and perhaps to restraine their stifnesse. What euer it be, I leaue it to others, since the discourser hasteth towards an end, and so doe I.

s Defenc.pag. 146.li.2 [*This is the profit that comes by ordinarie flaunting with Fathers, which many do frequent in these dayes. Think they, if the Scriptures alone suffice not for things in religion, that the Fathers will suffice? or if the Scriptures may be wrested by subtle heads, that yet the Fathers cannot.*] Is it not enough for your selfe to be a despiser of all antiquitie and sobrietie, but you must insult at them that beare more regard to either than you do? If to flaunt with Fathers be so great a fault, which yet respecteth their iudgements that haue beene liked and allowed from age to age in the Church of Christ, what is it to fliske with pride and follie grounded on nothing but on selfe-loue and singularitie? It were to be wished, that euen some of the best writers of our age, as they thinke themselues, had had more respect to the auncient Fathers, then they shew; we should haue wanted a number of nouelties in the Church of God, which now wee are troubled withall, as well in Doctrine as in discipline. This course of concurring with the lights of Gods Church before our time in matters of faith, though you mislike, other manner of men then you are, or euer will be, haue allowed and followed, as [a] *Augustine*, [z] *Theodoret*,

[a] *August. contra Iulianum. li.1.*

[x] *Theodorete,* [y] *Leo,* [z] *Caſſianus,* [a] *Gelaſius,* [b] *Vigilius, and* the two [c] *councels of Hiſpalis,* and others; not doubting the ſufficiencie of the Scriptures, but ſhewing the correſpondencie of beleeuing and interpreting the Scriptures in all ages to haue bene the ſame, which they imbraced and vrged. And in all euenneſſe of reaſon, were it better to feede the people with our priuate conceits pretended out of Scripture; or to let ſuch, as be of iudgement, vnderſtand, that we frame no faith but ſuch as in the beſt times hath bene collected and receiued from the grounds of holy Scripture, by the wiſeſt and greateſt men in the Church of God? your only example turning and winding the words of the holy Ghoſt to your owne conceits, will ſhew, how needfull it is not to permit euery prater to raigne ouer the Scriptures with figures and phraſes at his pleaſure, and thence to fetch what faith he liſt. If you ſo much reuerence the Scriptures, as you report, which were to be wiſhed you would, why deuiſe you doctrine not expreſſed in the Scriptures? Why teach you that touching mans redemption, which is no where written in the word of God? Indeed the Scriptures are plaine in this point of all others, what death Chriſt died for vs, if you did not peruert them againſt the hiſtories of the Euangeliſts and teſtimonies of the Apoſtles. Omit the deſcription of his death ſo farely witneſſed by the foure Euangeliſts, what exacter words can we haue then the Apoſtles, that *Chriſt* [d] *pacified things in earth, and things in heauen by the bloud of his croſſe, and reconciled vs, which were ſtrangers and enemies, in the bodie of his fleſh through death.* Beleeue what you reade, and what you reade not in the word of God, beleeue not, and this matter is ended: but by Synecdoches without cauſe you put to the Scriptures, not what you read in them, but what you like beſt, and by Metaphores and Metonimies, you will take *bodie* for *ſubſtance*, and *fleſh* for *ſoule*. And ſo where the Apoſtle auoucheth, that *we were reconciled to God, through death in the bodie of* (Chriſts) *fleſh*, you tell vs, we could not be redeemed without the death of Chriſts ſoule, and the eſſence of the paines of the damned ſuffered by ſuddaine touches from the immediate hand of God after an extraordinarie manner. If you teach no doctrine but deliuered in the Scriptures, abandon theſe deuices not expreſſed in the Scriptures. If you content your ſelfe with the all ſufficient word of God in matters of faith, you muſt relinquiſh the death of Chriſts ſoule and paines of the damned as no part of our redemption, ſince there is no ſuch thing contained in the word of God. To me and others that beleeue, the words of Paul are ſufficient, declaring this to be the very ground of the Goſpell, which hee receiued and deliuered, that Chriſt [e] *died for our ſinnes according to the Scriptures, and that he was buried, and that hee aroſe the third day according to the Scriptures.* Whence by a full and faire coherence I collect, that whatſoeuer *died* in Chriſt according to the Scriptures, that was *buried and raiſed* the third day according to the Scriptures. But it is more then manifeſt by the Scriptures, that the ſoule of Chriſt was neither buried, nor raiſed from death the third day, but onely his bodie. It is therefore as plaine to me by the all ſufficient word of God, that the ſoule of Chriſt died not for our ſinnes according to the Scripture.

Your [f] ſection touching materiall fire in hell, I haue ſifted at large before, I ſhall not neede to ſay any more of it. Your hemming in all the world on your ſide, [g] *not ſome, nor the moſt, or beſt, but euen all, and euery one, both Churches and writers in the world, who are Proteſtants*; & leauing none to vphold the doctrine which I deliuer, but Papiſts, *Ieſuites, and Friars*, is, as I told you before, and muſt tell you againe, an egregious lie, ſo loud and leud, that all the belles in London, if they ſhould iarre together, could not yeeld a more offenſiue ſound. That euery new writer ſpeaketh of ſome feares, ſorrowes, temptations, or painefull ſufferings in the ſoule of Chriſt, neuer was, nor is, by me denied, neither doe I in my Sermons take vpon me to determine, what feares, temptations, paines and ſorrowes Chriſt might and did ſuffer in his ſoule: onely I added, that we muſt beware, we diminiſh not his *faith, hope, loue, confidence, obedience, patience*, and other gifts and graces of the ſpirit of God in the ſoule of Chriſt, which the Scripture cleerely maketh to be without want, defect, or meaſure in him. Shunning thoſe ſands, I left euery man to his libertie to ſpeake or write of Chriſtes feares and

[a] Theodor. dial. 2. & 3.
[y] Leo epiſt. 97. ad Leonem.
[z] Caſſi. de incarnat Domini li. 7 ca. 5.
[a] Gelaſ. de duabus in Chriſto naturis.
[b] Vigilius li. 5. cap. 6.
[c] Hiſpalenſi concilium 2. ca. 13.
[d] Coloſſ. 1.
[e] 1. Cor. 15.
[f] Defenc. pag. 146. li 23.
[g] Defenc pag. 147. li. 25.

and ſorrowes, as farre as any circumſtance of holy Scripture did duely enforce: but the death of the ſoule, the paines of hell, and of the damned, and the ſecond death if any ſought to faſten on the ſoule of Chriſt, whoſoeuer they were, they did it by their owne ſurmiſes, they had no warrant for any of thoſe in the word of God, except they tooke the paines of hell figuratiuely for great and intolerable, ſuch as ſometimes the Godly in their humane weakeneſſe thinke and complaine they feele or feare, though they come nothing neere the true paines of hell, which cannot be endured in this mortall life and fleſh by the euidence of nature and Scripture. This being my conſtant courſe, as my Sermons printed doe apparently witneſſe, what folly, what madneſſe is this, ſo egerly and often to chalenge me for contradicting the whole world, when it is but your immoderate greedineſſe or giddineſſe to thinke, that euerie man, who writeth any thing of the feares or ſufferings of Chriſts ſoule, doth preſently teach as you doe, *the death of Chriſts ſoule* and the ſubſtance of *the moſt vehement paines of the damned, yea the ſecond death to be a neceſſary part* of our redemtion, which Chriſt muſt ſuffer, before he could ranſome vs? To cenſure mens priuate opinions I take no pleaſure, ſome men otherwiſe very learned and laborious, haue dipped too deepe in that die, as your ſelfe proue and pronounce by reiecting and refelling the horror of *eternall death*, in the ſoule of Chriſt; though Maſter Caluin ſay, Chriſt CONFLICTED therewith; and the Catechiſme auouch, Chriſt was therewithall PERVSED. If you may thus renounce and refute the firſt deuiſers and ſpredders (as you thinke them) of your proper and ſpirituall temptations and torments in the ſoule of Chriſt; giue others leaue to receaue them no farder, then they concurre with the Scriptures, and with the primatiue church of God. I find diuers men ſpeake diuerſly, but very few and theſe late, that light on the death of Chriſts ſoule, and ſuddaine touches of the eſſentiall paines of the damned from the immediate hand of God, which is your freſh and new deuice: yea many that are caried away with the generall termes of Gods wrath and horror of his dreadfull iudgements againſt ſin, no way like the death of Chriſts ſoule, and by ſpeciall words debarre all mention of the ſecond death in the ſufferings of Chriſt; and thoſe as well Engliſh, as others.

How falſe and fooliſh your vaunt is, *of all and euerie church and writer in the world*, that are Proteſtants, to be of your minde, will ſoone appeare to any that will reade and waigh the workes and wordes of *Zuinglius, Muſculus, Martyr, Bullinger, Aretius, Zanchius*, and of ſundry others as ſound in faith, as ripe in iudgement, as diligent in reading, and ſufficient in all kinde of learning, as the beſt you can name either broching or bowing towards your late conceits; who though they teach, that Chriſt ſuffered in ſoule and body, as I doe, yet they aſsigne farre other ſufferings in the ſoule of Chriſt, then your eſſentiall paines of the damned. I may not ſtand to make new diſcourſes touching new writers; a place or two ſhall ſerue for all, and ſo an end of this matter. Bullinger vpon thoſe words of Eſay Chriſt *layd downe* (or made) *his ſoule a ſacrifice for ſinne*, ſaith. [b] *To make his ſoule a ſacrifice for ſinne, is to offer himſelfe to be a ſacrifice to Purge ſinnes. And he ſaith Chriſts ſoule, and not his fleſh, not that the fleſh of Chriſt was not offered for vs, but that whole Chriſt, body and ſoule, offered himſelfe to God, and that willingly, from his heart, and of his owne accord; and whole Chriſt was the expiation of our ſinnes, licet interim neq; diuinitas ſit paſſa, neq; anima mortua, ſed caro; de quare beati Patres Vigilius & Fulgentius contra Hæreticos religioſe diſputarunt; Though during that time neither his diuinity ſuffered,* NOR HIS SOVLE DIED: *but his fleſh: whereof the bleſſed fathers Vigilius and Fulgentius haue religiouſly diſcourſed againſt Heretickes.*

Many new writers teach the ſufferings of Chriſts ſoule without the paines of hell.

[b] *Bulling. in Eſaiam hom. 53.*

Zanchius, whoſe learned workes are to me in ſteed of many writers, that are caried with faction and affection to vphold, whatſoeuer ſome other men ſay, though he could not for his often and great labours get time to finiſh his purpoſed treatiſe of mans redemption in that exact manner, that he hath donne the reſt, yet commenting on S. Paules Epiſtles, as occaſion was offered, he fully deliuereth the matter and manner of our redemption to be the only ſacrifice of Chriſts body and bloud; other propitiatory ſacrifice for ſinne then that he acknowledgeth none, though he aſcribe

to

to the ſoule as well her ſufferings, as her ſacrifice. [i] *All things prepared, which were requiſite to offer the ſacrifice for our ſinnes, behold the Prieſt with his ſacrifice, Chriſt with his body, the body I ſay of* (him that was) *God, who through voluntary obedience to his Father, and moſt ardent loue to vs, offered himſelfe to God for a moſt ſweet ſmell. And where did he offer himſelfe? on the altar of the Croſſe: he ſuffered, and died, and that on the croſſe.* [k] *Patitur in anima ſummam triſtitiam, timorem, ignominiam; in corpore ſummos dolores, in ſingulis membris atrociſſima flagella.* [l] *In ligno moritur, vt mors per lignum ingreſſa in mundum per lignum tolleretur è mundo. He ſuffered in ſoule moſt exceeding heauineſſe, feare, and ſhame; In his bodie moſt bitter paines, in euerie member moſt grieuous ſcourges. On the tree he died, that as death came into the world by a tree, ſo it might be taken out of the world by a tree.* [m] *To that point, how we are redeemed, the Apoſtle ſaith, by his bloud, that is by his ſacrifice, which conſiſted of the offering of his body deliuered to death, and his bloud ſhed for vs. Hic fuit proprius modus, this was the proper manner,* (or onely way) *how we muſt be redeemed from the captiuitie of ſinne and death. This* [n] *ſacrifice which is often ſignified by the name of* (Chriſtes) *bloud alone, is that price of which the Prophets before, and after the Apoſtles ſay, we were redeemed* (by it.) *For* [o] *we are redeemed, and haue remiſſion of ſinnes in Chriſt by his onely bloud.* [p] *This is euen he, who by the onely ſacrifice of his bodie ſhould effectually cleanſe the ſinnes of the world.* And ſo againe. *The Apoſtle* [q] *expreſſeth the materiall cauſe of our reconciliation, or the thing wherewith the Father reconciled vs to himſelfe, to witte, by the oblation of the true and humane body of Chriſt deliuered to death for our ſinnes. This he meaneth, when he ſaith in the body of his fleſh through death. For this body, which was truely fleſh, and an humane body; not ſimply, but as it died, is the matter of our reconciliation, by that was reconciliation made. He* [r] *ioineth the body with bloud, becauſe both are the price of our reconciliation, and by both were our ſinnes cleanſed. The Apoſtle then* [s] *ſignifieth reconciliation was by the oblation of the body of Chriſt, as by the true ſacrifice for ſinne.*

[i] Zanchius in ca. 2. epiſt. ad Philip. v. 8.
[k] Ibidem.
[l] Ibidem.
[m] Idem in ca. 1. ad Epheſ. v. 7.
[n] Ibidem.
[o] Ibidem.
[p] Idem de tribus Elohim li. 1. cap. 5. teſt. 9.
[q] Idem in ca. 1. ep. ad Coloſſ. verſ. 22.
[r] Ibidem.
[s] Ibidem.

Zanchius ſpeaketh not preciſely, you will ſay, againſt the death of Chriſtes ſoule.] In plainely and fully deliuering the matter and meane of our redemption to be the ONELY SACRIFICE of the body and bloud of Chriſt offered on the croſſe to death; he excludeth all other ranſomes for our ſins, & ſo maketh the death of Chriſts ſoule not onely to be ſuperfluous to mans ſaluation, but no meane of our redemption. For in his iudgement, [t] *Chriſt is the propitiatorie ſacrifice for ſinne, not ſimply, but as he died for vs with the ſhedding of his bloud*; and [u] *this* ONELY SACRIFICE (the ſhedding of Chriſtes bloud vnto death) *God choſe from euerlaſting for the expiation of our ſinnes, and promiſed the ſame from the creation of the world, and ſhadowed it with reſemblances.* And touching the death of the ſoule, if you teach as Zanchius doth, you will preſently finde it is open blaſphemie to aſcribe to Chriſt any death of the ſoule. [x] *A triple death* (ſaith he) *God threatned to Adam for diſobedience; a ſpirituall death, which was the ſeparation of grace, of the holy Ghoſt, and of originall righteouſneſſe from the ſoule and body of Adam, of which death in the Scriptures there is often mention made. This death Adam died as ſoone as he did eate. The ſecond was a corporall death, whereby the ſoule is ſeuered from the bodie. To this Adam was preſently* (vpon his eating) *made ſubiect; though he did not ſtraightwayes actually die. The third is euerlaſting death, which is knowen to all, & of this death Adam was forthwith made guiltie. This triple death was the puniſhment of his diſobedience.* And vpon like occaſion comparing the death of the ſoule and of the bodie, he ſaith. [y] *There is a triple death; ſpirituall,* (of the ſpirit or ſoule) *corporall, knowen to all men; and the third is that eternall death pertaining to bodie and ſoule, wherewith all the wicked ſhall be puniſhed in hell. Theſe all God threatned to Adam, when he ſaid, what hower ſoeuer thou ſhalt eate, &c. thou ſhalt die the death. For he ſtraightway died in ſpirit (or ſoule); he incurred alſo the death of the bodie, becauſe he became mortall; and was made guiltie of eternall death.* [z] *We haue rightly ſaid death to bee the priuation of life, and ſo of all the actions of life conſiſting in the ſeparation of bodie and ſoule. The like we muſt ſay of the ſpirituall life and death. The ſpirituall life is a certaine ſpirituall and diuine force, whereby we are mooued to ſpirituall and diuine actions by the preſence of the holy Ghoſt dwelling*

[t] Zanchius de tribus Elohim part. 1. li. 5. ca. 1. teſtimo 10.
[u] Ibidem.
[x] Zanchij tract. theologica de peccato originali. ca. 4. theſ. 3
[y] Ibidem in ca. 2. epiſt. ad epheſ. verſ. 5.
[z] Ibid.

ling in vs. The holy Ghoſt regenerating vs in this ſpirituall life is as it were the ſoule thereof. And holy and ſpirituall thoughts, holy deſires, holy actions both inward and outward are the operations of this ſpirituall life. What then is the death of the ſpirit? euen the priuation of the ſpirituall life, and conſequently of all ſpirituall and good actions in a man deſtitute of the preſence of the holy Ghoſt, which ſhould quicken him, comming from ſinne, and for ſinne. [a] What ſtrength hath a man dead in bodie to the actions of this life? ſo neither can he, that is dead in ſpirit (or ſoule), do any workes of the ſpirituall life. Heere is a full and true deſcription of the death of the ſpirit or ſoule of man, which if you and your friends dare attribute to Chriſt; then doth Zanchius fauour the death of Chriſts ſoule: but if euery peece hereof applied to Chriſt be euident hereſie and infidelitie, then did Zanchius no way defend the death of Chriſtes ſoule to be any part of our redemption; and as for the ſecond death, he acknowledgeth none, but that which is eternall, and inflicted in hell on all the wicked.

[a] Ibidem.

Much more might be brought to like effect, ſhewing the *true and onely meane and matter* of our redemption and reconciliation to be the only body and bloud of Chriſt yeelded vnto death for the ranſome of our ſinnes; but I ſhould make a new volume, if I ſhould ſtand thereon. It may ſuffice in the iudgement of any reaſonable man to refute the ſlaunderous mouth of this moſt inſolent prater, that I profeſſe, I miſſlike nothing the writings and reſolutions of all theſe learned Proteſtants, for as much as I haue ſeene and read of them, (which is as much as I could get) touching our redemption by the death of Chriſt; but teach the ſame that they taught, and in my priuate moderation could beare the words of many others, (thoſe onely excepted who elude the plaineneſſe of the Scriptures, with the fineneſſe of their new deuices), were it not, that ſuch hoblers, as this is, vpon ſuch occaſions will neuer leaue their freſh inuenting new meanes and cauſes of our redemption, till they be they know not where. Taking it therefore to be no euill way, when men of great wits and gifts begin to turne to their owne deuices, to ſee what the learned and auncient lights of Chriſtes Church beleeued and deriued from the ſacred Scriptures in thoſe very points of trueth and our ſaluation; I haue choſen rather to ſhew thee, Chriſtian Reader, the generall and continuall conſent of religious and reuerend antiquitie; then to muſter mens names of latter times, and by diſgracing or comparing their labours or learnings, to ſet any man, or Church in fire. If ſo many learned and auncient fathers diſpleaſe happilie ſome in reſpect of their priuate contrarie conceits, I haue done my duety to declare the trueth, and ſhewed my deſire of peace, whiles I neuer ment, nor can yet bee drawen to impeach any mans name or credit, howſoeuer I thinke, that ſome of them ſwarue from the exact rule and ſenſe of holy Scriptures in ſome few points, as well of doctrine as of diſcipline.

THE

THE SECOND PART.

WHAT IS MEANT BY THIS IN THE CREED, THAT *Christ descended to* HADES, *or Hell.*

I Shall not need (good Christian Reader) to spend much time or paines in this question. An article of the Creed since it is, That Christ descended into Hell; and the same derived from the Scriptures, confessed by all Antiquitie, and confirmed by authoritie of this whole Realme, as well in the booke of Common prayer, as in the Articles of Religion ratified by Prince and Parliament, it is not for an English man directly to dispute against it; howsoeuer, retaining the words, many doubt or denie the sense thereof. I may be the shorter, for that the Refuter insisteth onely on foure reasons against the descent of Christ to the place of the damned, which our English Creed calleth Hell; and the rest, which he bringeth, is like his former labor, that is, is nothing but a bolde pronouncing of his owne conceits, and a false misconstruing of other mens sayings. His first reason is.

[b] *If there be a good and sound generall reason in Christian faith, that Christes soule leauing his bodie, ascended vp to heauen, and there remained till his resurrection; and if there be no speciall reason of authoritie to the contrarie, that his soule now descended, then surely euerie good Christian ought to beleeue, that his soule ascended to heauen, and descended not locally into hell. But both these former parts are most true.*] Not one of these parts is true, and were they (as they are not) most true; yet conclude they not your purpose. That Christes *soule leauing his bodie ascended vp to heauen*, is more than any Scripture expresly auoucheth. The order of our Creed leadeth vs to beleeue, that Christ *rose the third day from the dead* before *he ascended to heauen.* That he was in Paradise the same day that he died, his owne words to the penitent thiefe, *This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise*, may proue, if we admit them to be spoken of Christes soule and not of his Deitie, as Saint Austen and others expound them: but that Christes soule departing from his bodie, and returning to the same againe, diuerted no whither, nor spoiled powers and principalities, nor made an open shew of them, triumphing ouer them, for this there is neither good reason in the Christian faith, nor warrant in the word of God, but onely your couragious assuming any thing that may seeme to support your cause. On the other side, what reasons there are, generall or speciall, for Christes descent to hell, though you make light of them, the Church of Christ from the beginning hath receiued and professed them, not from the mouthes of men, but from the witnesse of holy Scripture, howsoeuer you turne and winde the words of the Holie Ghost to fit them to your appetite. And what so great need is there of *speciall reasons of authoritie* to the contrarie? Will not generall testimonies of the Scriptures serue to proue a trueth, except the speciall circumstances of time, and place, and maner be therewithall expressed.

[b] Defenc. pag 149. li. 7.

[a] Ibid.li.16. [a] *The analogie of faith requireth, that the head ſhould be there where the members were, and where they remaine till their reſurrection, that there he tarie till his reſurrection. It ſeemeth alſo theſe texts will proone it; Where I am, there alſo ſhall my ſeruant be. I will, that where I am, there they alſo ſhall be with me.*] Did you ſpeake of the perpetuall abode of the head and members in one and the ſame place of ioy and bliſſe at Gods appointed time, Your words had ſome dependance on Chriſtes promiſe, ſaying; [b] *Where I am, there alſo ſhall my ſeruants be:* but this ſpeech of Chriſtes is reſtrained to a certaine time, in which it ſhall be verified, as appeareth by that he ſayd, [c] *I goe to prepare you a place, I will come againe, and receiue you vnto my ſelfe, that where I am, there alſo you may be.* At his next comming he will take vs vnto himſelfe, and then ſhall we be euer with the Lord. This is the time, when his promiſe ſhall be performed. And though the Saints *diſſolued* are now *with Chriſt*, that is, not only receiued to reſt and ioy in Chriſt, but alſo where the glory of Chriſt ſitting at the right hand of his Father continually ſhineth to them, and on them with full aſſurance of euerlaſting glory prepared for them; yet no analogie of faith, nor any words by you brought, do proue all the Saints to haue their bodies now in heauen, becauſe Chriſt hath his there; or that the ſoules of the iuſt were after the ſpeaking of theſe words, alwayes here on earth, where Chriſt was; or that all the Saints roſe with him, as ſome did; or that when, and where Chriſt appeared after his reſurrection, all his Saints muſt or did appeare with him. Much leſſe is there any ſequele from either, that all the ſoules of the righteous muſt or did accompanie Chriſtes ſoule going to Paradiſe, and comming thence; ſo that he could not deſcend to Hell to triumph ouer Satan and all the power of darkeneſſe, but the ſpirits of the iuſt deceaſed muſt leaue Paradiſe, and go thither with him.

[b] Iohn 12.

[c] Iohn 14.

[d] Defenc. pag. 149.li.20. [d] *I ſee not but that he promiſeth heere his ſeruants euen a locall accompanying of him after this life, and that alſo generally whitherſoeuer he went.*] Then was Peter a ſlender Diuine, who hearing theſe words from his Maſters mouth, did after openly proclaime, That [e] *Dauid was not aſcended into heauen.* If it be ſo firme a promiſe, as you pretend, then Dauid, as well as the reſt, muſt locally accompanie Chriſt whitherſoeuer he went, and conſequently aſcend to heauen with him; which Peter vtterly denieth. And all the Fathers of Chriſts church had little vnderſtanding of Chriſts words, when they generally denied, that the ſoules of the Saints are yet in the ſame place of glory where Chriſt is. If you beleeue not my report of them, peruſe their owne words following. Irenæus, [f] *It is manifeſt, that the ſoules of Chriſts Diſciples ſhall goe to an inuiſible place appointed them of God, and there ſhall remaine vntill the reſurrection; and after receauing their bodies, and riſing perfectly, that is, corporally, as Chriſt did riſe, ſhall ſo come to the ſight* (or viſion) *of God.* Iuſtine the martyr. [g] *The ſoules of the righteous are caried to Paradiſe, where they inioy the company and ſight of Angels, and Archangels, and the viſion of Chriſt our Sauiour: and are kept in places fitte for them till the day of reſurrection and recompenſation.* Tertullian, [h] *It is apparent to any wiſe man, that there is a place determined, which is Abrahams boſome, for the receauing of the ſoules of his ſonnes. That region, I meane Abrahams boſome, though not heauenly, ſublimiorem tamen inferis, yet higher then the places below, ſhall giue comfort to the ſoules of the righteous, vntill the end of things with the fulneſſe of reward bring the reſurrection of all men.* [i] *Heauen is open to no man ſo long as the earth remaineth: together with the paſſing away of the world, ſhall the kingdom of heauen be opened.* Origen, [m] *The Saints departing hence do not preſently obtaine the full rewards of their labours, but they expect vs, though ſtaying, though ſlacking. For they haue not perfect ioy, ſo long as they grieue at our errors, and lament our ſins. For theſe, ſaith Paul, haue not yet receaued the promiſe, God prouiding for vs a better thing, that they without vs ſhould not be perfect.* Hilarie [n] *The day of iudgement is the repay of euerlaſting happineſſe or puniſhment. But the time of death till then, hath euery one vnder his lawes, whiles either Abraham or torment reſerue ech man vnto iudgement.* Ambroſe, [o] *Till the fulneſſe of time come, the ſoules* (departed) *expect their due reward; for ſome paine, for ſome glory is prouided.* Chryſoſtom, [p] *Though the ſoule were a thouſand times immortall, as ſhe is, thoſe admirable good things ſhe ſhall not enioy without her fleſh.* [q] *If the body riſe not againe, the ſoule remaineth*

[e] Act.2.v.34.

[f] Irenæus li.5. ca.31.

[g] Iuſtinus quæſtione.75.

[h] Tertullianus aduerſus Marcionem. li.4.

[i] Idem de anima. ca.55.

[m] Origen.in Leuit. homil.7.

[n] Hilarius in Pſal.2.

[o] Ambroſ. de bono mortis. ca.10.

[p] Chryſoſt. in 1. Epiſtolam ad Corinth.homil. 39.

[q] Ibidem.

maineth vncrowned, and without that heauenly blisse. Augustine, [r] *After this short life thou shalt not as yet be where the Saints shalbe, to whom it shalbe said, Come ye blessed of my Father, receaue the Kingdome prepared for you from the beginning of the world; thou shalt not as yet be there, who knoweth it not? but thou maiest be there, where the poore Lazar was seene afarre of by the proud rich man. In that rest shalt thou securely expect the day of iudgement, when thou shalt receaue thy body, and be changed to be equall to an Angel.* Theodoret, [s] *The Saints haue not yet receaued their crownes. For the God of all expecteth the conflicts of others, that the race being ended, he may together pronounce all, that ouercame, to be conquerers, and so reward them.* Occumenius, [t] *All the foresaid Saints haue not yet receaued the good things promised to the iust, God prouiding better for vs. Least they should haue more then we, in that they were crowned before vs, he hath therefore appointed one certaine time, that we should be crowned with them.* Andreas Cæsariensis, [u] *It is the iudgement of many godly fathers, that euery good man* (after this life) *hath a place fitte for him, by which he may coniecture the glory prepared for him.* Theophylact. [x] *The Saints as yet haue attained nothing of the heauenly promises.* (God) *hath appointed one time to crowne all.* Bernard, [y] *you perceaue there are three states of the soule; the first in* (this) *corruptible body, the second without the body, the third in perfect blessednesse. The first in the Tabernacles, the second in the Courts, the third in the house of God. Into that most happy house of God the soules* (of the Saints) *shall not enter without vs, nor without their bodies.*

[r] *Augustin. in Psal. 36.*
[s] *Theodor. in 11. ca. Epist. ad Hebreos.*
[t] *Oecume. in 11. ca. Epist. ad Hebreos.*
[u] *Andreas Cæsari. in Apocalypsin. ca. 18.*
[x] *Theophylact. in 11. ca. epist. ad Hebreos.*
[y] *Bernard. in festo omnium Sanct. serm. 3.*

Neither doe I find any Scriptures, that allow the Saints deceased the same place of glory, where Christ now is at the right hand of God in the highest heauens, till the last day come. What Abrahams bosome is, whither Lazarus soule was caried by the Angels, or where it is, I dare not define. Only the Scripture saith, it was a place of [z] *comfort* after death, and [z] *vpwards farre off from* Hell; a [z] *great gulfe* being *set* betweene that and hell. Of Paradise, where Christ promised the penitent Thiefe should be with him, the very day that he died, I read what Paul writeth, how he *was taken vp into the* [a] *third heauen, and into* [b] *Paradise*; Whence we may rightly collect, that Paradise is in the third heauen. Now what number of heauens the Scripture deliuereth, is not so certaine as some men suppose. We find the whole region of the aire to be called Heauen, as where Christ nameth the [c] *byrds of heauen*, and *the* [d] *clouds of heauen.* Againe that place of the firmament, where the Sunne, the Moone, and the starres are, is called *heauen.* [e] *Let there be lights,* said God, *in the firmament of heauen to separate the day from the night.* And I [f] *will multiply thy seed, as the starres of heauen.* The third heauen, if I be not deceaued, the Scripture maketh to be the originall and *proper habitation* of Angels, where they were first placed, and whence they fell, that are now called Diuels. [g] *The Angels which kept not their originall,* saith Iude, *but left* τὸ ἴδιον οἰκητήριον THEIR PROPER HABITATION, *hath God reserued in euerlasting chaines vnder darkenesse vnto the iudgement of the great day.* In this celestiall Paradise, which at first was the proper mansion of Angels, as the Scripture obserueth, there was not only place for sinne, and danger of falling, as we find by experience of the reprobate angels, but after this was left an higher degree of perfection, and a greater increase of glory; as we perceaue in the elect Angels, who were confirmed in goodnesse, and aduanced to the presence of Gods throne, there to behold the face of God in the propet place of his sanctity and maiesty. Of this third heauen the booke of Iob saith; *God* [h] *found no stedfastnesse in his Saints, yea the heauens are not cleane in his sight,* since there he found sinne in those transgressing Angels which left their proper habitation, and pressed with pride and disobedience to the throne of God. This fault and fall the Prophet resembleth, when he saith, [i] *How art thou fallen from heauen, ô Lucifer? Thou saidst in thine heart, I will ascend aboue the higth of the clouds, and I wilbe like the most high.* * The last or highest heauen the Scripture nameth the *Seat, throne, or habitation of God:* which is not only holy, as whereinto [k] *no vncleane thing shall enter,* but is aboue all other heauens, and often called *the heauen of heauens.* In this is the presence of Gods throne, that is, a perpetuall and plaine reuelation of his diuine glory and maiesty, which the elect Angels alwaies behold. And heere is not only *the fulnesse of* [l]

[z] Luke 16. *How many heauens the Scriptures make.*
[a] 2. Corin 12. ver. 2. & [b] 4.
[c] Matt. 8. & 13
[d] Matth 26.
[d] Marke 14.
[e] Genes. 1.
[f] Genes. 22.
[g] Iudæ epist. vers. 6.
[h] Iob. 15.
[i] Esa 14.
[k] Reuel. 21.
[l] Psal 16.

ioy, as in the preſence of God, but the ſtability, ſecurity, and ſatiety of euerlaſting life, and bliſſe to men and Angels, without any defect, doubt, or danger of failing or decreaſing. In this they want nothing, and beſides this they deſire nothing, ſince in him, who is all in all, they find all things worthy loue, delight, and ioy. Looke downe

[m] Eſa.63. [m] *from heauen*, ſaith Eſay to God, *and behold from the dwelling place of thine holineſſe and*

[n] Ierem.25. *glory*. And Ieremie, [n] *The Lord ſhall crie from aboue, and giue out his voice from his holy*

[o] 1.Kings 8. *habitation*. [o] *Behold the heauens, and the heauens of heauens containe thee not*, ſaith Salo-

[p] Pſal.148. mon. [p] *Praiſe the Lord from the heauens*, ſaith the Pſalmiſt, *praiſe him in the higheſt. Praiſe him all his Angels, praiſe him all his armies. Praiſe him heauens of heauens.* To this

[q] Hebr.7. place when Chriſt aſcended with his body, the Apoſtle ſaith of him, that [q] *he was*

[r] Epheſ.4. *made higher then the heauens, and* [r] *aſcended aboue all the heauens, and* [s] *ſitteth at the right*

[s] Hebr.1. *hand of maieſty in the high places*. Now [t] *two we call both, not all; but of three we firſt vſe*

[t] *Ariſt.de cœlo. li.1. ca.1.* *this word all*. And the Greeke tongue hath a ſpeciall number for two, which is the

[u] Geneſ.1. duall; the plurall is applied to moe. Beſides Moſes ſaith in *the beginning* (before the light or firmament were created) *God made eth haſhamaim, the heauens and the earth*; where by the name of *heauens* the beſt interpreters vnderſtand the place appointed for the habitation of Angels and the reuelation of Gods glory. Now the word *heſhamaim* in Hebrew being not the ſingular number muſt haue *diuers manſions* in it, as well as the aire and firmament haue diuers regions and ſphæres to make the name of *Haſhamaim* agree to either of them. So that when Chriſt is ſaid to haue *aſcended aboue all the heauens*; nature, reaſon, and Grammar, beſides Scripture ſeeme to teach vs, that he aſcended aboue that part of the third heauen, where the Apoſtle noteth Paradiſe to be. And conſequently, if the ſoules of the righteous deceaſed be in Paradiſe, they are not as yet in the higheſt heauens, where Chriſt ſitteth in the glory of God his Father, *(in whoſe houſe are many manſions)* and whether they ſhalbe admitted at the laſt day, when Chriſt ſhall come againe to *take them vnto himſelfe, and to haue them for euer with him* in the poſſeſſion and communion of his kingdome and glory, that they may be *like the Angels*.

To this difference of place and glorie before and after the day of iudgement, the Scriptures incline as well as the Fathers, if I miſtake them not; which I referre to the

[x] Reuel.6. iudgement of the wiſe and learned. S. Iohn ſaw the *ſoules* of the Martyrs [x] *Vnder the altar*, where they were willed *to reſt vntill* (the number of) *their fellow ſeruants were ful-*

[y] Reuel.7. *filled*. But when crownes of glorie are giuen them, as in the laſt day, they *ſhall* [y] *ſtand in the preſence of the throne of God, and before the Lambe, and he that ſitteth on the throne,*

[z] 2.Tim.4. *will dwell among them*. [z] *Henceforth*, ſaith Paul, *is laied vp for me the crowne of righteouſneſſe, which the Lord, the iuſt iudge, ſhall giue me at that day: and not to me only, but vnto all*

[a] 1.Pet.1. *that loue his appearing*. [a] *Bleſſed be God*, ſaith Peter, *who hath begotten vs again vnto a liuely hope to an inheritance immortall & vndefiled, which fadeth not away, reſerued in heauen*

[b] 1.Iohn 3. *for you, which is prepared to be ſhewed in the laſt time*. [b] *Now are we the Sonnes of God*, ſaith Iohn, *but yet it doth not appeere what; we ſhall be & we know, that when he ſhall appeere, we ſhall be like him, for we ſhall ſee him as he is*, that is aſwell the glorie of his Godhead, as

[c] Coloſſ 3. of his manhood. Then as Paul ſaith to all the faithfull, [c] *Your life is hidde with Chriſt in*

[d] Matth.25. *God; When Chriſt, which is our life, ſhall appeare, then ſhall ye alſo appeare with him in glory*: And he ſhal ſay; [d] *Come ye bleſſed of my Father, receaue the kingdome prepared for you from the foundation of the world*; and not, retaine the kingdome already poſſeſſed by you.

It were eaſie out of new writers to ſhew the ſame; Maſter Caluin ſhall ſuffice for al, who vſeth not ouerſoone to concurre with the fathers, when they diuert from the

[e] *Caluinus in Pſychopannychia.* Scriptures. [e] *The ſoules of the ſaints after death are in peace*, ſaith he, *becauſe they are eſcaped from the power of the enemy. But when heauenly Ieruſalem ſhalbe aduanced to her glory, and the true Salomon, Chriſt the king of peace, ſhall ſitte aloft in his iudgement ſeat, then ſhall the true Iſraelites raigne with their* KING. *This they may eaſily perceiue by the Scriptures, whoſoeuer haue learned to giue eare to God, and heare his voice. This alſo haue they deliuered to vs by hand, who haue ſparingly and reuerently handled the myſteries of God. For* Tertullian ſaith. [f] *why ſhould we not admit Abrahams boſome to be called a temporall*

[f] *Tertull. aduerſus Marcionem. li.4.*

receptacle

receptacle of the ſoules of the faithfull? And Chryſoſtom, [g] *Vnderſtand what and how great a thing it is for Abraham to ſitte, and for the Apoſtle Paul* (to expect) *vntill he be perfected, that then they may receaue their reward. For vntill we come, the Father hath foretold thē, he wil not giue them their reward. Art thou grieued becauſe thou ſhalt not yet receaue it? what ſhould Abel doe, who ouercame ſo long ſince, and yet ſitteth without his crowne? what Noe? and the reſt of thoſe times? for behold* they *expected thee, and expect others after thee. They preuented vs in their conflicts, but they ſhall not preuent vs in their crownes, becauſe there is one time appointed to crowne all together. Auguſtine in many places deſcribeth* [h] *ſecret receptacles, in which the ſoules of the godly are kept vntill they receaue their crowne and glory. Bernard in two homilies made at the feaſt of all Saints, where he handleth this queſtion of purpoſe, teacheth that the ſoules of the Saints departed from their bodies, do ſtand as yet in the outward courts of the Lord, being admitted to reſt, but not to glory. Into that moſt bleſſed houſe, ſaith he, they ſhall not enter neither without vs, nor without their bodies. Thoſe that place ſoules in* (ſome part of) *heauen, ſo they giue them not the glory of the reſurrection,* (to be ſhewed on them at the time of the reſurrection and not before) *they differ nothing from the former opinion.* And in his inſtitutions. [i] *Since the Scripture euery where biddeth vs depend vpon the expectation of Chriſts comming, and differreth the crowne of glory till that time, let vs be content with the boundes, which God hath appointed vs; that the ſoules of the godly hauing ended their warfare* (of this life) *depart into an happy reſt, where with a bleſſed ioy they looke for the fruition of the promiſed glory; and ſo all things ſtand ſuſpended till Chriſt our redeemer appeare.* Then none of theſe writers, old nor new, ſo conceaued, or ſo expounded Chriſtes wordes, as you doe, that all his Saints doe locally accompany him and generally, whereſoeuer he abideth, or whitherſoeuer he goeth.

[g] Chryſoſt. homil. 28. in Epiſtolam ad Hebraeos.

[h] Auguſt. de ciuitate Dei, li. 12. ca. 9. & li. 13. ca. 8. & enchiridij ad Laurent. ca. 108.

[i] Caluinus Inſtitut. li. 3. ca. 25. § 6.

[k] *The Fathers all with one voice (I may truely affirme) teach and beleeue euen that Chriſt after death went no whither, but where his faithfull and holy ſeruants were: yea and there remained till his reſurrection. To which conſent of men ſome where you aſcribe exceeding much.*] Your aſſertions all the Fathers with one conſent refuſe, to which agreement of learned and auncient writers I confeſſe I yeeld very much, when there is no expreſſe Scripture againſt it, alleaged and vrged by ſome of themſelues; as in all the caſes where I forſake them, there is: but what is that to your nouelties, who neither in the firſt, nor ſecond queſtion yeeld any thing to their iudgements and cenſures; put them altogether? That the ſoules of the faithfull before the comming of Chriſt were in Abrahams boſome our Sauiour firſt deliuered, and no father, that I know, departeth from it; but where Abrahams boſome was, whether in earth or elſewhere, and whether it were a skirt of hell or no, till Chriſt transferred them thence to Paradiſe; of this ſome fathers diuerſely thinke, and diuerſely ſpeake. And but that Saint Auſtin learnedly diſcuſſeth and reſolueth this point, that Abrahams boſome could be [l] *no member, nor part of hell,* ſince this was a *ſecret habitation of reſt and happineſſe,* which the Scripture neuer affirmeth of hell, but calleth it a place of torment; it would be hard for you, or any of your crue to ſay where Abrahams boſome was. That Chriſt after death went to the place, where the faithfull were in expectation and deſire of his comming to redeeme the world; the Fathers affirme; but that he went no whither elſe, or that hee went not to the place of the damned as well to diſcharge and releaſe his members thence, that is from all feare and daunger thereof, as to deſtroy the power of the diuell ouer all his, and to triumph ouer the force and furie of Satan in his owne perſon, that euery knee of things vnder the earth ſhould bow to him, as well as of things in heauen and earth, in this you vtterly miſtake the conſent of the Fathers, which you ſo much talke of; and ſhew that you neuer came neere the reading of them, howſoeuer you preſume to affirme what you liſt, of them. And leaſt I ſhould carie the Reader without cauſe to reſt on my word, as you would haue him doe on yours, he ſhall heare the Fathers ſpeake their owne mindes, and ſo the better iudge of your abuſing them.

[k] Defenc. pag. 142. li. 23.

[l] *Auguſt. epiſt. 99.*

Ireneus. [m] *Dauid ſaid propheſying this of Chriſt, thou haſt deliuered my ſoule from the nethermoſt*

[m] *Ireneus li. 5. ca. 31.*

nethermost hell. Cyprian. [a] *When in Christs presence hell was broken open & captiuitie made captiue, his conquering soule being presented to his fathers sight, returned without delay to his bodie.* Lactantius, or as some thinke Venantius. [b] *The darkenesse fled at the brightnesse of Christ, & the grosse mist of eternall night vanished. Hinc tumulũ repetens post tartara, carne resumpta, belliger ad cœlos ampla trophea refers. Then after thy being in hell, thou going to thy graue, & resuming thy bodie, as a warrier thou bearest to heauen a noble* CONQVEST (ouer hell.) Athanasius. [c] *πὶς δὲ ϖϱοῆλθεν ἕως ἅδου; who euer went to hell besides the sonne, which rose from the dead?* [d] *at the sight of whom οἱ πυλωϱοὶ τοῦ ἅδου ἔπηξαν, the keepers of hell gates shrancke for feare.* Yea [e] HADES, HELL (or the Diuell) *at the sight of him ἔϱϱιζε καὶ ἔξεστη λέγων, was afraid and amazed, saying: Who is this, that descendeth (hither) with so great power and authoritie? Who is this, that teareth open the brazen gates of hell, & breaketh the bars of Adamant? Who is this, that being crucified is not conquered by me, who am death? Who is this, that looseth their bandes, whom I conquered? Who is this, that by his owne death destroyeth me, that am death?* Eusebius. [f] *To him only were the gates of death opened, & him only the keepers of hell gates seeing, shranke for feare; and the chiefe ruler of death, (the diuell) knowing him alone to be his Lord, rose out of his loftie throne, and spake to him fearefully with supplication & intreatie.* Eusebius called Emisenus. [g] *The Lord descending, darkenesse trembled at the suddaine sight of vnknowen light, Ac præfulgidum sidus cælorũ Tartareæ caliginis profunda viderunt, And the deepes of hellish darknesse saw the most bright starre of heauen. Deposito quidẽ corpore imas atq; abditas Tartari sedes filius hominis penetrauit: the Sonne of man laying aside his body, pearced the lowest and secret seates of Tartarus,* (or of the dungeon of hell.) Hilarie. [h] *The powers of heauen doe incessantly glorifie the Sonne of God for conquering death, & breaking the gates of hell.* [i] *In hell he killed death.* Gregorie Nazianzene. [k] *Going to the gates of hell all couered with darknesse, thou shalt pearce hell with a sharpe speare; and shalt deliuer all, thou alone being free, and shalt besides haue the victory ouer thine enemies;* ἄδην, ὄφιν, θάνατον ἰσχεῶς πατῶν, *valiantly* SVBDVING HELL, *the* SERPENT, *and* DEATH. Chrysostome. [l] *Descendente in tenebrosam inferorũ caliginẽ Domino etiam illic tunc absq; dubio dies splendidissimus fuit, vbi seruator illuxit, tenuit in illo noctis horrore inuiolabilem Maiestatis suæ splendorem. The Lord descending into the darke mist of hell, euen there no doubt then was a most cleere day, where our Sauiour shined. In that horror of night he held the brightnesse of his Maiestie inuiolable.* Ierom. [m] *Pro vita populi mortuus, non es derelictus in Tartaro. Dying for the life of thy people, thou wast not left in hell.* And againe, [n] *Christ destroyed and brake open the closed places of hell, and put the diuell, that had power ouer death, from his kingdome and Dominion.* Augustine. [o] *If the holy Scripture had sayd, that Christ after death came to Abrahams bosome, not naming hell and the sorrowes thereof, I marualle if any man would haue durst to affirme, that Christ descended into hell. But because euident testimonies* (of the Scripture) *mention hell and the sorowes* (thereof), *no cause is occurrent, why our Sauior should be beleeued to haue come thither, but to saue from those paines.* And againe. [p] *There is a lower hell, whither the dead go, whence God would deliuer our soules by sending his sonne thither. For* [q] *therefore Christ came euen vnto hell, that we should not abide in hell.* Ruffinus. [r] *Eousque ille miserando descendit, vsque quo tu peccando deiectus es. Christ descended of mercie to the very place, whither thou wast deiected by sinne.* Fulgentius. [s] *It remained to the full effect of our redemption, that the man, which God tooke vnto him without sin, should descend euen thither, whither man separated from God fell by desert of sin, that is to hell, where the soule of a sinner vseth to be tormented; and to the graue, where the flesh of a sinner vseth to be corrupted: yet so, that neither Christs flesh might rot in the graue, nor his soule be tormented with the sorrowes of hell.* Cyrill. [t] *The powers, Principalities and rulers of the world, which the Apostle numbreth, none other could conquere and carie into the desart of hell but only he, who said, be of good hope, I haue ouercome the world. Therefore it was necessary that our Lord & Sauiour should not only be borne a man amongst men, but also descend to hell, that he might carie into the wildernesse of hell the goate, that was to be led away; and returning thence, this worke perfourmed, might ascend to his father.* Cæsarius Arelatensis. [u] *Æterna nox inferorum Christo descendente resplenduit, attonita mentis obstupuere Tortores. The euerlasting darkenesse of hell was made bright with Christs descending thither:*

[a] Cyprian. de pass. Christi.
[b] Lactant. carmen de die dominicæ resurrectionis.
[c] Athanasius de humanitate Christi contra Arianos.
[d] Idem contra Arian. oratio 4.
[e] Idem de virginitate.
[f] Eusebius de demonstratione Euangelica li. 10. ca. 8.
[g] Eusebij hom. 6. de pas. Dom.
[h] Hilar. de Trinitate li. 3.
[i] Idem li. 4.
[k] Nazianzen. in Christo patiente.
[l] Chrysost. de resurrect. sermo. 7. tomo. 3.
[m] Hiero. in Psalmum. 34.
[n] Idem in ca. 12. li. Iob.
[o] August. epist. 99.
[p] Idem. in Psalmum 85.
[q] Ibidem.
[r] Ruffinus in expositione Symboli.
[s] Fulgentius ad Trasimundum li 3.
[t] Cyrill in Leuiticum li. 9.
[u] Cæs. Arelatens. hom 3. de Paschate.

thither: the tormentors inwardly stroken were amazed. Prudentius. [i] *Tartarum benignus intrat, fracta cedit Ianua, fertur horruisse mundus noctis æterna chaos. Christ mildely entred hell, breaking open the gates: the world shooke at* (the opening of) *Chaos of euerlasting darkenesse.* [k] Arator. *Infernum Dominus cum destructurus adiret, Sol ruit in Tenebras, arua tremunt concussa locis, saxa crepant: tartara mœsta gemunt, quia vincula cuncta quiescunt. Mors ibi quid faceret, quo vitæ portitor ibat? When the Lord went to hell to destroy it, the Sunne was darkned, the earth shooke, the rockes claue in sunder. Hell mourned to see her bands loosed. But what could death doe there, whither the bringer of life came?* Petrus Chrysologus, *Mortem suscepisse & vicisse, intrasse inferos & rediisse vemisse in iura Tartari, & Tartari iura soluisse, non est fragilitas sed potestas. To suffer death and to conquere it, to goe to hell and to returne, to come within the lawes of the dungeon of hell, and to dissolue the lawes therof, is not weakenesse but power.* And thus he maketh Christ to speake after his resurrection to his Disciples. *Ego ex mortuis sum viuus: ex infernis sum supernus. Ego sum, quem mors fugit, inferna tremuerunt, Tartarus Deum confessus est: I am aliue from the dead, and come vp from those below. I am he whom death fled from, hell trembled at, and the dungeon of hell confessed to be God.* Maximus, *This day* (of Christes resurrection) *which the Lord hath made penetrat omnia, vniuersa continet: cœlum, terram, Tartarumq; complectitur, pearceth all places, contineth all, compriseth heauen, earth, and the dungeon of hell.* For *that Christ the* (true) *day lightned heauen, earth, and the deepe of hell, the Scripture witnesseth.*

[i] Prudent. περὶ στεφάνων hymno. 9.

[k] Arator historiæ Apostolicæ. li. 1.

Petr. Chrysolog. in Symbolum serm. 60.

Idem serm. 81.

Maxim. serm. 4. de die sancto Paschæ. inter homilias Eusseb. Emiseni.

There should be no end of alleaging, if I should cite all, that speake to this purpose. These be auncient and sufficient to prooue this refuter a fabler, in affirming that the Fathers with one voice auouch Christ went no whither but where his faithfull and holy seruants were, whom the Fathers did not thinke to be in the torments of hell, nor in the place of the damned; and to shew that I teach none other sense of the Creed, then all these Fathers, and infinit others did before me. Neither can they be shifted off, as this Trifler vseth to decline them, who name *Hades*, that they ment the world of soules, which might be as well in heauen, or paradise, as in hell: since they speake of Christes descent after death to that place, where there was euerlasting darkenesse, and amazednesse of diuels, bondage and punishment of sinners, deliuerance from destruction, an happie and mightie conquest ouer enemies, with such like circumstances, which by no meanes can agree either to Paradise or heauen, or to any other place but onely to hell, where these things are found, and no where else.

And if new writers may be regarded, I could bring as many or moe of them of great learning and good iudgement confessing and allowing this exposition of the Creede which I follow, (that *Christ descended into Hell* to destroy Satans power and force ouer his, and to free them all from comming thither) as concurrent and consonant with the sacred Scriptures; and namely refelling your fansie, that Christ went no whither but where his faithfull and holy seruants were. The very Catechisme which you would seeme so much to respect, as if it were the publicke and authorised doctrine of this Realme, maketh it needfull to beleeue, that [l] *as Christs body was* (laid) *in the bowels of the earth, so his soule separated from his body descended ad inferos, to the places* (or spirits) *below,* (that is, to hell) *and with all the force and efficacie of his death so pearced vnto the dead, atq; inferos adeo ipsos, and euen to the spirits in hell, that the soules of the vnfaithfull perceaued the condemnation of their infidelity to be most sharp and iust, ipseq; inferorum princeps Satan; and Satan himselfe the Prince of hell saw all the power of his tyrannie, and of darckenesse to be weakned, broken, and destroied: and contrariwise, the dead; who whiles they liued, beleeued in Christ, vnderstood the worke of their redemption to be performed, and felt the fruite and force thereof with a most sweet and certaine comfort.* The Catechisme treating of Christs descent to hell mentioned in the Creed, deliuereth this to be the sense thereof, that Christes soule separated from his body *descendit ad inferos, descended vnto hell.* And least we should doubt what he meaneth by *inferi*, he putteth *inferos* as a degree lower & farder then the dead, in saying *Penetrauit ad mortuos, atq; inferos adeo ipsos, Christ pearced vnto the dead, and which more is, euen to hell it selfe* and

[l] Catechism. Nowelli Grecolat. pag. 292.

maketh Satan to be *Princeps inferorum, the Prince of hell*; Who is no chiefe ruler either in heauen or Paradise, but onlie in hell. Againe he resolueth, that together with the soule of Christ came the power & force of Christs death as well to the faithfull, which were saued by him, as to the rest iustly condemned for their vnbeliefe; and that the Diuell himselfe saw all the power of darckenesse afflicted and oppressed by Christ. More then this I do not teach; & so much the catechisme auoucheth to be part of the Christian faith, and the meaning of that article in the Creed, *Christ descended into hell.*

Peter Martyr likewise in the confession of his faith, and exposition of the Creed, sayth; [m] *As touching Christes soule; as soone as it departed from the bodie, it rested not idle, but descended ad inferos, vnto hell. And surely the one and the other societie both of godly soules, and of the damned, found the presence of Christes soule. For the soules of the faithfull were cheered with great comfort, and gaue God thanks for deliuering them by the hand of this Mediatour, and performing that which so long before he had promised. Other soules also adiudged to euerlasting damnation, animæ Christi aduentum persenserunt, perceiued the comming of Christes soule.* Zanchius shewing the different interpretations of those words of the Apostle, [n] *Christ spoiled powers and principalities, and made an open shew of them, triumphing ouer them in himselfe,* (that is, in his owne person; sayth,) *Other Interpreters hold, that these enemies were vanquished and conquered on the crosse by Christ; but the triumph was performed, when Christ in his soule entred the kingdome of Hell as a glorious victorer. For so they interpret the Article, He descended into Hell. And because the word* deigmatizein *doth signifie to carie one in an open shew, as the Romans were woont in the eyes of men to leade their enemies once ouerthrowen, with their hands bound behinde them to their perpetuall shame; and the soule of Christ separated from his bodie might really doe this to the diuels, bringing them out of their infernall kingdome, and carying them along the aire in the sight of all the Angels and blessed soules: therefore nothing hindereth vs to interpret that which Paul heere writeth, as the words sound, euen of a reall triumph* (ouer the diuels) *in the sight of God onlie, and of the blessed spirits: specially since the Fathers for the most part so expound them, & ex nostris, non pauci, neq; vulgares, and of our Expositors not a few, and those no meane men.* Aretius in his Problemes purposely treating of Christes descent to hell, first alleageth, that [o] *Tota Ecclesia vbiq; terrarum hodie illum Articulum & agnoscit, & diuersum à sepultura recitat, the whole Church throughout the world at this daie acknowledgeth that article, and reciteth it as different from* (Christs) *buriall.* And to that obiection, that some Creeds had not this clause, he answereth; [p] *The Church finding the descent* (of Christ) *to hell to be plainly deliuered in the Scriptures, with great aduise admitted this Article into the Creed. Otherwise how could it be that with so full consent of all nations, and all tongues, this clause should be so constantly, and so consentingly receaued?* Repeating therefore many other senses he refuseth them euery one, and concludeth. [q] *Quare mea est sententia, Christum descendisse ad inferos, postquam tradidisset spiritum in manus Dei patris in cruce, &c.* Wherfore *mine opinion is that Christ descended into hell after he yeelded his soule on the Crosse to the hands of God his Father.* [r] *And hell in this question we put to be a certaine place appointed for the damned, euen for Satan and his members.* [s] *To the words of Christ vttered to the thiefe, this daie shalt thou be with me in Paradise, I answere; they hinder not this cause. For Christ was in Paradise with the thiefe according to his diuinity, in the graue according to his body, in hell according to his soule. Howbeit there is no certaintie, how long Christ staied in hell: not long it seemeth; so that he might in soule that verie day returne from hell, and after a glorious sort enter Paradise with the thiefe. Neither hath that any more strength, that Christ commended his soule into his Fathers handes. For the soule of Christ was still in his Fathers hands, though he descended into hell. This descent was voide of sorrow and shame to Christ. Where they say, there was no need of this descent, they run backe to the beginning: for how should it be needlesse, which the Scripture pronounceth Christ did, and we confesse in our Creed? We iudge it therefore needfull; first for the reprobate, that they might know he was now come, of whose comming they had so often heard, but neglected it with great contempt. Againe, Satan was perfectly to know, that this Christ whom he had tempted in the desart, and deliuered to death by the fraud*

[m] Petri Martyris in 12. Articulos fidei expost. §. 20.

[n] Zanchius in 2. cap. epistolæ ad Colossenses vers. 15.

[o] Aretij Proble. loco. 16. de descensu Christi ad inferos.

[p] Ibidem.

[q] Ibidem.

[r] Ibidem.

[s] Ibidem.

fraud of the Iewes, was the very Messias and the seed promised to the woman. Hoc inquam expediebat etiam Demonibus in imo Tartaro innotescere; This I say was expedient euen for the diuels in the deepe of hell to know. Thirdly it was expedient for the elect, that Satan might see he should haue no right no not on their bodies, since Christ heereafter would raise them to life. Hemmingius. [t] *As Christ by his death conflicted with the enemy on the gibbet of the crosse, and ouercame him; so by his glorious descent to hell, resurrection, and ascension to heauen he executed the triumph, erecting as a monument of his victorie the ensigne of his crosse.* Mollerus writing on the 16. Psalme. [u] *Touching Christes descent to hell; We* (saith he) *vnderstand that Article of our faith in the Creede simply and without allegorie: and beleeue that Christ truely descended to the lower parts of the earth, as Paul speaketh, Ephes. 4. It is enough for vs to beleeue, which Austen affirmeth in his Epistle to Dardanus; Christ therefore descended, that he might helpe those, which were to be holpen. For Christ by his death destroied the powers of hell and the tyrannie of the diuell, as is said, Osee, 13. O death, I will be thy death; and thy destruction, O hell. And this his victory he would in a certaine maner shew vnto the diuell, that he might strike perpetuall terrors into the diuell, and take from vs all feare of (Satans) tyrannie. Let it suffice vs to know this, and omit curious questions and disputations* (heereabouts.)

[t] Nicolaus Hemingius in 2. ca. epistolæ ad Coloss.

[u] Henricus Mollerus in Psal. 16.

Pomeranus on these words of the 16. Psalme, *Thou wilt not leaue my soule in Hell*; [x] *Heere hast thou* (saith he) *that Article of our fauth, Christ descended into hell. If thou aske what he did there, I answer; He then deliuered not the Fathers onely, but all the faithfull from the beginning of the world to the end thereof; not out of Lymbus, but out of the lowest nethermost hell, to which we all were condemned; and in which we all were as in death by the sentence of God. There euerlasting fire did abide to vs all, that being deliuered to death by the sinne of Adam, we might in the last iudgement be deliuered to punishment and perpetuall fire.* Christ *therefore descended euen thither vnto death and hell to this end, least thou shouldest descend thither, that as he had redeemed vs from death, so he might deliuer vs from hell.* Westmerus in his expositions of the Psalmes followeth worde for word the confession of Pomerane. Wolfgangus Musculus, *Christ therefore was to die, not that he should simply be dead, but that by his death he might conquer death and ouercome him that had the rule ouer death: and so he was to descend to hell; not that his soule should be subiect to any infernall power, but that subduing the gates of hell he might deliuer our souls from that tyrannie. Of the article of Christs descent to hel, I am not ignorant how diuersly learned men doe thinke. It is somewhat obscure indeed and subiect to many disputations, but yet no godly man vpon that occasion will resist or offer force to the Apostles words,* (thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell) *but will desire of God the vnderstanding therof, and in the meane time with a single faith cleaue to the word of trueth, although he can not cleerely perceaue the maner how that was performed. Of this Article see Austen Epistle 99.*

Iohannes Pomeranus in Psal. 16.

Bartholomeus Westmerus in Psal. 16.

Musculus in Psal. 16.

Vrbanus Regius, *The Church deliuereth vs out of the Scriptures that Christ after he was dead on the crosse, descended also to hell to suppresse Satan and hell, (to the which we were condemned by the iust iudgement of God) and to spoile and destroy the kingdome of death.*

Vrbanus Regius in Catechismo minore.

Zacharias Scilterus: *The descent of Christ to hell (whereof mention is made in the Apostles Creede after the death and buriall of Christ) is to be vnderstood simply according to the letter and without allegorie of the ostension and declaration of Christes victorie no lesse glorious then terrible, (as Luther writeth to Philip Melanethon) indeed made to the diuels in hell or in the place of the damned, and of Christes expugning, disarming, spoyling and captiuating the power of Satan, and of his destroying hell and euerting the whole kingdome of Satan, and of his deliuering vs from the power of death and eternall damnation; and out of the iawes of hell.* Dauid Chytreus. *The Article of the Creede let vs retaine simply as the words sound; and let vs resolue, that the Sonne of God truely descended to hell to deliuer vs from hell, to which we were condemned for sinne in Adam; and from the power and tyrannie of the diuell, by which we were held captiue. Of which effect and fruit of Christs descent the Fathers speake;* (as) Ierom, *Christ descended to hell that we might ascend to heauen.* And Fulgentius, *The man which God assumed, descended thither, whither man separated from God by desert of sinne fell, that is to hell, where the soule of a sinner vsed to be tormented.*

Scilterus de Regno Christi Thes. 38.

Dauid. Chytraus in Symbolum.

tormented. And Augustine. *Dying for thee, I descended to hell to bring thee to Paradise; Tartara adij, vt tu in cælo regnares; I went to the place of the damned, that thou mightest raigne in heauen.* Georgius Mylius in his explication of the Augustane confession. *The true and proper sense of this Article is, that no metaphoricall, but a reall descent of Christ to hell must be vnderstood, whereby he descended to the lower parts of the earth, Eph. 4. vers. 9. Et ipsas Damnatorum sedes adijt; and went to the very place of the damned. The second point is, that this Article is no part of his passion and humiliation, but of his victorie and triumph.* I omit infinite others, not onely priuate writers, but Vniuersities, Cities, and Countries, that haue publikely approoued the same doctrine, admitting and allowing the Augustane confession exhibited by the States of Germanie to Charles the Emperour, which thus they declare in their booke of Concord. *With one consent we aduise this matter not to be disputed, but this Article* (of Christs descent to hell) *to be most simply beleeued and taught. It ought to suffice vs, if we know, that Christ descended into hell, destroied hell to all beleeuers, and by him* (or his descent thither) *we were taken out of the power of death and Satan, from euerlasting damnation, and euen out of the iawes of hell. The maner how this was done, let vs not curiously search, but referre the* (exact) *knowledge heereof to an other worlde, where not onely this mysterie, but many others simply beleeued of vs in this life, shall be reuealed, which passe the reach of our blinde reason.*

Mylius in Augustana confessionis explicatione articulo 3. de Christo.

Concordia electorum Principũ & ordinũ Imperij & theologorum qui Augustanam confessionem amplectuntur articulo 9. de descensu Christi ad inferos.

And where some would so moderate this Article, as if it ment no more but that the force and effect of Christes death was manifested as well to the damned to exclude them from all hope, as to the faithfull to encrease their comfort; *Luther* sharpely, but truely, thus refuteth that fansie. *Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell.* [y] *The sense* (heereof) *is most plaine, so plentifully and diligently deliuered by the Apostles. But euen here haue men presuming all things of their wittes, begun to dispute, whether Christ were in hell as touching his soule, and the substance thereof, and what this meaneth, that he was in hell. And a great number haue dared to contradict the spirit (of God) that Christs soule was not in hell but by effect: being forsooth handsome glozers of the word of God; Thou wilt not leaue my soule, that is, the effect of my soule, in hell: Christ descended to hell, that is, he effected somewhat in hell: but despising these friuolous and impious trifles, let vs simply vnderstand the wordes of the Prophet, as they are simply spoken; and if we can not vnderstand them, let vs faithfully beleeue them. Greater is the authoritie of this Scripture, then the capacitie of all mens wittes, as Augustine saith. For the soule of Christ according to her substance truely descended to hell.* To like purpose might exceeding many new writers be brought, all confessing the descent of Christes soule to the very place of the damned and of the diuels, that the trueth, force and glory of his humane soule might appeere as well to the reprobate angels and spirits vnder earth, as to the elect aboue the earth; God making the humane nature of his Sonne this recompence, that as he was despised and reproched by Satan in his instruments, so he should be adored and feared euen of all the powers of darckenesse, and wholy despose of them and their kingdome: but these may suffice the sober Reader to let him see, that I deliuer none other sense of that Article, then hath beene formerly receaued in the church of Christ with full consent, and to this day is continued in the same by many great and graue Diuines, whose iudgements I need not be ashamed to follow; though I confesse I depend not on their wordes farder then they conforme their writings to the word of God, which in this case I take to be plaine enough howsoeuer some quarrell be made to the diuers significations of *Sheol* and *Hades*, which is as easily done in other Articles of the Creed, as in this; if it were the part of a Christian to wrangle with euerie worde, that hath sundry senses or vses in the holy Scriptures.

[y] Lutherus in Psal. 16.

[x] Defenc. pag. 149. li. 29. [w] Idem. pa. 95. 150. li. 18. [x] *To* (my) *purpose other Scriptures doe make very much, as where Christ saith, Father, into thine hands I commend my soule*; and to [w] the theefe that hung by him, *This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.*] You bring Scriptures rather for shew then substance; since they inferre no such thing as you would enforce on them. The soules of the Saints liuing and dead are in the hands of God, and chiefly Christs soule, when it descended

scended to hell; not only to be brought thence, but euen there by gods hand assisting to destroy the strength of Satans kingdome, and to triumph ouer all the powers and Principalities of darkenesse. If those wordes did alwaies import a present possession and fruition of heauenly glorie, then could Dauid with no truth haue spoken them of himselfe so long before his death, when as yet no part of Gods promises to him touching his kingdome were performed. But the soules of the faithfull are alwaies in the hand of God, whiles heere they are protected by him, and after this life receaued in rest, though they come not, as yet to be inuested with the fulnesse of heauenly glory. Yea the words properly pertaining to our Sauiours person, and condition after death, [c] *Thou wilt not leaue* (or forsake) *my soule in hell*, doe shew that Christs soule was then in Gods hands, and compassed round with the power and glory of God, when hell and Satan trembled at his presence, and were both vanquished and spoiled by him. Your adding, that this *sentence may be fitly applied* to Christ, prooueth nothing. For though I haue no doubt but Christs soule was with farre greater honour and fauour, ioy and blisse receaued into the hands of God, to whom it was committed, then the soules of all his Saints: yet that doth not proone his present entraunce after death into the glory of heauen, and continuance in the same, except you will say that at his resurrection, and till his Ascension his soule was out of his Fathers hands, because during that time it was on earth, and not in heauen; which were a strange position in diuinity. [d] *The soules of the righteous* (were) *in the hands of God* long before Christs coming, as the wise man witnesseth; and yet were they not in the glory of heauen, but in Abrahams bosome, as our Sauiour teacheth. And so the wise man expoundeth himselfe, adding; [f] *No torment shall touch them, they are in peace, and in the time of their visitation they shall shine*: reseruing them to a time appointed, when glory shalbe reuealed on them, though in the meane whiles their spirits were kept in rest and ioy vnder the mighty hand of God.

[b] Psal. 31.
[c] Psal 15.
[d] Sapient. 3.
[e] Luc. 16.
[f] Sap. 3. vers. 3. & 7.

The Thieues being in Paradise with Christ, the same day that he died, concludeth no such thing, as you conceaue. For first no words, there or els where, euince that Christ spake this of his humane nature. Saint Austen resolueth, [g] *The sense is much easier and freer from all ambiguities, if Christ be vnderstood to haue said, this day shalt thou be with me in Paradise; not of his manhood but of his godhead.* And in his 111. Tractate vpō Iohn, vpholding the same exposition, addeth; [h] *He that said to the thiefe painfully hanging, yet healthfully confessing, (this day shalt thou be with me in Paradise) according to his manhood had his soule that daie in hell & his flesh in the graue, but according to his godhead vndoubtedlie he was in Paradise.* Titus Bishop of Bostra in Arabia, somewhat elder then Austen, sheweth how these words may be verified of either of Christs natures. [i] *How was this promise of our Lord made to the thiefe, this day shalt thou be with me in Paradise performed? Christ taken downe from the crosse was in hell according to his soule, and neuertheless by the power of his diuinity brought the Thiefe into Paradise. Happily he first caried the beleeuing Thiefe to Paradise, before he descended to hell.* Damascen is of Austens mind. [k] *The same* (Christ) *is adored in heauen as God together with the Father and with the holy Ghost, and he as man lay in the Sepulchre with his body, and abode in hell with his soule, and gaue entrance to the thiefe into Paradise, his diuinity, which cannot be comprehended in any place, euery where accompanying him.* And so is Euthymius. [l] *How said Christ, this day shalt thou be with me in Paradise? because as God, who filleth all places, he was euery where at one instant; in the sepulchre, & in hell, and in Paradise, and in heauen.* But admit the words to be ment of Christs humane soule, what reason call you this? Christs soule was in Paradise that very day that he died: *ergo* neither that day, nor any day els before his resurrection, his soul did or could descend to hell. You must amend these reasons before any man will yeeld you to haue reason or sense. Christ might that very day, that he went to Paradise, subdue and subiect all power in hell vnto himselfe, he might doe it the next day, he might doe it the third day, when he rose from the dead: the time is not the thing we striue for, which we must leaue to God; but the reall and actuall performance of the Apostles words, *He spoiled powers and principalities.* [m] Co'oss. 2.

How Christ was in Paradise the day of his death.

[g] *August epist. 57. ad Dardanum.*
[h] *In Iohannem tract. 111.*
[i] *Titus Bostrorum Episcopus in ca. 23. Luca.*
[k] *Damasc. in homilia de sancto sublato.*
[l] *Euthymius in 23. ca. Luca.*

ties, and made an open shew of them, triumphing ouer them in himselfe; which in other words Peter expressed, when he said, *Christs* [n] *soule was not left* (or forsaken) *in hell:*
[n] Acts 2. *but* [o] *God raised him vp, loosing the sorowes of death* (or hell) *that* [o] *euery knee of things*
[o] Philip. 2. *vnder earth should bow vnto him*, as well as of things in heauen and earth, and that *euerie tongue* (euen of the damned and Diuels, for there are none other vnder earth) *should confesse* (either willingly or constrainedly) *Iesus Christ* to be Lord vnto the glory of God the Father. This conquest ouer hell and Satan being acknowledged, whereby all *power in heauen and earth* (and consequently in hell conteined in the earth) was yeelded vnto Christs manhood after his death, and before or at his resurrection, we shall not need to be curious about the time and manner thereof. The
[p] *Centur. 1. l. 1. ca. 10. de pass. Christi.* compilers of the centuries at Magdeburge doe well admonish. [p] *Descendisse Christum in infernum, articulus fidei est, verum quanam ratione ibi omnia sunt gesta, non est expresse traditum. That Christ descended to hell is an article of the faith, but in what sort all things there were donne, is not expressely deliuered. Happilie it is enough for vs to hold the generall, and a more exact declaration of this mysterie wee shall heare in another life.*

[q] Defenc. pag. 150. li 21. [q] *The eternall and generall ordinance of God is shewed* (Luc. 16.) *to be such, that none can goe out of heauen downe to hell, nor come from hell vp to heauen.*] You boldly presume after your maner, that Abrahams bosome was heauen, of which many learned men do make great doubt. For if the soules of the righteous were in heauen before Christes
[r] Luc. 20. death and birth, then were they [r] equall vnto the elect Angels before the resurrection, which Christ saith shall be when *they are the* [r] *children of the resurrection*, and so not before. And how were the wordes of our Sauiour true, which he spake in his life
[t] Iohn 3. time; [t] *No man ascendeth vp to heauen, but he that descended from heauen, the Sonne of man which is in heauen*; If all the Saints deceased were in heauen? or how had he *the*
[t] Coloss. 1. [t] *preeminence in all things*, if all the Patriarks and Prophets were there before him? againe the words of Abraham reach no farder then vnto men; they restraine not Angels from descending and ascending, and much lesse the sonne of God. If none without exception could goe frō heauen to hel, as you would construe Abrahams speach,
[u] Reuel. 20. how fell the Diuell and his Angels from heauen to hell? how did Saint Iohn see [u] *an Angel come downe from heauen, hauing the key of the bottomlesse pitte*, & binding & shutting vp Satan in that pitte? if Angels may passe from the one place to the other, how
[x] Reuel. 1. much more might Christ, who is the Lord & head of Angels, and *hath the* [x] *keies* of *hell and death?* But since the Scriptures anouch Christes soule *was not left in hell*, there are plainer and expresser words for the being of his soule in hell, then in Abrahams bosome; & so if there be no returne thence, no not for Christ himselfe, then by your lame and lewd collection you condemne Christs soule to perpetuall prison in hell. And how commeth it to passe by your diuinity, that Abraham must receaue Christs soule into his bosome, who was the Redeemer and Sauiour of Abraham? is your skill so great that you forget Christ to be the sonne of God, and so meeter to receaue Abrahams soule into his protection, then to be receaued of Abraham? but what will you not say and suppose to continue the credit of your conceits in the eies of the simple, though no wise man, vnlesse wedded to your deuices, will any thing be mooued with these weake suggestions?

[y] Defenc. pag. 150. li. 19 [y] *As touching Austens diuers opinion and yours, see before page 29 and your page 360.*] Could you find any diuersity worth the marking between Austens opinion and mine touching Christs words on the crosse to the thiefe, your modesty would serue you to make the most of it; but if I repeat diuers opinions of learned writers, and leaue the Reader to his Christian liberty, which he best liketh; what offence take you at that, except it be that I follow not your trade, which is to despise all the world besides your selfe? Indeed in your 29 Page you say, *I reiect Austens exposition of Christes words to the Thiefe, this day shalt thou be with me in Paradise*; which Austen vnderstandeth *of the thiefes soule and Christs diuine presence in Paradise*; but you keepe your wont to tell tales for trueth, and to wast words when you want good matter. For I doe not reiect

Austens

Austens exposition, but only adde, as now I doe, since there is no Scripture to fasten Christs soule to hell for the whole time of his death, Christs soule might after death at diuers times be in Paradise and in hell. Wherein I leaue the Reader to his discretion, which of those two expositions he will embrace. Neither did I in this anouch more then Austen himselfe els where is content to yeeld. For reasoning against Felicianus the Arrian, he saith [z] *Sed dicet aliquis, deitatis hanc, non animæ Christi credimus vocem. But some will say we beleeue this* (to day shalt thou be with me in Paradise) *was the voice of Christs deity, and not of his soule. To which part then of the thiefe doe we take this promise was made? this day, saith Christ to the thiefe, shalt thou be with me in Paradise, whose body the common death had inclosed vntill the resurrection to come. It was then the soule of the thiefe to which Christ promised and performed this:* Whereupon he concludeth *Si igitur mortuo corpore ad Paradisum anima mox vocatur, quemquamnè adhuc tam impium credimus, qui dicere audeat, quoniam anima seruatoris nostri triduo illo corporeæ mortis apud inferos custodiæ mancipetur? If then the body* (of the thiefe) *dying*, (his) *soule were presently called to Paradise, shall we thinke any man so wicked as to dare say; that the soule of our Sauiour during the three dayes, that his bodie lay dead, was held in the custodie of hell?* So that though S. Austen acknowledge the other sense of Christes diuine presence in Paradise to be *multo expeditior, & ab ijs omnibus ambiguitatibus liber, farre the easier and freer from all obiections*; yet he doth not endure, that any man should so fasten the soule of Christ to hell for the time of his death, that Christ might not thence depart and be in Paradise, when pleased him, as well as the Thiefe, but must stay in hell, as if he were kept in custodie.

[z] *August. contra Felicianum ca. 15.*

[a] *How you will doe to maintaine that Christ went indeed to them, but presently left them that he might goe to hell, I know not. In this I doubt you walke without your guide.*] If I did vse any such wordes, that Christ must *presently post* from heauen to hell, as if he were like to be benighted afore he came thither, you might busie your braines with lacke of time and want of guides; but if Angels present themselues heere from heauen in a moment and time almost insensible, what should hinder the soule of Christ endued with greater power and might then any Angel, to goe at what time, and with what speed he would to doe that which the Scriptures testifie he did? If then the Prophets and Apostles beare witnesse, that his soule was in *hell*, and there not left, but *ascending* vpward *ledde captiuitie captiue, and spoiled powers and principalities*; why play you the iade in iesting at an Article of the Christian faith, as if the way were long and tedious betweene Paradise and hell, so that Christ must haue some time and helpe to dispatch so great a iourney? The Apostle teacheth, that the resurrection of the dead *shall be in a* [b] *moment and in the* [b] *twinckling of an eie*. If so generall and strange a worke (as to haue all their soules out of Paradise and hell ioyned to their bodies, and their persons aliue caught vp to the iudgement seate of Christ in the aire) shall be wrought in all the sonnes of men elect and reprobate at an instant; what incredible thing is this, except to an infidell, that he which made heauen and earth with a word, should in as short time, as he saw cause, shew his humane soule to the powers of darkenesse in the midst of their kingdome, and take all strength and rule from them, and lead them captiue at his pleasure? And therefore neuer calculate so curiously the distance or passage from Paradise to hell; if these things were not marueilous in mans eies, they were not meet workes for the Sonne of God; but examine soberly, whether the Scripture anouch any such presence of Christes soule in hell, and conquest ouer hell. And if that appeare, teach men to leaue the rest to the mightie hand of God; which brought the soule of his Sonne thither, in what time and maner he thought good, and might best make for his glory.

[a] Defenc. pag. 150. li. 27. *Christ needed no long time to descend to hell.*

[b] 1 Cor. 15. vers. 52.

[c] *I adde that which is cleere and certaine: yea that which your selfe rightly beleeueth and professeth with vs, though against the opinion of the Fathers, that the soules of the holie Patriarks dead before Christ were not beneath, but aboue; Not in Limbo, but with God in peace, ioy and blisse, euen in Paradise that is heauen.*] Your certainties be your owne ouerhastie coniectures, neither well vnderstanding your selfe, nor others. In the pla-

[c] Defenc. pag. 150. li 30.

ces,

ces, which you quote out of my Sermons, I say as Christ himselfe deliuered that the
Of Abrahams bosome. iust deceased were in Abrahams bosome, which the wise man calleth the hand of God: And that Abrahams bosome was vpward farre aboue hell, as appeareth by the wordes of our Sauiour; more I durst not determine. Neither did I make Abrahams bosome to be Paradise or Heauen, I had no warrant so to doe; but the place whither the soule of the thiefe was caried the day of his death, Christ calleth Paradise, which the Apostle seemeth to make a part of the third heauen. And heere were the soules of the righteous after Christes death, except you thinke that Paradise was prouided
[d] *Epist. 99.* only for the penitent thiefe, which S. Austen counteth a great [d] *absurditie*. Thus much
[e] Reuel 14. I said, and still say; as also that the faithfull departing this life, [e] *rest from their labours,*
[f] 2. Cor 5. *and* [f] *dwell with the Lord*, in places prepared and appointed for them, though as yet they haue not their *house*, which is *eternall in the heauens*, nor are *clothed with life swallowing vp mortalitie*. But that the soules of the Patriarks were in heauen, that is in the glorie of gods kingdome, before the death and comming of Christ, I haue no such wordes in any of the pages which you produce. I vse not of things vnknowen to giue hastie iudgement, I leaue it to God, who hath many places of abode in his house, and desire not to search into his secrets vnreuealed in this life.

[g] Defenc. pag. 150. li. 37. [g] *Hence I conclude that Christes soule after his death ascended indeed, and descended not downward beneath vs heere.*] I heare your conclusion, but I see no premises from which you may iustly inferre so much. For though the soule of Christ might *ascend* after death, if we respect situation of place, in comparison of the earth; yet because the Scriptures reckon no ascending but into the glorie of heauen, (otherwise the di-
[h] Ephes. 2. uels that [h] *rule in the aire*, should ascend, and the damned that come to iudgement, shall ascend); the Christian faith doth not say that Christ ascended before he descended. And the apostle exactly obseruing the relation and application of those two wordes vnto Christ, saith his descending was the first of the twaine, that was perfor-
[i] Ephes 4. med. [i] *This* saith he, that (Christ) *ascended, what is it but that he first descended into the lower parts of the earth?* Otherwise if you be disposed to play with the ascending and descending of Christes person, bodie, or soule before or after death, you may finde vs many descents and ascents besides the two that are mentioned in our Creed. The Nicene Creed saith of his person, that for vs and our saluation *he descended from heauen, and was incarnate by the holy Ghost of the virgine Marie*; and of himselfe he
[k] Iohn 6. saith; [k] *I am the liuing bread, which descended from heauen.* Then after his death his soule ascended as you say, and so must descend againe before his body could be re-
[l] Ephes. 4. stored to life. Now the apostle saith; *Christ* [l] *descended into the lower parts of the earth*, and likewise must thence ascend before his resurrection. And lastly after forty daies he *ascended* body and soule *aboue all the heauens*. Heere are sixe descents and ascents, if you list to controle the Creed; but the Christian faith following the apostle, noteth onely two, his *descending to hell*; *or* to *the lower parts of the earth*, *and his ascending aboue all heauens*; which were two materiall parts of our saluation after he tooke flesh, and profitable for vs to know. And though you stifly stand on this, that *Christes soule descended not downeward beneath vs heere*; Yet against the Creed, and the apostles wordes, that Christ descended to hell, *and to the lower parts of the earth*, no
[m] Psal. 139. wise man will admit either your opinion or assertion, howsoeuer you thinke you can make a florish with Dauids words, who saith he was [m] *fashioned beneath in the earth*: of which we will speake when we come to examine the force of the apostles wordes.

[n] Defenc. pag. 151. li. 1. [n] *Only except there be some speciall reason of good authoritie to the contrary, which is the second point of importance heere to be considered. Touching which thus I say, without expresse and eminent Scripture there is in the world no sound nor meet authoritie to disproue our former reason or conclusion.*] Your reasons raked out of the Scripture are such, that no man need to regard; they are miserable mistakings and palpable misapplyings of the Scriptures intending no such thing as you imagine; and for the contrarie they are plaine enough, and such as haue been receaued and reuerenced by all Christendom without exception, till you and some others in our age started vp with figures and phrases

phrases to mince and manage the Scriptures to your pleasure. They are leely diuines that doe not know, the names of *heauen and hell*; of *life and death* of *flesh* and *spirit*, of *Christ* and of *God*, may be diuerslie taken, and diuerslie vsed euen by example of holy Scriptures; but it is the high way to all heresie and infidelity to turne and wind euery word occurrent in the Scriptures after euery signification, that may be found thereof in the old or new Testament, without respect to the maine grounds of the Christian faith, and to make Rabbins and Pagans to be the best interpreters of words vsed by the holy Ghost to expresse the mysteries of Christs kingdome. And how come you now to be so strickt in this second question, that without expresse and euident Scripture, against which you cannot so much wrangle, you will yeeld to nothing; who were so licentious in the former, that without all Scripture, and against the Scripture, you maintained a new kind of redemption by the death of Christs soule, and his suffering the second death; which if you stand to the word of God, is eternall damnation of body and soule in hell fire? you shew your selfe more then a Patriarke in the Church thus to coine new articles of the Creed without all warrant of the word, and to cast out the old, though confessed and continued since Christs time, because you find some words to haue diuers senses, at least with Iewish and heathen writers, though not with Christians.

Austen himself auoucheth well and faithfully, supposing there were no expresse, nor plaine Scripture for Christes descending, then (sayth he) *it were marueilous boldnesse, that any should dare say he went downe to hell.*] But the same Austen in the same place telleth you, that [o] *euidentia testimonia & infernum commemorant, & dolores*; *euident testimonies* (of Scriptures) *mention both hell and the sorowes thereof*, to which Christ came. And for full proofe heereof, he sayth euen in the same Epistle, [p] *We can not contradict either the propheste, which sayd, Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell; which lest any man should dare otherwise interpret, Peter expounded it in the Acts of the Apostles; nor the words of the same Peter, where he affirmeth, that* (Christ) *loosed the sorowes of hell, in which it was impossible he should be held. Who then but an Infidell, will denie that Christ was in hell?* All that you haue to say against this, is that Iewes and Pagans, to wit, wicked Rabbins, enemies to Christ, and Poets ignorant of all trueth, vsed the words *Sheol* and *Hades* otherwise than the whole Church of Christ without exception, till our age, receiued and beleeued them from S. Peters mouth, and S. Lukes pen, that ψυχη signifieth the soule, and *hades* importeth hell: put you from this shift, and you fall full within the compasse of S. Austens challenge, that is, of plaine infidelitie; and these be simple Sidemen to cleere you from that crime.

[o] *Epistola 99.*

[p] *Idem epistola 99.*

[q] *Now I assume this, and by Gods helpe shall make it manifest, that there is in all the Scripture no one place whereby it may be proued by any shew of reason, that Christes soule after this life went locally downward from hence, or diuersly from the soules of all good men deceased.*] Though the opinion you haue of your selfe be great, yet when you come to condemne the whole Church of God as ignorant of the Christian faith, or altering the same; you should vse some more modestie than to say, they *had not one plat in all the Scripture, nor any shew of reason* to beleeue as they did. You presume much of your Rabbins and Pagans, preferring their enuious and friuolous imaginations before the iudgement and faith of the whole Church of Christ; yet take good heed lest the better and elder sort euen of your owne Deponents deceiue you not; and so you rest conuicted in the eares of all good men to be rather an insolent affecter of nouelties, than any regarder of sobrietie or pietie.

[q] Defenc. pag. 151. li. 12.

[r] *Only there are two or three places sensibly wrested to this purpose. First, that* (*Ephes.* 4.) *where Christ is sayd to haue come downe into the lowest parts of the earth.*] If that place be wrested from his right sense, the Church of Christ from the beginning must be charged with that wresting. Ireneus citeth those very words of the Apostle, that Christ *descended to the lower parts of the earth*, and maketh them equiualent with the words of Dauid touching Christ, *Thou hast deliuered my soule from the nethermost hell*, saying: [s] *Hoc & David in eum prophetans dixit*; *so much Dauid in his propheste spake of him.*

[r] Defenc. pag. 151. li. 18.

[s] *Irenæus li. 5. cap. 31.*

him. Tertullian alleaging the very same wordes of the Apostle, concludeth; *Habes regionem Inferûm subterraneam credere*; by this *thou art to beleeue that the region* (or place) *of hell is vnder the earth.* Cyprian: [a] *Descendens ad inferos captiuam ab antiquo captiuitatem reduxit. Christ descending to hell brought backe the captiuitie, that of old was captiuated.* Arnobius: [x] *Postea vidit inferos, & longe factus est, non solum à cœlis sed & ab ipsa Terra in abyssi profunda descendens &c: after* (his crosse) *he visited hell, and became farre off not only from heauen, but euen from the earth it selfe, descending into the depth of the bottomlesse pit.* Chrysostom: [y] *Christ descended to the lower parts of the earth, after which there are none other. And he ascended aboue all, higher than which there is nothing.* Ambrose vpon that place of Paul: [z] *After death* (Christ) *descended to hell, whence rising the third day, he ascended aboue all the heauens afore all men.* Ierom out of those words of the Apostle, *Christ descended to the lower parts of the earth*, first concludeth: [a] *Infernum sub terra esse nemo iam ambigat; Let no man now doubt but hell is vnder the earth.* And expounding the rest, he sayth: [a] *Qui descendit cum anima in infernum, ipse cum anima & corpore ascendit in cœlum. He that descended to hell in soule, ascended to heauen with bodie and soule.* Primasius vpon the same words of Paul maketh the like collection: [b] *Ergo sub terra est infernus. Qui descendit cum anima in infernum, ipse cum anima & corpore ascendit ad cœlos. Therefore hell is vnder the earth. And he that in soule descended to hell, ascended to heauen in soule and bodie.* Photius: [c] *To the lower parts of the earth, after which place there is no lower; he meaneth hell.* Dorotheus: [d] *What is, He led captiuitie captiue? By Adams transgression the enemie made vs all captiues, and had vs in subiection.* Christ *then tooke vs againe out of the enemies hand, and conquered him that made vs captiue. Erepti sumus igitur ab inferis ob Christi humanitatem. We were then taken from hell by Christes humanity.* Theophylact: [e] *At quem in locum descendit? In infernum, &c. To what place did Christ descend? To hell, which he calleth the lowest parts of the earth after the common opinion of men.* Haymo: [f] *First Christ descended to the lower parts of the earth into hell, and after he ascended to heauen. He descended to hell in his soule alone, and then he ascended aboue all the heauens in body and soule. It must be noted by this that he sayth, Christ descended to the lower parts of the earth: he sheweth hell to be vnder the earth, whence it is called Infernus, because it is lower than the earth, or vnder the earth.*

Zanchius repeating diuers Expositions of this place, addeth in the end: [g] *The Fathers for the most part are of this opinion, that Christ in his soule came to the place of the damned, to signifie not in words, but with his presence, that the iustice of God was satisfied by his death and bloudshed, and that Satan had no longer power ouer his Elect, whom he held captiue: that himselfe was made Lord ouer all, and all power ouer heauen and earth giuen him; and a Name aboue all Names, that in the name of Iesu euery knee of things celestiall, terrestriall, and infernall should bow: neither that he came thither only to signifie this in such sort as is sayd, but also that he might carie all the diuels with him in a triumph: as it is Colos.2. He spoiled powers, and principalities, and made an open shew of them, leading them* (as captiues) *in a triumph by the vertue of his crosse, by which he had purged sinnes, and appeased the iustice of God. Could he not haue done this, without any such descent of his soule? He could, but he would be so farre humbled, that his soule should descend into that most darke and wretched place, though not there to suffer any thing, but to beginne thence his triumph ouer the power of the Diuell. And this opinion of the Fathers I dare not condemne, since it is not repugnant to the sacred Scriptures, and hath likely reasons. The consent of the Fathers when it is not contrary to the holy Scriptures hath great weight with me.* There is as much difference betwixt this mans modestie and yours, as there is betweene his learning and yours. He durst not condemne the iudgement of the Fathers, because it had probable grounds, and was no way contrary to the Scriptures: you auouch they had no shew of reason from any place of Scripture. But your reward will be according: for where he is with all, and euen by your selfe reputed a sound and learned Writer; no man will take you but for an vnsound and vnlearned Boaster.

[h] *I haue largely and plainly shewed (Treat. pag.140.) that this place speaketh not a whit neither*

[a] Tertullianus de anima. cap.55.
[a] Cyprian. de Vnctione Chrismatis.
[x] Arnobius in Psal.137.
[y] Chrysost. in 4. ca.ad Ephes.
[z] Ambros. in 4.ca. epistolæ ad Ephes.
[a] Hieron. in 4. ca.epistolæ ad Ephesios.
[b] Primasius in 4.ca.ad Ephes.
[c] Photius apud Oecumenium in 4.ca.ad Ephes.
[d] Dorotheus de sancto Pascate Doct.22.
[e] Theophyl. in 4.ca.ad Ephes.
[f] Haymo in 4. ca.ad Ephes.
[g] Zanch. in 4. ca. epistolæ ad Ephes. vers.9.
[h] Defenc.pag. 151.li.21.

neither of hell, nor of Christes soule descending locally, neither before his death nor after. It noteth only Christes sensible and apparent humiliation to the last and lowest point, that is, to the graue; according to the Hebrew phrase, which the Apostles frequented in their Greeke writings very much. You haue shewed it, as your maner is, with your *seeming* & *saying* that *so you iudge*: but other proofs you offer none besides phrases and figures, wherein you take vpon you to be very copious. *I say then, Thus I say, It seemes to me*, and *Thus do I iudge*; these be your best demonstrations, the rest is idle and vaine talke. Three senses you make of these wordes, but not one of them otherwise than by your owne authoritie. [i] *Some thinke*, you say, *that this Greeke phrase (to the lower parts of the earth) is only a figure of speech, a kinde of hypallage, for the earth which is the lower part of the world.*] If euery mans thoughts may stand for sound and true Expositions of the Scripture, we shall haue many moe deuices than the world hath yet heard of; but how proue you this inserting of the Apostles words by your supposed figures to be the true meaning of the holy Ghost? Whatsoeuer pleaseth not your humour in the words of God, if you may chop and change with figures of speech, you will leaue little there, that shall not taste of your turnsall.

[i] Treat. pag. 144.

[k] *Others doe thinke that it may be taken, as alluding to that metaphoricall Hebrew phrase tachtijoth erets, the lower parts of the earth, where Dauid meaneth his Mothers wombe. And then Paul heere meaneth only Christs taking our flesh.* The Christian faith was neuer framed out of phrases or figures of speach vnknowen to the people, and passing their vnderstanding: neither did the Apostles so deliuer matters of doctrine, as purposely inuoluing them in euery darcke and doubtfull phrase, that might be gathered out of Moses or of the Prophets: this is the way to leaue nothing certaine in the booke of God, though the wordes be neuer so plaine, as long as any phrase or figure may peruert it. If Dauid once by a metaphoricall kind of resemblance called the lowest part of his Mothers body, where he was fashioned and framed, *tachijoth arets, the bottom of the earth*; that is, of his mother being earth, or compared with the earth, which is the common mother of vs all, whence our bodies first came, and whither they must returne; or noted the strangenesse and secretnesse of his conception and formation in his mothers wombe by the bowels of the earth, where mettals and minerals lie and grow in like manner: What is this to the Apostles words, who dallieth not heere with obscure phrases and metaphors, as Dauid did for ciuilities sake calling his mothers wombe the bowels of the earth, but expounderh the words of Dauid cited immediately before, that *Christ ascending vp on hie, led captiuity captiue, and gaue gifts vnto men?* That then which the apostle immediately addeth by way of a Parenthesis, must tend wholy to the declaration and exposition of these words of Dauid, that Christ ascending led captiuity captiue: the later words, that he gaue gifts to men, he presently and largely sheweth how they were performed after Christs ascending to heauen. And since Christs conception, though it be an Article of our faith, yet was wrought by the holy Ghost, not as Dauids was, neither was Christs body fashioned by degrees; first in seed, then in bloud, after in flesh, as Dauid confesseth his was, but after a more strange and wonderfull manner, as the Fathers both Greeke and Latin teach; and during the time of his conception, Christ did not lead captiuity captiue; his mothers wombe can no way pertaine to the Apostles purpose in this place, howsoeuer you or some others would faine shew their deuices in making the Apostle hunt after strange and obscure metaphors out of Dauids words once vsed for good manners sake.

[k] Treat. pag. 145.

[l] *It seemes to me a very plaine Hebraisme, expressing tachijoth erets: which words are no where found for hell; for the graue they are found. Like to this is erets tachtith (Ezechiel. 31) where the seuerall circumstances doe plainly teach that the graue only is there ment, and the condition of death, the same sense manifestly hath another Hebrew phrase very like to this: Sheol tachijah (psal: 86) and Sheol tachath: (Esa: 14) where though many thinke hell is signified; yet surely the circumstances doe conuince that the graue only is there ment. thus do I iudge, that the descēding of Christ to the lower parts of the earth may be taken truly, plainly, & as is agreeable to the Hebrew phrase, whence surely this Greeke phrase ariseth,*

[l] Treat. pag. 141.

namely for Christs humiliation vnto the graue. Heere is your third expoſition of the Apoſtles words, which you call a plaine demonſtration, that this place ſpeaketh neuer a word of hell, nor of Chriſts deſcending thither, but only of his graue: and if theſe proud and vaine bragges may goe for proofes, you will prooue any thing; but you muſt come backe for all this haſt, and learne that trueth is not ſo lightly put from her holdfaſt, as you ſuppoſe. For ſetting aſide your *hypallages and metaphors*, which are nothing to the meaning of the Apoſtle in this place, the ground which heere you lay, that *erets tachtith, the loweſt earth, and Sheol tachtiyah, the lower Sheol* are no where vſed for hell, but euery where for the graue, is falſe and full of raſh reſolution, directly repugnant to the trueth of the Scriptures, and the circumſtances of thoſe places, to which you appeale. And leaſt the Reader ſhould thinke I ſpeake altogether out of mine owne head peremptorily and preſumptuouſly, as you doe; he ſhall heare the iudgement of ſome of the eldeſt Rabbins, and others well learned in the Hebrew tongue touching theſe phraſes, and then we will examine the circumſtances of the texts themſelues. And becauſe I would make but one labour of manie; and the meaning of *Sheol tachtiyah*; *the lower ſheol* and *erets tachtith the lower earth*, cannot well be diſcerned vntill we ſee what *ſheol* naturally and truely ſignifieth, I will firſt examine the ſignification of *ſheol* at which you and others ſo much ſtumble and then grow to conſider of the places where thoſe words are vſed and their circumſtances.

Sheol properly ſignifieth the pitts or places vnder earth where the bodies or ſoules of the dead are receaued to corruption or deſtruction, ſo called for that they are neuer ſatisfied but alwaies expect more, euer ſince man was adiudged to death for ſin: and
[m] Defenc. pag. 152. li. 14. though in the great conceit of your owne skill you tell me, that my [m] *not conſidering* (or not caring for) *the vſe and manner of the Hebrew tongue cauſeth my miſtaking as in theſe places, ſo likewiſe in all, or moſt of the reſt, and cauſeth mine error in this maine queſtion*; Yet I hope I ſhall let the Reader ſee in the end, that proud ignorance leadeth you ſo raſhly to reſolue as you doe both of the words and places in queſtion, and likewiſe of my poſitions. *Mercerus* a man of no meane skill in the hebrew tongue, as appeareth by his paines therein taken, in his additions to *Pagnines* Lexicon peruſed and publiſhed by *Ceuallere and Betrame*, two learned hebricians of our age, obſerueth that
[n] *Mercerus in Pagnini theſauro in Radice ſhaal.* [n] *hoc nomine generaliter loca ſubterranea tendendo centrum verſus appellantur, the places vnder the earth euen to the* (middle or) *center thereof are generally called by this name* (Sheol) *as by another name of the ſame ſignification, it is elſwhere called Erets tachtith, the lower or loweſt earth* (Ezechiel. 31:) *and often with an adiect. ſheol tachtiyah for explanations ſake. Proprie infernum dixeris ita vt locum ſignifices. Hinc cum verbo deſcendendi paſſim iungitur. Properly you may call it hell or the place below, for which cauſe it is euery where ioined with a Verb of deſcending. Forſtere* in his hebrew Dictionary repeating what others thought of the ſenſe of the word Sheol, as that ſome tooke it *for the pit, others for the graue, ſome for death it ſelfe, ſome for the ſtate of the dead*; *plurimi vero inferum, id eſt locum damnatorum*; *and the moſt tooke it for hell, euen the very place of the damned*; addeth in the end. [o] *I am of this opinion, that I thinke it importeth in the Scripture moſt often the place where the dead are vnder the earth, ſo called for that it cannot be ſatisfied, as Lactantius in certaine verſes of his ſeemeth to render that Etymologie of the word. Inferus inſatiabiliter caua guttura pandit. Hell openeth wide his vnſatiable throat. Et aliter verti commodè non poteſt quàm nomine infernus, and cannot be otherwiſe conueniently tranſlated then by the name of Infernus* (hell or the places below) *Deuter.* 32) *A fire is kindled in my wrath, and hath burned to the nethermoſt hell. So doth Ezechiel vſe another word of the ſame ſignification, ca.* 31. *Thou ſhalt be caſt downe erets tachtith to the lower earth.* Pagnine vnknowen to no man that is learned, for his labours in the hebrew tongue, ſaith, *Sheol* [p] *ſepulchrum, infernus, Gehenna. Sheol* ſignifieth *the graue, hell, Gehenna.* Munſtere [q] *Sheol idem quod ſepulchrum, fonea, infernus. Sheol is as much as the graue, the pit, and hell.* Auenarius. [r] *Sheol ſepulchrum, item infernus id eſt locus inferior ſub terra. Si de impijs dicitur, ſignificat perditionem. Sheol is the graue; alſo hell, that is the lower place vnder the earth. When it is ſpoken of the wicked, it ſignifieth perdition.*

[o] *Iohann. Forſterus in Radice ſhaal.*

[p] *Pagnini theſaurus in verbo ſhaal.*

[q] *Munſteri dictionarium Hebraicum in Radice ſhaal.*

[r] *Auenarij Lexicon in verbo ſheôl.*

Lauater

Lauater: [c] *Sheol non tantum significat locum damnatorũ, sed etiam foueam vel sepulchrum. Sheol doth not only signifie the place of the damned, but also the pit or graue.* And before them all Lyra well learned in the Hebrew tongue, if not a Iew borne, sayd. [c] *Accipitur infernus in Scriptura dupliciter; infernus* (which is the Latin translation of Sheôl) *is taken two waies in the Scripture; one for the pit, where the Carcasses of the dead are put, the other, for the place whither the soules of the damned descend.*

[c] *Lauaterus in 15. caput Prouerbiorum. vers. 11*
[c] *Lyra in ca. 5. Esaia.*

The trueth of their iudgements, that Sheol signifieth the places vnder the earth, where the bodies and soules of the dead are receaued will appeare by the very confession of the Rabbins themselues, as well as by the direction of the Scriptures. Touching the situation of *Sheol* Rabbi Abraham saith. [x] *Sheol makom aamak hephec hashamaim shehu marom. Sheol is a deepe place opposed to heauen, which is on hie.* And againe [x] *Sheol is the lowest place of the whole earth opposite to heauen.* Rabbi Leui. [y] *Sheol hi mattah bemuchalat vehi markez. Sheol is absolutely below, & is the center* (of the earth.) And that with them it importeth hell I meane Gehenna, the place appointed to torment the soules of the wicked, there can be no question. Rabbi Iehosuas the sonne of Leui deliuering the names of hel, that are occurrent in the Scripture, saith, [z] *there be seuen names of Gehenna, and these they are.* Sheol, Abadon, *destruction,* Bor Shachath, *the pit of perdition.* Bor Sheon *the lake of ruine or roaring,* Tith haiauen, *the bottom of the myre,* Zal-maueth, *the shadow of death,* Erets tachtith *the lower earth.* In the exposition of the 11 Psalme there are repeated as [a] *places of abode for the wicked in Gehenna, Sheol, Abadon, Erets tachtith.* Dauid Kimchi commenting on these wordes of the 9. Psalme, *sinners shall be turned to Sheol, saith.* [b] *Vuederash lishola hu gehinnam, and in derash, Sheol is Gehenna.* Elias the Leuite in his Caldaie Lexicon sayth: [c] *Veiesh Sheol Methurgemim gehinnam. Sheol with the (Translators or) Interpreters is Gehenna.* The Caldaie paraphrase expressing those wordes of Dauid, The *shape* (or beautie) of the wicked) *shall consume in Sheol,* but God will redeeme my soule from the hand of Sheol, thus rendereth them: [d] *Their bodies shall wax olde in Gehenna, but the Lord will redeeme my soule from gehenna.* Rabbi Salomon likewise expoundeth Sheol in that place by [e] *Gehinnam.* So in the sixth Psalme it is sayd, *Whosoeuer is not circumcised, [f] iored Gehinnam, goeth to Gehenna,* as Esay threateneth; *Sheôl hath enlarged it selfe.* Rabbi Moses Hadarsan vpon the first of Genesis: [g] *Gehenna is sayd to be deepe, as it is in the ninth of the Prouerbs. In the deepe of sheôl are the ghests* (of an harlot). The Hebrew glosse vpon those wordes of God vttered by Moses, A fire is kindled in my wrath, and shall burne to the nethermost Sheol, sayth; [h] *In my wrath, that is, in the midst of Gehenna, as it afterward followeth, and shall burne to the lowest sheôl.* Rabbi Ioden expounding the wordes of Dauid, Thou hast deliuered my soule from the nethermost Sheol, sayth; [i] *The way of Adulterers leadeth to the deepe of hell, and therefore he sayth, Thou hast deliuered my soule from the nethermost sheôl.* With whom Rabbi Selomo concordeth: [k] *The way of Adulterers is to be in the deepe of hell, and thence hast thou delinered me,* sayd Dauid, *when Nathan sayd vnto me, The Lord also hath taken away thy sinne.* And lest we should doubt what they meane by Gehinnam, Elias the Leuite sayth,; [l] *Kareü Rabbothenu mekom ôneshh hareshaim achar motham gehinnam. Our Rabbins call the place of punishment for the wicked after their deaths, Gehenna.*

[x] *Rabbi Abra. in ca. 2. Iona.*
[x] *Idem in Psal. 139.*
[y] *Rabbi Leui in ca. 26. Iob.*
[z] *In libro Erubin cap. Osin passin.*
[a] *Midras tehilim in Psal. 11.*
[b] *Rabbi Dauid Kimchi in Psal. 9.*
[c] *Elias in Methur. geman verbo Sheol.*
[d] *Chaldea paraphrasis in Psal. 49. vers. 15 & 16.*
[e] *Rabb. Salomon in Psal. 49.*
[f] *Midras tehilim in Psal. 6.*
[g] *Rabbi Moses Hadarsan in 1 ca. Genes.*
[h] *In libro Tanchuma.*
[i] *Rabbi Ioden in Midras tehilim Psal 85.*
[k] *Glossa Rabbi Selom. Ibidem.*
[l] *Elias in Thesbi verbo Gehinnam.*

Neither want these Iewes that auouch Sheol, and specially the nethermost Sheol to be below in the deepe of the earth, to be opposite to heauen, & to be the place of punishment for the wicked after their deaths, warrant in the sacred Scriptures to vphold these assertions. For though Sheol extend to any place vnder earth, that by Gods ordinance requireth or receaueth the bodies or soules of the dead, & in that respect to the godly it can be no more then the graue, & the losse of all things in this life consequent to the graue; & in that sense we must interprete Sheol, when it is applied to the bodies or persons of the Saints, whose soules are in rest and blisse with God, & not vnder the earth, where Sheol is: yet the ful force of that word whē it is threatned to any, or affirmed of the wicked, noteth the pit of destructiō for their soules, aswel as of corruption for their bodies, & the consequents of either; & the nethermost Sheol expressely de-

ſigneth the place of torment appointed for ſinners, that die out of Gods fauour, & receaue the iuſt reward of their vnrighteouſneſſe. [m] *The way of life*, ſaith Salomon, *is aboue to him that knoweth to decline from Sheol, that is below.* Where firſt it is euident, that as heauen is aboue, in which is true and eternall life; ſo Sheol, which is the pit of death for bodie and ſoule, is below vs, which muſt needes be in the earth vnder vs. This partition of celeſtiall, terreſtriall and infernall perſons and places the Apoſtle warranteth by this authoritie, when he ſaith. [n] *Euery knee of things* ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων, *in heauen, on the earth: and vnder the earth* (ſhould (and) ſhall) *bow at the name of Ieſus.* And ſince the whole world is by the word of God in the creation, conſeruation, and alteration thereof ſufficiently deuided into heauen and earth; the place of hell muſt of neceſſitie be either out of the whole world created by God, and ſo no where; or in heauen, which is an impious abſurditie and monſtrous contrarietie; or elſe it muſt be within the compaſſe of the earth: and not being vpon the earth where men liue, it muſt needes be vnder the earth, whither the wicked deſcend when they die. This diſtribution alſo Saint Iohn ratifieth, when he ſaith, [o] *None in heauen, nor on earth,* οὐδὲ ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς, *nor vnder the earth, was able to open the booke.* Wherefore the booke of Iob to expreſſe the infiniteneſſe of Gods perfection and wiſedome, vſeth theſe foure compariſons. [p] *The heauens are high, what canſt thou doe* (there)? *It is deeper then Sheol; how canſt thou know it? the meaſure thereof is longer then the earth, and broder then the ſea.* Where if we bee not wilfully blind, wee cannot chooſe but ſee, that Sheol is not onely deepe, but the deepeſt place in the world; euen as heauen is the higheſt. To compare the wiſedome of God with the graue, which is fixe foote deepe, or not ſo much, were moſt ridiculous, ſince we commonly digge to that depth and deeper vpon diuers occaſions. And therefore Sheol is the deepeſt place in the earth, to which no man liuing euer pearced, to make report of the deepeneſſe of it. Moſes confirmeth the ſame when he ſaith; [q] *fire ſhall burne to the lower Sheol, and ſhall eate through the earth, and inflame the foundations of the hils.*

[m] Prou. 15. verſ. 24.

[n] Phil. 2.

[o] Apoc. 5.

[p] Iob 11.

[q] Deut. 32.

As the ſituation of Sheol is below vnder the earth, that is in the bottome of the earth, ſo is it a place threatned to the ſoules, not onely to the bodies of the wicked, though at length it ſhall receaue both. Dauid putting a difference betwixt himſelfe and the wicked, ſaith, [r] *Like ſheepe ſhall they be laid in Sheol, but God will redeeme my ſoule from the hand of Sheol.* Dauid neuer drempt that his ſoule ſhould bee in the graue, nor that the ſoules of the wicked ſhould there be laid: much leſſe that his bodie ſhould be freed from the graue, more then the bodies of ſuch as knew no God at all. Sheol then here, as in ſundry other parts of Scripture, ſignifieth ſomewhat, from which the godly ſhalbe ſaued, and whereto the wicked ſhalbe euerlaſtingly adiudged. But that is not the graue, which is common to all men, good and bad. It was therefore the Sheol of ſoules from which Dauid hoped to be deliuered, and which the wicked ſhall not auoyd: And ſo are his very words. [s] *The Lord will deliuer my ſoule from the power of Sheol.* Againe the full reward of wickedneſſe is not the graue whereto the godly come as well as the godleſſe. But Sheol is threatned in the Scriptures as the full and finall wages of all impietie, neither is there any other note or name for hell, except metaphoricall throughout the Old Teſtament. Wherefore when Dauid ſaith, [t] *ſinners ſhall be turned to Sheol, and all nations that forget God*; he doth not threaten them with that, which is generall to all Gods children, but with that, which is peculiar to all Gods enemies, which muſt needes be hell, and not the graue. And ſo much Caluine himſelfe, who otherwiſe ouermuch vrgeth the right ſenſe of Sheol to be the graue, confeſſeth to be the true meaning of this place. [u] *The Hebrew word Sheôlah* (to Sheol) *which was ambiguous, I doubted not to tranſlate by the name of hell. For though it diſpleaſe me not, that others tranſlate it the graue, yet it is certaine, that ſomewhat heere is noted by the Prophet beſides the common death. Otherwiſe he ſhould ſay nothing of the wicked, that ſhould not indifferently agree to all the faithfull.* Obſerue this rule, which indeed is true, that when the Scriptures threaten the wicked with Sheol, they meane not the graue, which is common to all the godly; but that Sheol, which is appointed for the wicked,

[r] Pſal. 49.

[s] Pſal. 49. v. 15.

[t] Pſal. 9 v. 17.

[u] Caluinus in Pſal. 9. v. 18.

from

from which the faithfull shall be freed, and you may spare all your figures and phrases, wherewith you loade both your selfe and your Reader in this place to no purpose. For there is a *Sheol*, as Salomon noteth, that shall [z] *swallow men aliue and whole*, which cannot be the graue, where there lyeth but one part of man and that after his death. And since the Scripture in exact tearmes maketh a lower Sheol, which cannot be but in comparison of an higher, with what face can you elude the *lower Sheol* to be nothing but the graue, whereas one and the same thing cannot bee by any meanes both lower and higher in respect of it selfe? And therefore howsoeuer you could shuffle with the name of Sheol, without addition against both learning and trueth; yet to auouch the lower Sheol to be onely the graue, is onely a point of your accustomed impudencie, which regardeth neither reason nor sense, so long as you may outface all with your priuate and witlesse fansie.

[z] Prou. 1. v. 12.

Come now to the place of Esaie the fourteenth, where you so peremptorily pronounce, that whatsoeuer others thinke, *the circumstances doe conuince the graue onely is there ment*; and see your owne follie, if pride haue not so closed your eyes, that you can discerne nothing besides your owne dreames. In the wordes of Esaie are sundrie circumstances, which plainely proue Sheol there not to be taken for the graue onely. The first is the situation of Sheol, which the Prophet there saith is below. [y] *Sheol from below is stirred to meete thee*; not meaning the dead should be then raised to life, but the Ghostes below should be mooued and affected with the suddaine fall of that mightie tyrant. It is also there opposed to heauen, as the lowest place to the highest; for where through pride the king of Babylon said *in his heart*, [x] *I will ascend to heauen, and exalt my throne aboue the starres of God*; the Prophet replieth, [a] *thou shalt be thrust downe to Sheol, to the sides of the lake*. Secondly there are in that place attributed to them in Sheol remembrance, admirance, irrision, and speach, which by no meanes can agree to dead carcasses in the graue, but to spirits and soules in hell; neither had the dead bodie of the king of Babylon any sense, sorrow, or shame for his foule fall, which their insulting in hell against him purposed to impresse. Thirdly the cruelty, tyranny, pride, and rage of the king of Babylon against Gods people were greater then to bee requited onely with the graue, as were all other men euen the Iewes themselues that were the Seruants of God & their most religious Kings. It was therefore no way fitting for the iustice of God against his enemies, nor for his loue to his owne, to menace the oppressors & murderers of his people with no more, but only with the graue. For since God by the same prophet threatned the king of Asshur with *Tophet* for smiting his people, saying; [b] *Tophet is prepared of old, it is euen prepared for the king, he* (to wit God) *hath made it deepe and wide, the burning thereof is fire, and much wood; the breath of the Lord, like a riuer of brimstone, doth kindle it*: how should the graue onely be sufficient to reuenge the outrages of the king of Babylon against the Saints of God, whose citie he vtterly destroyed, and kept them groning in most miserable seruitude? Lastly where you so confidently pronounce the graue onely is there ment, a man may soone see, how little care you take in setling your sentence, since of all other things there specified, the graue is namely excepted by the Prophet, as no part of Gods threats against that proud tyrant. These are his words. [c] *Thou shalt not be ioyned with them in the graue, because thou hast destroied thine owne land, and slaine thy people: thou art cast out of the graue, like an abominable branch, as a carcasse troden vnder feete.* So that heere you are taken tardie with a plain and presumptuous contradiction to the words of the Prophet, that where he threatneth, the king of Babel for his cruell oppression shall not be partaker of a graue after his death, but be cast out as an hatefull carcasse to be troden vnder foote, you in your wisedome affirme the graue is onely heere ment, whatsoeuer others thinke, yea though the Prophet himselfe expresly say no. With such principles you proppe vp your idle fansies in the Hebrew tongue, whiles you would seeme learned in giuing the Prophet the lie to his face.

[y] Esai. 14. v. 9.
[x] vers. 13.
[a] vers. 15.
[b] Esai. 30. v. 33.
[c] Esai. 14. vers. 20. & 19.

But heere you will say is mention of wormes, that should *spredde vnder him, and couer him, and of lying downe to sleepe.*] This is all the shew, that can be made out of sixteene

teene verses in that Chapter describing the destruction of the king of Babylon and his issue, and yet these wordes neither doe nor must inferre the graue, which he should lacke, but the putrifying of his body, though vnburied; and his lying down to death, yet not in the graue. Neither is it to be doubted, but when his soule descended to Sheol below, his bodie was dead; the one doth not exclude, but rather include the other, except men descend aliue to hell, as we read of some in the Scriptures; otherwise the soule is first seuered from the body, before she goe to her owne place, which for the wicked is the lower Sheol.

Thus much you might haue learned out of old and new interpreters, but that you scorne to be directed by any man farder then your owne fancie doth lead you. Of this place of Esaie Ierom thus writeth. [d] *He that through pride said, I will ascend to heauen, and be like the most high, is thrust downe; non solum ad infernum, sed ad inferorum vltimum, not onely to hell, but to the lowest steppe of hell. So the deepe of the lake doth signifie, for which in the Gospell we read vtter darkenesse, where is weeping and gnashing of teeth. And withall we learne, that hell is vnder the earth, the Scripture saying vnto the bottome of the lake.* Haymo on the same words. [e] *Hence we learne, that hell is vnder the earth, whose inhabitants in this place are designed by the name of hell. Hell is troubled to meet thee, because the angell, who is President ouer infernall paines, hath stirred vp, to meete thee, the Giants, that is the mightie princes of the earth, whom before thou didst heauily oppresse.* Lyra very skilfull in the Hebrue tongue, as appeareth by his often citing the Rabbins, vpon the same place saith. [f] *Heere is the insultation of the dead, and first against the soule* (of the king of Babylon,) *secondly as touching the buriall of his bodie. Concerning the first we must know, the Iewes & Catholike writers expound this place of Nabucodonosors soule descending to the paines of the damned.* But *it must be referred to Balthasar his Nephew, and so it is said.* HELL.] *That is the diuell the ruler of hell.* VNDER THEE] *because hell is said to be in the deepe of the earth.* IS TROVBLED.] *because the diuels were busie about the receauing and leading of his soule.* Bullingere likewise. [g] *The Prophet goeth on to describe the wretchednesse of Balthasar the wicked king of Babylon. When therefore he was thrust through the body in many places by the souldiers, that brake into his palace, his soule went straight to hell. Where two things are to be obserued; first that the soule of man doth not die with his body; next that hell is appointed as a certaine place for the wicked, which heere is anouched to be beneath vs.* Oecolampadius. [h] *Thou art descended to hell, and thy glory and mirth with thee. And as the body is deuoured of wormes, so the soule is tormented with the wormes of an euill conscience. These are the treasures of rich and mightie men, which oppresse others in this life; they cary nothing hence, but a wretched conscience into the Gehenna fire, where their worme doth not die, nor the fire quench.* Pellican. [i] *The dead Princes in hell answer one another, deriding ech the other, vpbrayding violences, exercising wrath and indignation, raging with impatience and iniuries, wormes meate, and most wretched with the perpetuall gnawing of conscience, euen as in the kingdome of the blessed* (Saints) *they congratulate one another, and reioyce ech at others rewards and honors.* Gualter. [k] *The summe of all that shall be said* (by the Prophet) *is this, that the Medes should kill the king of Babylon, and his soule be cast downe to hell, among other tyrants to suffer euerlasting torments. This place hath an euident testimonie teaching vs, that soules do not die with their bodies, but are spirits immortall, and gathered into a place appointed for them; the wicked to hell, where vtter darkenesse is, and eternall weeping and gnashing of teeth.* Mollerus. [l] *In these verses is described the state of the dead, which depart this life in their sinnes without repentance, as it is in the storie of the rich glutton* (Lucæ 16.) *for as he was caried to hell, so this tyrant, and all others, that die in their sinnes, descend to hell.* Wigandus vpon these wordes, [m] *Hell below is stirred to meete thee. The Prophet saith, that other Tyrants in hell meet the Babylonian tyrant, and insult at him, qui iam in imum Tartarum detractus, sibi fiat similis, who being brought downe to the deepest hell, is now become like to them.* As these learned interpreters rightly obserue the circumstances of Esaies words, so depart they not from the propriety of the Hebrew phrase, which Munster confesseth generally to be this. [n] *The wicked descend lisshol tachtith, to the lower*

[d] *Hiero. in 14. ca. Esaiæ.*

[e] *Haymo in 14. ca. Esaiæ.*

[f] *Lyra in 14. ca. Esaiæ.*

[g] *Bullingerus in 14 ca Esaiæ.*

[h] *Oecolampadius in 14. Esaiæ.*

[i] *Pellicanus in 14. Esaiæ.*

[k] *Gualterus in 14. ca. Esaiæ.*

[l] *Mollerus in ca. 14. Esaiæ.*

[m] *Wigandus in 14. ca Esaiæ.*

[n] *Munsteri annotationes in ca. 4. Euangel. Hebrai. Matthei.*

lower sheol, that is, to Gehenna, where their fire quencheth not for euer.

The words of Ezechiel 31 & 32, haue as many and the same circumstances to refute your follie, as the wordes of Esay haue, and make proofe sufficient, that those words doe not import only the Graue, as you falsely presume. First Rabbi Iehosuas and Midras Tehilim of good authority amongst the Iews, auouch (as I haue shewed) *erets tachtith*, *the lower earth*, to be the description and appellation of Hell in the Scriptures. Next, *Mercer* and *Forster*, and other famous Hebricians obserue, as also your selfe doe yeeld, that *erets tachtith* hath *manifestly the same sense* and signification with Sheol Tachath in the foureteenth of Esay, of which there is now no doubt but hell is thereby implied. Thirdly, Ezechiel purposely noteth, and so nameth the same place, where all the vncircumcised and wicked, that from the beginning were barbarous and bloudie enemies to the people of God, were gathered and receiued after this life, whereof many thousand were drowned, and otherwise depriued of their graues (except the name of graue be figuratiuely taken for death) when yet Ezechiel pointed out the place, where they were at the time that he spake these words, euen in the lower earth. Fourthly, Ezechiel giueth them sight, speech and affections, as Esay did, in saying; [o] *They are now ashamed of their strength*, by which they became terrors to the liuing, and [p] *see* and [q] *speake* ech to others, insulting and vpbraiding one another, euen as Esay before described them. Lastly, the selfe same phrase is found in Dauid threatning this vengeance to those who sought his soule to destroy it, that they should go [r] *betachtijoth hâarets, to the lower parts of the earth*, and yet their carcasses be left as a [s] *portion to the foxes*, that is, to be deuoured of wild and rauening beasts. What the Iewes conceaued by the *lower earth* appeareth by the prayer of King Manasses, which though it be not canonicall, yet it is of credit enough to expound that speach, wherein he besought God, [t] *not to be angrie with him for euer, nor to condemne* (him) *into the lower parts of the earth*. And the Hebrue translation of S. Matthews Gospel, which S. Ierom testifieth was long before his time, expresseth the words of our Sauiour touching his Church, *the gates of hell shall not preuaile against it*, by [u] *shaare tachtjoth, the lower gates*. So that the same reasons serue to limit Ezechiels words, that serued for Esaies, and you haue none other obiections against them, but the selfe same that were before, which are very friuolous to inferre any such thing as you resolue, that only the graue is ment by Ezechiels words. Yea the name of graue or sepulchre, which there is sometimes vsed, though not alone, inferreth as well eternall as corporall death in the wicked, the one being alwaies consequent to the other in them. And so much *Mercerus* a man of good iudgement admonisheth, *Sepulchri nomine scriptura exitium & mortem æternam intelligit, ex externa morte internam accipiens. By the name of* (graue or) *sepulchre the Scripture vnderstandeth destruction and eternall death, noting the inward death by the outward.*

[o] Ezech. 32. vers. 30.
[p] vers. 31.
[q] 21.
[r] Psal 63. vers. 9. & [s] 10.
[t] *Oratio Regis Manassis.*
[u] *Hebraicum Euangelium Matth. ca. 16.*
[x] *Mercerus in 15. ca. Prou. vers. 24.*

And as for interpreters new and old, they likewise concurre in the exposition of Ezechiels words, and of Dauids, that hell is ment *by erets tachtith, the lower earth, and tachtjoth arets, the lower part of the earth*, no lesse then it was by Sheôl *tachath, the lower sheol* in Esaias speach. Ierom. [y] *to the lower earth, hoc est ad infernum, that is, to hell, ad eos qui descendunt in Lacum, haud dubium, quin inferna significet, to those that descend to the lake, it cannot be doubted, but he meaneth hell.* Lyra. [z] *To the loweſt earth, that is, to hell as touching the soule, which the Doctors say is in the deepe of the earth.* Munster. [a] *If thou aske where are the Assyrians buried?* (Ezechiel) *answereth in the sides of the lake, and in the lower parts of the earth, by which the Prophet signifieth the damnation of body and soule.* Oecolampadius vpon Ezechiels words, *There is Asshur and all his multitude:* [b] *in Gehenna, in the place of the damned, amongst the vncircumcised Assyrians; round about his graue or pit, that is, in the midst of hell. For with this figure* (of speech) *the Prophets vse to describe the damnation of the* (wicked or) *accursed, who together with their soules are punished with euerlasting death.* Pellican: [c] *Ad terram vltimam, hoc est ad infernum. To the loweſt earth, that is, to hell.* [d] *And they are sayd to be buried in pits* (round about them) *because they are gathered in hell to the fellowship of their forefathers, and such as were*

[y] *Hiero. in ca. 31. Ezechielis.*
[z] *Lyra in ca. 31. Ezechielis.*
[a] *Munsterus in annotationibus 32. cap. Ezech.*
[b] *Oecolampad. in ca. 32. Ezech.*
[c] *Pellicanus in ca. 31. Ezech.*
[d] *Idem in ca. 32*

were like them; [c] *who by their fiercenesse and crueltie against mankinde, which they sought to oppresse, deserued reproch with the liuing in all ages, and in hell euerlasting punishment and fire.* Lauater. [i] *non solum Rex ad Tartara præcipitatus fuit, not only the king was cast downe to hell, but his wicked counsellors, souldiers, and helpers.* [g] *By the vncircumcised he vnderstandeth the damned, meaning the king should perish body and soule.* [h] *Out of this place of the Prophet* (Ezechiel) *we vnderstand first, that there is an hell, or place appointed to punish the wicked; next that it is beneath vs, thirdly, who shall be cast thither.* The like is obserued out of Dauids words, by Ierom. [i] *They shall goe into the lower parts of the earth.* [k] *In inferno damnabuntur, they shalbe condemned to hell.* Haymo. [l] *Into the lower parts of the earth, that is, into hell.* Euthymius, [m] *After death they shall descend to hell.* Lyra. [n] *Into the lower parts, that is, to Gehenna, which is in the lower parts of the earth.* So Pellican. [o] *They that seeke me to death, shall fall on destruction, and be rather thrust downe to hell.* Pomerane, [p] *These things shew that all the endeuours of such, as be enemies to godlinesse, shalbe frustrate, and they shall descend to hell to euerlasting death.* [q] Westhmerus followeth Pomerane word for word. Bucer, *Dauid* [r] *denounceth destruction to his enemies seeking his soule to death, as that they should be cast downe to hell, which he meaneth by the lower parts of the earth. The verse ensuing fortelleth the reiection of their carcasses to be meat for Foxes.* [s] Felinus insisteth on the very same words. Mollerus, [t] *They shall goe to the lowest parts of the earth, that is, they shall vtterly perish, and descend to hell, and their carcasses be cast abroad in the fields to be torne and deuoured of wild Beasts.*

[a] *Ibidem.*
[b] *Lauaterus homil. 133. in Ezech.*
[g] *Ibidem.*
[h] *Ibidem.*
[i] *Hieron. in Psal. 62.*
[k] *Haymo in Psal. 62.*
[l] *Euthymius in Psal. 62.*
[m] *Lyra in Psal. 62.*
[n] *Pellicanus in Psal. 62.*
[o] *Pomeranus in Psal. 63.*
[p] *Westhmerus in Psal. 63.*
[q] *Bucerus in Psal. 63.*
[r] *Felinus in Psal. 63.*
[s] *Mollerus in Psal. 63.*

Hauing now found by the circumstances of the Scriptures themselues, as also by the iudgement of so many Iewish Rabbins, Christian writers, old and new expositors that your heaping vp of Hebrew phrases is but the vaine broching of your owne fansies, and consequently that there is no cause for you to controle the full consent of so many learned Fathers, as haue applied the Apostles wordes to Christs descent to the lower parts of the earth, that is to hell, which the Scriptures place vnder the earth. Let vs see, which of these two senses, yours or mine, best fitteth the apostles purpose: Of yours I may safely say, it hath no coherence with the wordes, nor intent of the Apostle. For these two verses, the ninth and the tenth, interposed with a parenthesis, apparantly pertaine to the verifying of Dauids wordes cited immediately before in the eight verse, that Christ *ascending on high, lead captiuitie captiue.* Before Christes ascending, by way of relation the Apostle putteth Christes descending; and because descending and ascending must haue contrary extreames, from which and to which the motion is made, therefore to the highest heauens, aboue which Christ ascended, Paul opposeth the lowest parts of the earth, to which Christ first descended. The end of his descending is comprised in Dauids wordes, *to leade Captiuitie Captiue*, which must be from the place of their chiefest strength; euen as the end of his ascending after hee had led captiuitie Captiue, was to giue gifts to men. Now these two are the greatest blessings that Christ in this life bestoweth on his Church, and in order follow one the other, as Dauid first, and after him the Apostle setteth them. For we were first to be [t] *deliuered from our enemies, and from the hands of all that hate vs*, I meane the enemies of our soules, as Zacharie filled with the holy Ghost did prophesie we should, before we could *serue him without feare in holinesse and righteousnesse*, as wee ought to doe, *all the dayes of our life.* Deliuerance from the power of our enemies we had none, but by Christs conquering them, and leading them Captiue. And full conquest ouer them Christ had none, but by rising from the dead, and treading vnder his feet all their power and strength, not onely against himselfe, but against all his. And no place fitter to dissolue and breake all their force and might then in the chiefe castle of their kingdome, which is hell seated in the lower parts of the earth. So that this exposition of the learned and auncient Fathers, which I before abundantly deliuered in their owne wordes, is so farre from any iust challenge, that it orderly and plainely lightneth and iustifieth the wordes of Dauid, which the Apostle there taketh vpon him to illustrate. Now in your exposition there is no such thing. For first the graue is not in the lower parts of the earth, nor opposite to the height of heauen, whither Christ ascended,

[t] Luke 1.

scended, according to the Apostles wordes. Next Christ descending to his graue, was rather lead captiue of death, then shewed any conquest ouer death. Thirdly before Christ, many rose from the graue, as well aunciently raised by Elias and Elizeus, as then newly by Christ himselfe. But this conquest, which Dauid heere celebrateth, was not ouer the graue onely, but ouer hell, Satan, sinne, death, and all the power and feare of the enemie, which Christ led Captiue, leauing none vnconquered, and *made an open shew of them, triumphing ouer them in his owne person*; as the same Apostle elsewhere deliuereth. Therefore this place must stand for good, till you or your friends bring better helpes to vnioynt it, then your and their idle phrasiologie gainsaying the whole Church of Christ for your priuate nouelties and vanities.

" *Where you expound the text and say, he descended to the lowest, and ascended to the highest, that he might fill all places with the presence of his manhood, you speake both inconueniently and farre from the Apostles meaning.* x *You adde to it (with his presence) very deceitfully in a differing letter like the text, and together with the text. What censure this deserueth the godly doe know.*] What censure deserue you, that cannot speake three lines without an open iniurie, or manifest folly? You first confesse I expound the text, and then you charge me with *adding* to the text; as if any man could possibly expound any place of Scripture, and adde nothing to the wordes. Then were plaine reading of the text, the best expounding of it; and so should all exposition be superfluous and iniurious, as most of your expositions are. And who, besides you, so deepely doteth, as to charge an expositour with saying somewhat besides the text? but I *adde it in a different letter like the text and together with the text.*] I cannot expound any place of Scripture, but I must insert the wordes of the text which I expound, and ioyne them together with mine owne. The text I cite not three lines before exactly as it lieth in the apostles writings, and set by the side the quotation of the place, *Ephes.* 4. with a direction to the wordes alleaged by me out of the apostle. I then reason from the true meaning of the apostles wordes, who saith, that Christ first descended to the lower parts of the earth, and ascending on high lead captiuitie captiue. Whence did Christ lead captiuitie captiue, but from the lower parts of the earth? If that were the purpose of his descending, the lower parts of the earth were the place, whence he lead captiuitie (euen all his & our enemies) captiue. And so I made the conclusion of mine owne, and not a fresh allegation, as you absurdly mistake, of the Apostles words; *Christ then descended into the lower parts of the earth, and thence lead captiuitie captiue*; that *he might fill all* (places with his presence.) Where if your eies were not more then dimme, you might soone see, I quoted no text, as I did before, but declared by mine owne wordes inserted, what I gathered out of the apostles speech, as the wordes interposed in an other letter, and with two lines inclosed, (but that the Printer did sometimes forget my markes and directions) doe plainly witnesse. And to what purpose I pray you Sir in common reason were it for me to repeat a place faire and full as I doe, and within two lines after to cite the same againe with sixe wordes added, which were not in the former; except it were an exposition and no citation of the Apostles words? Wherefore your wisedome might presently haue perceaued, that the halfe circle which standeth after (places) did in my coppie stand after (*presence*) and that the Printer by haste or neglect brought it neerer then hee should. And those very wordes (places with his presence) you finde twice in the same section in an ordinarie letter, and cite them your selfe as an exposition and not an addition to the Apostles words.

" Defenc. pag. 151. li. 32.

x Pag. 152. li. 32.

But my speech, you say, *is both inconuenient and farre from the Apostles meaning.*] Of that you are no fitte iudge, you must reade more, and more indifferently then you doe, before you will come neere the Apostles meaning. Your exposition, that Christ first descended into the lower parts of the earth, and (then) ascended farre aboue all heauens, *onely to fill all his Church with the gifts of his spirit, which by his ascending hee promised to doe*; is farre from the Apostles wordes and meaning. For in these wordes (to fill all) the apostle compriseth as well the benefits of

Christs

Christs descending as of his ascend ing. And euen by his ascending we are assured of other and greater gifts, then those which are powred on his church heere on earth for the support of his Saints in this life. Christes comming to iudgement, his raising our bodies from corruption, and conforming them to be like his glorious body, and bringing vs into the kingdome of his Father, where perfect, eternall, and celestiall ioy, blisse, and glory shall be reuealed on vs; these be waightier and excellenter gifts then the graces of this life; and yet by Christes ascending into heauen we haue a manifest interest in all these. So that though it be true, that Christ departing from vs, prouided sufficiently for vs, whiles heere we liue, by the gifts and graces of his spirit; yet the kingdome of Christ, which extendeth to things, places, and persons celestiall, terrestriall; and infernall, is farre larger, then that part, which you mention, which commeth nothing neere to the fulnesse of the Apostles wordes or sense. Since then by descending to the lowest, and ascending to the highest, the apostle noteth all the places in the world, the earth not excepted, from which Christ both descended, and ascended after he had finished the worke of our redemption, and by his presence in euerie place was acknowledged, his power and dominion ouer all things in euery of these places, hell it selfe being not able to make any resistance to his person or pleasure: the sense which I giue to the apostles words, that Christ descended & ascended to fill all places with the maiestie of his presence, and might of his word, better declareth the greatnesse and largenesse of Christes kingdome now sitting in heauen, then doth the guiding of his church in the miseries and infirmities of this life, though I do not denie, but that is a woorthy part of his excellent and supereminent power. And for that application of the apostles wordes, which perhaps you finde not in your Note booke, and so suspect it to be the more inconuenient, Athanasius a man of more iudgement, then I or you, or any that you follow, for ought that I know, first led me to it. [y] *Christ performed the condemnation of sinne on the earth, the abolition of the curse on the crosse, the redemption of corruption in the graue, and the dissolution of death in hell, Omnia loca permeans going to euerie place, that he might euery where worke mans saluation.* And againe, [z] *As then Christ our Sauiour τὰ πάντα πανταχῆ παρὼν, filled all* (places) *on all sides with his presence, so he filled all with the knowledge of himselfe. Man compassed on euerie side and euery where, that is in heauen in hell, in man, in earth, may behold the Diuinitie of the Sonne of God vnfolded* (by his Manhood.)

[y] *Athanasius de Incarnatione Christi.*

[z] *Athanas. de Incarnatione verbi Dei.*

[a] Defenc. pag. 152. li. 18.

[a] *Third: you make much of that which doth you not a pinnes worth of good: where it is asked, who shall descend into the deepe? that is to bring Christ againe from the dead. If the deepe here did signifie Hell, (which yet certainely it doth not, but suppose it doth) how will that follow (which you presume) that Christ dying descended into the deepe. The text saith no such thing.*] You be a deinty diuine, that thinke the Apostle here wandreth in his question, & erreth in his answere, abruptly & impertinently clapping things vncoherent together. If the Apostle did not referre the former questions to Christ, how then in his answere doth he ad, *this is to bring Christ down* (from heauen), *& to bring Christ backe from the dead?* Will your wisedome then learne, that the question must fit the answere, & the one be pinned at least to the other. But Christ, you say, is not named in either of those questions, *who* (shal or) *can ascend to heauen? who* (shal or) *can descend to the deepe?*] What then? are there not besides the answers, which name Christ, & so tie the former question to the person of Christ; two manifest reasons to restrain these questions vnto Christ? First that the righteousnes of faith there mentioned by the Apostle, which dependeth only & wholy on Christ, may moue no such questions, nor doubt no such things. For he that doubteth, whether Christ dying descended to the deepe, or rising ascended to heauen; vtterly frustrateth the faith, that is in Christ. The perswasion then of faith, which must be farre from mooning any such questions of Christ, prooueth those questions to pertaine to Christ. Secondly the questions themselues exactly comprise the person of Christ, and consequently, though he be not there named, yet is he there onely intended, as appeareth by the answere. For these interrogatiues, *who can ascend to heauen, or who can descend to the deepe*; are equiualent to these generall Negatiues,

To what deepe Christ descended.

none

none can ascend to heauen, and none can descend to the deepe, as is plaine by the perpetuall vse of the Scripture. [b] *What hast thou which thou hast not receaued?* [c] *who is like to thee O Lord?* [d] *his generation who shall declare?* [e] *which of you reproueth me of sinne?* [f] *Who shall accuse the elect of God? Who shall separate vs from the loue of Christ?* And a thousand like examples doe exquisitely proue these interrogatiues to be resolute and absolute Negatiues. And so Iob expoundeth them. [g] *Who can make cleane of vncleane? not one.* If NONE can ascend to heauen, or descend to the deepe, then NOT CHRIST; and so much the Apostle expresseth, when he saith, that Christ is excluded from descending, and ascending by those questions; and in that respect all, that will be faithful must forbeare them. Then notwithstanding your exception not worth a straw, these are two maine grounds of the *Christian* faith, that Christ dying descended to the deepe, and rising ascended to heauen, and hee that but doubteth in his heart of either of these, by the apostles verdict emptieth and reuerseth Christs death and resurrection. And did not this latter question, (*who can descend to the deepe*) pertaine directly vnto Christ, who onely of all men that euer were *descended to the deepe of Hell*, and returned againe with safetie and glory: we might not onely iustly doubt, *who euer* (besides Christ) *descended to the deepe* of the earth, but our faith teacheth vs plainely to denie, that euer man (Christ excepted) did descend to the deepe (supposing now that to signifie hell, as you doe) and yet doth not our faith frustrate the death of Christ, but therein rather commend it, and exalt it, that neuer man was able to doe, as he did, that is dying, and descending to subiect hell vnder his power; and to deliuer all his from thence. So that if the deepe heere doe signifie hell, then is heere a plaine resolution of the Apostle, that Christ dying descended to hell.

Now least you should take any pride in your pelting answere, not worth a tagge of of a blew point, the Reader shall see, that all interpreters, old and new, and euen those, on whom you would seeme most to relie, haue with one consent comprised the person of Christ in these two questions, and yeelded the Apostles answere to be very extrauagant, which God forbid, vnlesse Christ were comprised as well in the questions, as in the answeres. Oecumenius. [h] *The Apostle referreth these things to Christ. That is, wauer not, neither say in thy mind, how did Christ descend from heauen? or did Christ being dead rise from the deepe, that is from the lowest places? cast all such thoughts out of thy mind.* Theophylact. [i] *Stagger not*, (saith the apostle) *neither doubtingly cast this in thy mind, how Christ descended from heauen, or how after death he rose from the deepe, id est, ex abditissimo & profundissimo loco, that is, from the deepest and most hidden place.* Erasmus. [k] *Who shall ascend to heauen? that being spoken of the Law, Paul interpreteth and applieth to Christ. For that is, saith he, to draw Christ from heauen. Or who shall descend into the deepe? that is, who will beleeue the things that are spoken of hell, except he see them? this is,* sayth Paul, *to draw Christ backe from the dead, as though he did not descend to hell, or they desired, that in their sight he would againe descend to hell.* Peter Martyr thus setteth the Apostles questions. [l] *Who shall ascend to heauen to see whether God bee reconciled to vs by Christ? or who shall descend downe into the deepe to see euerlasting death weakned and abolished by him*, that is by Christ? Bucere. [m] *The Apostle acknowledgeth in this question the denial of Christ, and that he draweth Christ downe from heauen, which admitteth this doubt. It is euident that the deepe is taken pro inferis, for hell, and in this sense the Apostle seemeth to haue vsed this word the deepe, for hee addeth, that is to bring Christ backe from the dead, to wit, to account his descent to hell to be void, and his victorie ouer death and Gehenna.* Hyperius. [n] *Say not, who shall descend into the deepe? thou art eased of this trouble by Christs resurrection from the dead, and from hell.* Gualtere. [o] *Who shall descend to the deepe, to see whether death be disarmed, hell gates broken open, the Diuels kingdome subuerted, and we truely redeemed from all these? doe not they denie death to haue beene conquered by the merit and resurrection of Christ, and therefore would haue him againe to die, and to returne to hell, to doe that once more, which he hath alreadie performed?* Piscator. [p] *The heart of him that beleeueth, doth not descend by his thoughts to the deepe, to trie whether victorie be obtained against eternall death. For if he doubt of this, he must also doubt whether*

[b] 1. Cor. 4.
[c] Psal. 34.
[d] Esa. 53.
[e] Iohn. 8.
[f] Rom 8.
[g] Iob. 14.

[h] *Oecumenius in 10. ca. Roma.*
[i] *Theophylact. in ca. 10. Roma.*
[k] *Erasmi annotationes in 10. c. Roma.*
[l] *Petr. Martyr. in 10. ca. ad Roma.*
[m] *Buceri interpretat. 10. ca. Roma.*
[n] *Hyperius in 10. ca. Roma.*
[o] *Gualterus in 10 ca. Roma.*
[p] *Pisc. at. analy. 10. ca Roma.*

q Beza annot. in cap. 10. Roma.

whether Christ were dead, & ad inferos descenderit, and descended to hell. Beza. q *Because the law proposed heauen but vnder an impossible condition, and threatned the deepe, that is destruction, for the offence, to which we are all subiect, whosoeuer cleaueth to the righteousnesse of the law, of force is compelled to crie out, who shall ascend to heauen, or descend into the deepe, to take me hence, and lead me thither. But contrariwise faith suggesteth, that Christ is he, which ascended to heauen to carrie vs thither with him, and descended into the depth of death, to abolish him that had power of death.* Take which of these expositions you will, it is euident in euery one of them, that by the Christian faith both these impossible actions, as man thinketh, of ascending to heauen, and descending to the deepe, were performed for vs in the person of Christ, and therefore now to doubt of either, is to weaken & eneruate the power of Christ, who most perfectly hath accomplished both, to saue vs from one, and bring vs to the other. And heere also by the deepe, those whom you would seeme to follow, vnderstand destruction, and eternall death, as all the rest doe, from which Christ hath freed vs by descending, and destroying them for vs.

r Defenc. pag. 152. li. 27.

r *This I say the dead heere importeth the generall condition and state of all the dead as it is opposed to the state of the liuing. Yea it is not vnlikely that the former word Abyssus the deepe is vsed also heere by the Apostle to signifie (not hell but) euen this condition and state of death, which is a gulfe bottomlesse neuer satisfied and vnrecouerable: like as Sheôl in Hebrew doth likewise properly signifie.*] You shew your selfe by your saying to haue little care what you say, that not onely you crosse all Expositors without exception, but euen the Scriptures themselues without any respect of trueth, or touch of conscience. For where the Apostle proposeth this last point, *Who shall descend to the deepe,* and returne againe, as possible onely to Christ, and to none else; by your vntidie tale; that the deepe heere signifieth *the generall condition of the dead opposed to the liuing,* you make the apostle a weake reasoner, or rather a plaine lyer. For could Paul at this time be ignorant, that Elias and Elizeus raised some from the generall condition of the dead, that Christ restored three from death, & Peter did the like for *Tabitha?* Is there not plaine testimonie giuen in the Scriptures, that through faith [f] *the women receaued their dead raised to life?* If this were not onely possible, but so vsuall, as the Scriptures declare, how could Paul make this actiō of descending to the deepe possible but only to Christ? wherefore I say you must be better aduised, or else you shew your selfe in an open and impudent falshood to ruffle and reuell with the holy Ghost testifying that many haue gone to the condition of the dead opposed to the lyuing, and yet bin restored to life againe. And consequently in spite of your heart, *Abyssus* (the bottomles deepe) must not onely keepe his signification perpetuall in the new Testament, which is the place appointed for the diuels, but *descending thither* with returne must import an impossible condition to all men, saue onely to Christ; which in the generall condition and state of the dead is nothing so. Besides that the condemned to hell are truely dead, and so called in the Scriptures, is vnknowne to none of any learning saue to you. [t] *Death and hell,* saith Saint Iohn, *deliuered vp their dead.* And if the second death be the truest and terriblest death, that is, wherein both soule and body are for euer dead, then hell is most properly the place of the dead, since all there are adiudged to euerlasting death; where in the condition of death opposed to the liuing heere on earth, the soules of the Saints doe liue with God, and taste neither torment nor death. Touching the word *Abyssus* the bottomlesse pit, with which you play at your pleasure, this may suffice, that throughout the Scriptures the word is neuer vsed for the graue. For the depth of the sea, and bottom of earth it is vsed in the old Testament, and metaphorically for the deepe counsels of God, and desperate troubles of men; but in the new Testament it is onely vsed for the bottomlesse pitte, whither Diuels are afraid to goe, as appeareth by their petition to Christ, not to be commanded to depart [a] *εἰς τὸν ἄβυσσον into the bottomlesse deep*, and where they are [z] *lockt and kept*, when pleaseth God.

f Hebr. 11.

t Reuel. 20.

a Luc. 8.

z Reuel. 20.

y Defenc. pag. 152 li. 37.

y *This meaning the Syriacke translator (an auncient writer of no small credit) seemeth to haue*

haue, sith he turneth it abyssum sepulchri, the deepe of the graue.] The Syriacke translation I reuerence for antiquity, but you bring the Latin trãslator of the Syriacke, that is partiall by your leaue, & rendreth the Syriacke word according to his owne suppositi-on. For though the man were very learned, that made the Latin translation, yet in this and some other things he yeelded ouer much to the priuate affections of some men with whom he liued & conuersed. The words in Syriacke are, *who shall descend Lattehuma dashiul, to the deep of* sheiul? Where *sheiul* in Syriacke hath the same deriuation and signification that Sheôl hath in Hebrew, and therefore standeth as indifferent to the Sheôl of soules, which is hell, as of bodies, which is the graue. Againe *Tehuma* in Syriacke being all one whith *tehoma* in Chalday, and thence taken, as they both are frõ *tehom* in Hebrew, and throughout the Scriptures *tehom the deepe* being neuer applied to the graue, but to the great and vnsearchable deepes of the sea, of the earth, and of hell, it hath neither sense nor truth, that [z] *Tehuma* in this place should be applied to the six foot depth of a graue. Lastly, *Tehuma* without addition is vsed by the Syriack Translator for the deepe of hell, to which the Diuels desired not to be sent. And *sheiul* alone is also put by him to signifie the place of torment, where the rich Gluttons soule was punished after death. The Arabicke Translator keepeth the same sense, which the Syriack doth, saying, *who is he that descended* ILEY AFFALI LGIAHIM *to the lower places of hell* GIAHIM being vsed by the same Translator in S. Lukes Gospell to expresse the place, where the Rich mans soule after death was tormented. So that the Syriacke & Arabicke Translators fully refute your conceit of the graue, besides the sound and sufficient reason alleadged formerly by me, to which Translators must confirme their words, that the Apostles speach heere cannot be construed of the graue, without a manifest and inexcusable falsehood. For where then the sense of these words must be, *None euer descended to the graue* that returned, saue Christ, this is so false, that children will not endure it to be thought Apostolike: & therefore will you, nill you, the bottomlesse deepe here in this place of the apostle must signifie that deepe: to which neuer man descended and returned, but only Christ. Which if it be not hell, we desire to know of you and your friends, what place you can plot vs out to fitte these words.

[z] Luke 8.

[a] *The Apostle may (also) insinuate in this word a seeking to the deepest and fardest parts of the sea, to learne somewhere (if it might be) among all the creatures how to fulfill & keepe the law. For so Moses (whom here he doth cite) expressely signifieth. then so the Apostle also signifieth the very same.*] You thought the Sextens would deride you, if you should rest on this resolution, that euery day they digge bottomlesse pits to burie men in, when they themselues so easily get out of them; and therefore you now put forth to sea, and goe a diuing to see whether you can catch cockles in the deepe or no, to learne of them how the law of God may be fulfilled. A pattern of your profound learning if a man would seeke, he shall need goe no farder then this Page and the next, where he shall find how ignorantly, absurdly, and vntruely you roue at the matter and meaning of Moses and Paul, and misse them both as wide as the sea is broad. For Moses speaketh no word of the depth of the sea, much lesse of seeking to all creatures, how the law of God might be fulfilled. Neither doth the Apostle exactly cite the wordes of Moses, as you imagine, but somewhat altereth them, that he may fitte them to Christ with greater effect and comfort, then Moses could vnto the law. Moses speach is faire and plaine. The Iewes, to whom he deliuered the law written, could not pretend the knowledge of Gods will to be hidde in heauen, nor farre remooued from them beyond the seas, that they should wish some would [b] *goe vp to heauen to bring it them*, or [c] *ouer the sea* to fetch it, but the [d] *word* (saith Moses to the people) *is very neere vnto thee, in thy mouth, and in thine heart for to doe it:* That is, written before thine eies, that thou mightest read it, and pronounced in thine eares, that thou maiest remember it, if thou wilt take heed to obserue it. I take heauen and earth to record, [e] *I haue set before thee life and death, blessing and cursing.* Moses doth not say the performing of the law was not in heauen, nor beyond the sea: but the knowledg of the law. Otherwise you make Moses teach, that the fulfilling of the law was in their *mouthes* & *hearts*,

[a] Defenc. pag. 153. li. 15. & 16. *The true sense of Pauls and Moses words.*

[b] Deuter. 30. vers. 12.
[c] vers. 13.
[d] vers. 14.
[e] vers. 19.

[f] Galat.2. which is an open error, and repugnant to the trueth of the Goſpell. *For [f] if righteouſneſſe* (might be) *by the law, then Chriſt died without cauſe.* As you come nothing neere to Moſes meaning, ſo you ſwarue farder from Pauls. The right way to decline death threatned to the breakers of the law, and to obteine life promiſed to the obſeruers thereof, is not to looke to the law, which we cannot obſerue, but to Chriſt, who hath deſtroied death, and purchaſed life for vs. And therefore after Chriſts reſurrection and aſcenſion to aske who ſhall aſcend to heauen, to procure vs life, or who ſhall deſcend into the deepe to deſtroy death for vs, is to fruſtrate, through infidelity, that which Chriſt hath done for vs. If *we confeſſe with our mouths, and beleeue with our hearts that God hath raiſed vp Ieſus from the dead*, to be Lord ouer all, that is, to giue life, and ſaue from death, whom he will, we ſhalbe ſaued; this is the Apoſtles purpoſe. As for merit-mongers, of whom you ſay the Apoſtle ſpeaketh theſe words, it is an idle and drowſie conceit of yours. Theſe words doe no waies fitte preſumers on their merits, for they thinke they ſhall aſcend to heauen by their workes, they aske not who ſhall aſcend: and in the bottom of the ſea what merits can you deuiſe, or to what creatures there ſhould Phariſes ſeeke, how to fulfill the law? what bables be theſe to be wreathed into the Apoſtles words? or who but you would place all the creatures of God, either in heauen or in the bottom of the ſea? If you cannot write as a diuine, ſpeake yet as a man of common ſenſe or vnderſtanding. And all theſe ſenſes, you ſay the Apoſtle may inſinuate in this word. I thinke as ſoone all as one, but that the deepe in one, and the ſame ſentence ſhould ſignifie *the graue, the bottom of the ſea, and the whole ſtate of the dead*, is a flower of your field, it groweth in no wiſe mans garden.

[g] Defenc. pag 154.li.6. *The Defender cannot diſcerne a concluſion from a quotation.*

[g] *I may not omit to ſhew how you deale here againe with the Text. You alleage it, he deſcended into the deepe. But (he) is cunningly added, neither are theſe words meant of him.*] Your eyes be not paires, that perceiue not the difference betwixt a quotation and a concluſion gathered out of the Apoſtles words. In the 220 page, with which you cauill, the letter (*b*) pointing to *Rom.* 10. in the margine is ſet after *he*, and next before [b] *deſcended to the deepe*. So that any ſober man might ſoone ſee, I alleaged not this word *he*, as out of the text, but inferred it as the true meaning of the Apoſtle. And whether I haue better reaſon to ſay theſe words are meant of Chriſt, as all Interpreters new and olde doe, than you haue to ſay, they are meant of *a Phariſaicall Merit-monger*, that ſeeketh to learne of fiſhes in the deepe of the ſea, how to fulfill the Law; let the Reader iudge, now he hath heard vs both. [h] [*The like practiſe you vſe againe in the Pſalme. There is no word to expreſſe (beneath) which you put into the text of your owne head.*] Were there no word importing ſo much, yet ſo long as the word added is expreſly ratified by many places of Scripture, as appeareth Eſay 14. verſ. 9. and Prouerbs 15. verſ. 24. in plaine words, that Sheol is *beneath*; and the addition is in another letter different from the reſt before and after; your Maſterſhip might haue taken it for an explication inſerted, and not for any part of the text cited. But you neuer ſuppoſe, that the Printer may ſometimes miſtake or miſ-ſet my directions; and that maketh you ſo faſt to fome at mouth with my *falſifying the word of God of purpoſe and for aduantage*; where you rather lie of purpoſe or for aduantage, ſince I doe not offer there to build any thing on that word, nor ſo much as mention it in my collection there, which if I would haue done, Scriptures enough beſides this would warrant my aſſertion. And what if you whet your teeth againſt the trueth, and the word there, of it ſelfe will beare this addition without any corruption, is not your time well ſpent, to play the Bedlom in this ſort, and in the end to betray your owne ignorance and malice? The Septuagint tranſlate the word, ἐὰν καταβῶ, *if I deſcend, or go downe to Sheôl*, whom the Greeke Fathers follow. The Weſt Church kept the ſame word, as is euident by all the Latine Fathers. The Chaldaie paraphraſe ſayth, *Veèmuc liſhjol, If I depreſſe* (or humble) *my ſelfe downe to Sheol*, where the word is *mac*, to be depreſſed downe or humbled low. Ierom ſayth, *If I lie downe in Sheôl.* New Writers well skilled in the Hebrew tongue, as Pellican, Pomerane, and others continue the word of deſcending, and many that change it, retaine the ſame ſenſe: as Vatablus; [i] *Hebra-*

[h] Pag.154. li.13.

[i] *Vatabli annotationes in Pſal.139.*

ſmus

ismus pro si etiam descendam ad Ima, it is an Hebrew phrase importing thus much, If I doe descend to the parts beneath. Westhmerus expoundeth it; [k] *Si descendam in infima loca terræ. If I descend to the lowest places of the earth.* Mollerus: [l] *Si etiam descendam ad Ima. If I should descend to the places beneath.* Dauid Kimchi obserueth, that this word is not only to *spread*, but withall it hath in it the force of [m] *lematta, below, beneath.* Augustinus Iustinianus translated the Arabick with the word of descending. If all these haue falsified the word of God in so translating and expounding this place, then haue I mistaken in following their iudgements; but that *I falsified of purpose or for an aduantage*, that is the meale of your mouth not vnlike the rest of your grieſt. Howbeit, it is euident the Hebrew word hath in it, as Kimchi noteth, the signification of *sub & infra*, and in that respect importeth a bed, where a man lieth downe in a lower position than he had before. For which cause I might lawfully render the word as I did, *If I lie downe*, or *lodge* (beneath) *in sheôl*. Since Sheol by the Scriptures is a place whither a man must descend, though indeed to preuent all challenge, I was content to expresse the force of the word in another letter.

[k] *Westhmerus in Psal. 139.*
[l] *Mollerus in Psal. 139.*
[m] *In Sepher hasharashim.*

[n] *Our second and most principall reason is this; If there be not one place of Scripture to proue that Christs soule was in hell, then you ought to denie that opinion: but you haue not indeed any one place that proueth it; therefore it ought to be denied.*] You shew your Logicke, where little need is, keepe it, if you be wise, till it may stand you in more steed. Euery Child knoweth, or at least hath heard, that faith must depend on the word of God. Wherefore if it be no where written, we meane not to beleeue it. But if when the words be plaine you will wrest them with figures and phrases to another purpose, then giue vs leaue if your proofes be not sound and good, to tell you that our faith relieth on the singlenesse and plainnesse of the word of God, so receaued and beleeued since Christ had a Church on earth. And though you can make shewes with diuers acceptions, and figuratiue senses of words, yet that is no reason to reuerse the trueth written. For giue me the like liberty without regard of faith and trueth, and I can shift of any word whatsoeuer in the Scriptures, yea the chiefest and maineſt grounds of Religion I can elude with different significations of the same word in other places of Scriptures. This therefore, if you take not heed, is a vaine ostentation of phrasiologie, wherewith you thinke to make euery thing of any thing with your figuratiue and phrasitiue fansies.

[n] Defenc pag. 154. li. 27.

[o] *Against this argument you say you haue one place, Acts 2. 27. euen onely one where you thinke it is plaine, that Christ saith, God would not leaue his soule in hell.*] That we haue, or say wee haue but one place to proone Christes descent to hell, is a tale of your telling, who seldome speake trueth; but that you shall neuer with all the wittes and shifts you haue, euert the vigour of this place, that I say, and you shall see by Gods grace I will performe it. But omit your Prefaces and goe to your proofes, and then it will soone be seene where trueth is.

[o] Defenc. pag. 154. li 31.

[p] *The Hebrew word controuersed is Sheôl, the Greeke Hades. Now must the word Sheôl and Hades needs signifie hell, being applied to soules departed hence? so indeed you auouch more confidently then truly: and heereupon it seemeth you pawne the triall of this question.*] You be so fine in your phrases, that you can not frame your lippes to trueth. I auouch indeed you can prooue no such thing, and so I suppose it will fall out. But in neither of these two pages which you quote, doe I pawne the question on that issue, and in the 312. by you cited in your margine, I speake not a word of Sheol or Hades; so well couched are your conceits, that you cite things neither written nor ment. [q] *Wee hope then when this proofe (which you aske for against your opinion) is shewed, you will correct your opinion in this point.*] Your proofes I feare will be so wide from the purpose, that they will rather confirme, then conuince mine assertion of Sheôl; but neuer make so deintie to bring foorth your choisest stuffe, it will be some great onset, that you make so many offers to it, before you begin.

[p] Defenc. pag. 155. li. 4.
[q] Pag. 155. li. 12.

[r] *Let it be considered which the Psalmist hath of this matter: What man liueth and shall not see death? shall he deliuer his soule from the hand of Sheol? Heere now the soule attribu-*

[r] Defenc. pag. 155. li. 17.

ted to euery man liuing muſt be properly taken, as well as in the former place. Now then it is apparant, that heere the ſoules of all men liuing, both good and badde (after death) are appointed to Sheol. For there is none that can poſſibly eſcape it, ſaith the text. Therefore in the Scripture ſheôl and Hades applied to departed ſoules is not alwaies hell, but the condition or place as well where the iuſt mens ſoules are after death, as that where the damned are.]
Heere is the Cannon that muſt craze the Creede, and beate downe the walles of Chriſtes Church; but your deuices doe not deceaue mine expectation. Set aſide the wordes of the Pſalmiſt, which you violently draw to fit your dreames; there is not one true nor likely word in all this reaſon. Firſt you ſay, *The ſoule attributed to euery liuing man muſt be properly taken* (you meane for his immortall ſpirit) *as well as in the former place*, where without queſtion the ſoule of Chriſt, as after death, was ſeuered from his bodie. This is a fooliſh and falſe poſition openly impugned by the Scriptures: for the ſoule attributed to euery man liuing by the Scriptures importeth not only his life, which by death is diſſolued and brought to Sheôl, but alſo his ſenſes, deſires, and euen corporall affections and paſsions. Of this can no man doubt, that hath read any part of the Scriptures. The ſoule is there ſayd to [f] *hunger and* [c] *thirſt*, to [a] *luſt*, to [x] *loath* meats, to [y] *eat and drinke*, to [z] *weepe*, to [a] *melt*, to ſuffer all violence, to be [b] *ſtrooken* or [c] *pierced with the ſword*. Theſe things are attributed to the ſoules of men liuing, by which not the ſubſtance of the ſoule, but the affections and paſsions of the bodie, that are common to vs with beaſts, are intended. Much more then, when the ſoule is ſayd to haue [d] *bloud*, to [e] *die*, or not to be deliuered from *the power of ſheol*, are theſe things applied to the life of men, which are moſt falſe of their ſoules once ſeuered from their bodies. So that no man is able to deliuer his ſoule from the hand of Sheol, but he muſt ſee death, as the words next before do import; but that Sheol after death ſhall poſſeſſe the ſoules of all men, there is no ſuch thing in the Prophets words by you produced. The hand or power of Sheol, which endeth this life, ſundreth the ſoule from the bodie, that power of Sheol ſhall no man eſcape, becauſe it is appointed for all *to die*, or as it is in your allegation, *to ſee death*: but what becommeth of their ſoules after death, whether they be in Sheol or in Paradiſe, this place expreſſeth not. And therefore your interlacing thoſe wordes *(after death)* of your owne authority beſides the text, ſheweth that you affirme ſo much, but the Pſalmiſt ſayth no ſuch thing. And becauſe the Reader ſhall plainly ſee, how lamely and looſely you conclude, and cleane contrarie to the direct words of the holy Ghoſt euen in the Pſalmes, he ſhall heare the words of Dauid himſelfe, whether his ſoule after death ſhould be ſubiected to the power of Sheôl or no. Speaking of the fooliſh, he ſayth; [f] *Like ſheepe they lie in Sheôl, death deuoureth them: but God will deliuer my ſoule from the hand* (or power) *of ſheol: for he will receiue me.* Where firſt is a manifeſt contradiction to your maine collection out of the former place, that [*] *the ſoules of all men good & bad (after death) are appointed to Sheôl.* Secondly here is a full confirmation of mine aſſertion; that whoſe ſoules God receaueth, they are not in Sheôl. But God receaueth the ſoules of his Saints: their ſoules therefore are not in Sheôl.

Neither is this confeſsion to bee found in the Pſalmes alone, Salomon auoucheth the ſame. [g] *Thou ſhalt ſmite* (thy child) *with the rod, and ſhald deliuer his ſoule from Sheol.* Then are not the ſoules of all men in Sheol after death, ſince the ſoule of a childe well nurtered and in time chaſtened ſhalbe deliuered from Sheol. And ſo ſhall the ſoules of all men, that after death liue with God. [h] *The way of life is on high for him that vnderſtandeth to decline from Sheol belowe.* Life is on high, Sheol is below; the Saints then whoſe ſoules liue with God, are freed from Sheol which is below. To be in both places at once, is impoſsible for one and the ſame part of man. Then ſuch as you graunt are in any part of heauen, can by no meanes remaine in Sheol. But the ſoules of the righteous are in a bleſſed reſt with God, and as Chriſt promiſed the thiefe, that was crucified with him, at leaſt in Paradiſe. They be therefore not in Sheol. And as for the mirth, that you make with me and Saint Auguſtine, that [i] *O then this point of faith is grounded on Auſtin, it is his collection,*

f Pſal. 107.
c Prou. 25.
a Pſal. 78.
x Num. 21.
y Luc. 12.
z Matth. 6.
a Ierem. 13.
b Cant. 5.
c Deut. 19. & 27.
c Ierem. 4.
c Luc. 2.
d Geneſ. 9.
e Iob. 36.
f Pſal. 48.
* Pag. 155. li. 29.
g Prou. 23.
h Prou. 15.
i Pag. 156. li. 9.

collection, (not the text without him) that ſerues your turne; you and your friends will neuer be able to ouermatch Saint Auſtins obſeruation, that he neuer found in any place of Scripture *Inferi* (which is the word that is vſed in Latin for ſheol) *to be taken in any good ſenſe* and much leſſe to make good proofe by the word of God, that the condition or place, in which the ſoules of the Saints are after death, is called ſheol or hades, ſince as I haue ſufficiently ſhewed, Sheol is oppoſite to heauen, and to euery part thereof, as the loweſt and woorſt place of abode to the higheſt and beſt, which things if you canne glew together you ſhall quit your ſelfe to bee your craftes maſter.

[k] *But firſt you muſt note, that we goe not about to prooue ſheol or hades to be heauen. We neuer thought it, the more is your iniurie, when you haue nothing to reproue, yet with bitter reproches to diſgrace me as you doe, and that euen for this your owne meere conceit.*] What time of the day is it, I pray you Sir, that you awake ſo lately out of your deepe and drowſie maze, or ſleepe (chooſe which you will) that you now begin in ſadneſſe to diſclaime, that you euer ſaid or ment Sheol was or could be heauen, or any part thereof? Is it ſo many moneths agone, that poſitiuely and publikely you affirmed [l] *Sheol and Hades in the Scriptures to* BE THE PLACE, *where the iuſt mens ſoules are after death*? Were the ſections of your booke framed ſo farre a ſunder, and ſo verie ſtrangers ech to other, that you forget it was a reſolute poſition of yours, or of ſome of your friends for you euen in the verie laſt ſection, and but in the other ſide of the leafe that THE CONDITION OR PLACE, WHERE IVST MENS SOVLES ARE AFTER DEATH, was SHEOL and HADES? and that which argueth your notable ſtupidity or folly, reiecting ſo violently the inuention of Limbus, which ſuppoſed the ſoules of the righteous deceaſed before Chriſt to be in Sheol and Hades, as well as the ſoules of the damned, you now come to tell vs that Sheol and Hades [m] *is the place as wel where the iuſt mens ſoules are after death, as that where the damned are.* You talke of wittie *reaſons* to ſolace your ſelfe withall, if you could tell how; in trueth this ſtuffe better deſerueth to be tawed with tearmes, then to be refuted with reaſon, ſince it hath neither ground nor proofe nor ſo much as concordance with it ſelfe.

[n] *Conſider a word of like vſe in Latin. Defuncti ſignifying the dead, may be applied generally to the ſoules deceaſed. Yet I hope notwithſtanding Limbus may be eaſily auoided. Are defuncti none other but the damned onely in hell?* [o] *the word is properly generall ſignifying them that are gone hence, certainly ſo doth hades and ſheol. All theſe (the Latin, the Greeke and the Hebrew) words are indifferent and commen in themſelues ſignifying indeed no poſitiue thing properly, but a meere priuation of this life.*] You ſhall doe well to conſider, that you know not what you ſay, but as a man out of trueth and tune you fall from one abſurdity to another, and trole out poſitions, that are meere priuations of all ſenſe and vnderſtanding: that ſuch words, as onely note the priuation of this life, or leauing this world, are common to all deceaſed and departed hence, this Children know: We ſtriue not for that: and ſo *defuncti* importing ſuch as haue ended the courſe of this life, and are gone from hence, may ſerue as well for thoſe that are with Chriſt in reſt and bliſſe, as for the reſt that are in the paines and torments of hell: but what is this to Sheol or hades, or to the place where the one, or the other are? Is the PLACE, where ſoules departing hence are receaued, no POSITIVE THING with you, but a MEERE PRIVATION? who euer ſaid ſo, that was not meerely depriued of his witts? the places where ſoules after this life are diſpoſed, are Paradiſe or as you ſay heauen, and hell. Are heauen and hell, and the ſtates of ſoules there, *no poſitiue things*, but *meere priuations of this life*? if this be the beſt way you haue to auoid Limbus, in faith my reaſon will ſoone conuince you to want more then witte. You ſpeake not of *places*, you will ſay, but of *conditions*. If you did ſo, your error were groſſe enough, but by your leaue, looke on your owne words, you ſpeake of the [p] PLACE WHERE IVST MENS SOVLES ARE AFTER DEATH, as well as *of the condition*; and would you now ſhift your hands of both, and ſay you ment a meere

[k] Defenc. pag. 156. li. 22.
[l] Defenc. pag. 155. li. 34.
[m] Ibid. li. 35.
[n] Defenc. pag. 156. li. 28.
[o] li. 38.
[p] Pag. 155. li. 34.

meere priuation of this life? you would faine conuey your ſelfe to your old caſtel of comfort, which are empty words and phraſes beſt fitting your wrangling humour; but we muſt pray you to conuince the Creed, and expound the Scriptures with more then meere priuations, and idle obſeruations, or els to let them ſtand in their former trueth and ſtrength. Who knoweth not, that ſuch as haue ended this life may be called *defuncti* or *mortui* the deceaſed or dead, in that their bodies lie now in corruption, though their ſoules be in peace and reſt with God? but what is that to the place or ſtate in which they are after death, which the Scripture maketh to be poſitiue, though ſuch a phraſe-founder as you are, would haue it nothing els but priuatiue? Of Enoch and Elias, who were tranſlated hence with their bodies liuing, it cannot be ſaid, they are dead, becauſe no part of them was or is ſubiected to death, and yet are they gone from hence to a more bleſſed and happie life. But Sheol in the Scriptures, as we haue ſeene by the common and conſtant conſent of Iewiſh and Chriſtian Grammarians and expoſitors, is *a place vnder earth* oppoſed to heauen, as the loweſt to the higheſt,

[q] Deut.1 3. [q] Iob.11. [q] Pſal.85. [q] Prou.15. [q] Eſa 14. [r] Iob.11. [r] Pſal.139. [r] Eſa 14. [r] Amos 9.

and the word of God doth exactly confirme that aſſertion of theirs. [q] *Moſes*, [q] *Iob*, [q] *Dauid*, [q] and [q] *Eſay* teach, that Sheol is [q] *below*. Now aboue and beneath are poſitions of places, and not differences of priuations. And ſo likewiſe *Iob*, *Dauid*, *Eſaie*, and *Amos*, vſe Sheol for the place moſt oppoſite to [r] heauen. Now if heauen be a poſitiue place and ſtate, ſo is Sheol, though either of them import a priuation of this earthly life; Gods ordinance being ſuch, that this life ſhall end or change, before men goe to heauen or hell. It is then a weake and wateriſh collection, that becauſe both the graue and hell, which in the Scriptures are compriſed in the name of Sheol, haue in them the priuation of this life, therefore Sheol properly noteth a meere priuation of this life, and nothing els, vnleſſe you nouriſh this ſecret error in your boſome, that the ſoules deceaſed ſleepe, and ſo haue neither poſitiue nor ſenſible ioy or paine, but a meere want of this world.

[f] Defenc. pag. 157.li.6.

[f] *in effect they are all one with Thanatos death, but that Thanatos belongeth properly to bodies, Hades and Sheol ſometimes to bodies, ſomtimes to ſoules of men indifferently.*] You may as well aſſume vnto your ſelfe to make new Lexicons, as new Creeds. Life and death being oppoſites, the force of death is properly the priuation of life. Howbeit, the continuance and neceſſary conſequents of death are vſually compriſed in this name: that ſheol and hades are likewiſe nothing properly but the meere priuation of this life, this is your new made ſignification of theſe wordes, warranted by your ſelfe againſt the maine reſolution of all ſorts of writers, Hebrew, Greeke and Latine; and euen againſt the Scriptures themſelues. For if *ſheol* be nothing but a meere priuation of this life, how doth the Scripture auouch of Core, Dathan, and their compa-

[t] Numb.16.

nie, that the earth opening her mouth, [t] *They deſcended aliue to Sheol?* How doth S. Iohn make Hades conſequent after *Thanatos*, and ſay *Hades followed after him?* after a meere priuation of this life can you deuiſe a ſecond priuation thereof to follow the firſt? you take it to be for your credite to croſſe the whole world with wordes; but you may doe well to ſpare the holy Ghoſt for feare of afterclaps. And whence commeth this new skill, that *Thanatos* belongeth properly to bodies? hath not the ſoule of man a life of grace and bliſſe, which is the life of God, or will you call that improperly life? Then the Angels haue properly no life, and God himſelfe, who is all life and that moſt properly, ſhall by your learning improperly liue. If the ſoule haue truly and properly her life, then the priuation thereof, as in all the wicked, is truely and properly death. I meane not want of ſenſe, which ſhe can not lacke, but loſſe of grace, by which ſhe liueth. And were your falſe poſition true, that onely the body did liue, and onely might die, and there were no death of the ſoule; the ſtate of a dead bodie doth it containe nothing poſitiue? what is corruption and duſt, to which the bodie muſt returne; are they meerely priuatiue? And as for the ſoules of the righteous, which you ſay are in Hades Sheol and death; forget you what our Sauiour teacheth, *God is not the God of the dead, but of the liuing?* that is, they are not properly dead, that liue with God.

[a] *In the 49. Psalme, where all expresse circumstances doe shew that the Prophet speaketh of this death, not of hell, yet Dauid heere saith; Notwithstanding God shall deliuer my soule from the power of sheol, (that is death or the state of death) when he shall receaue me most mightily. So Tremelius turneth it noting heere Dauids hope of the resurrection, which I thinke he hath well vnderstood in this place.* | You promised to [x] *shew euen by the Scriptures, that Sheol and Hades are more then once vsed for the generall condition of death, wherein euen iust mens soules are held, or the mansion of soules departed as well good as bad;* and now you turne vs ouer to Tremelius translation, as if euery word that Tremelius said, were Scripture, whosoeuer saith nay. But first you falsifie Tremelius translation, for he doth not turne Sheol there, *by death or the state of death*, as you set it downe, but he translateth Sheol in the 15. verse by *Infernus, hell*, and in the 16. which you cite, by *sepulchrum the graue*. And by his generall obseruation ouerthroweth your idle speculation of Sheol to be meerely and properly priuatiue. His wordes are. [y] *Vox Hebraica (Sheol) stationem quamlibet mortuorum in vniuersum notat, ideoque modo ad sepulchrum, modo ad Infernum Synecdochicè, modo ad vtramque simul accommodanda est. The Hebrew word (Sheol) noteth in generall euerie station (not state) of the dead,* (that is of so much as is dead in men) and *therefore it must be applied sometimes to the graue, somtimes to hell, by Synecdoche* (as to parts thereof) *and sometimes to both ioyntly.* Then Sheôl properly hath nothing to doe with the generall state of the dead common to good and badde, but Sheol is euery station or place vnder earth, as the graue and hell, where any part of man subiected to death is receaued. If this be Tremelius meaning, as his words import none other, then he agreeth with the rest of the Iewes and Christian Hebraicians, who auouch the same: otherwise he is deceaued, as Mercere plainly prooueth against him, and you, and all that be so minded, [z] *Errant qui Sheôl proprie locum animarum tam bonorum quam malorum esse putant, cum Sheol proprie sit* LOCVS SVBTERRANEVS *generaliter, (&) generalius quam Sepulchrum.* THEY ERRE, *that thinke Sheol properly to be the place of soules as well good as badde, since Sheol properly is any place vnder the earth in generall,* and *more generall then the graue.* This he confirmeth by the witnesse of Aben Ezra vpon the 37. of Genesis, that [a] *the proper and right signification of Sheôl is to signifie all places vnder earth, and not the pit or graue alone; Whereupon it is euery where opposed to heauen, which is the highest of all.* Tremelius therefore maketh nothing for your conceit of Sheôl; and if he did, you are both deceaued, as I haue formerly shewed by the testimonies of many Rabbins and learned Christians, whose iudgements ouersway Tremelius, since neither he nor you haue any iust proofe against them, but your owne wresting the Scripture to your priuate purposes. Howbeit I see no such thing in Tremelius as you pretend, and therefore doe not charge him with any such fault.

[a] Defenc. pag. 157. li. 22.

[x] Ibid. li. 13.

[y] *Scholia Tremelij in Psal. 49. vers. 15. numero 22.*

[z] *Mercerus in 42. ca. Genes.*

[a] *Mercerus in 37. ca. Gen. ex Aben Ezra in eundem locum.*

For your owne collection, if you ioyne it with Tremelius translation, you hatch as grosse an error touching the soules of iust men after this life, as hath beene heard of amongst Christians. For if the soules of the godly shall not be deliuered from Sheol; or, as Tremelius translateth it, from the graue till the resurrection; and as you obserue, the soule must here be *taken properly*, that is, for the immortall spirit which is in man; and is therefore in Sheol, because it shall not be deliuered thence till the resurrection; then are the spirits of al iust men deceased, as yet in their graues vnder earth, and there shall remaine till their bodies rise, which is fit doctrine for such a diuine as you are. You might as well conclude out of Tremelius wordes, that all the iust are damned in hell, till the resurrection. For hee thus expoundeth Dauids meaning, Christ is my deliuerer, *à corruptione sepulchri, & inferni damnatione, from the corruption of the graue, and damnation of hell.* And so by your logike, in the meane time the soules of the iust are subiected to both. To labour much to reconcile wrested expositions of this or that writer, I haue no leasure; yet Tremelius may meane, that the soules of the iust are not yet wholy freed from the power of the graue, not that they are in the graue, as you absurdly and falsely conceiue and conclude, but that their bodies lie yet in the graue, which is an impediment to the perfection of their celestiall glory. Otherwise

wiſe againſt you, and all that out of this place ſurmiſe, that iuſt mens ſoules ſhall not be deliuered out of Sheol till the reſurrection, the ſenſe and words of Dauid in this are pregnant enough. For Dauid putting a difference in theſe two verſes betwixt himſelfe and the wicked, and that with an aduerſatiue coniunction; ſince the ſoules of the wicked are in Sheol preſently vpon their deaths, if Dauids muſt be there alſo, what diſtinction doe his wordes make betweene himſelfe and thoſe others, of whom he ſpake before? Againe he ſaith, *God will deliuer his ſoule from Sheol, ki, cùm* or *quia, when* he ſhall receiue me, or *becauſe* he will receiue me. Take which you will, it is plaine by the Scriptures, and by theſe very words of Dauid, that ſo ſoone as God receiueth the ſoule of man, it is deliuered from Sheol. But hee receiueth the ſoules of his Saints inſtantly vpon their deaths; they are therefore preſently deliuered out of Sheol, and ſtay not there by any force of Dauids wordes vntill the reſurrection. *Lord Ieſus*, ſayd Steuen euen as he was ſtoned, [b] *receiue my ſpirit*. [c] *The begger died*, ſaith the Goſpell, *and was caried by the Angels into Abrahams boſome*. [d] *This day ſhalt thou be with mee in Paradiſe*, ſaid Chriſt to the theefe. [e] *He that beleeueth in him, that ſent me*, ſaith Chriſt, μεταβέβηκε, *is already paſſed from death to life*. If the faithfull paſſe ſo ſoone to life, they bee as ſoone deliuered from Sheol by Dauids owne confeſsion, againſt which I will heare neither you, nor any man liuing.

[b] Act 7.
[c] Luke 16.
[d] Luke 23.
[e] Iohn 5.

[f] Defenc pag. 157. li. 34. [f] *Againe that Pſalme ſheweth it alſo, where it is thus written, My ſoule is filled with ſorrowes, and my life draweth neere to Sheol: by his life he meaneth his ſoule, the proper cauſe and fountaine of life in him, which alſo in the firſt part of the ſentence hee nameth.*] By theſe rouing and licentious glozes builded on the ſands of your owne ſaying, you thinke you may prooue what you will, and all ſhall be expreſſe Scripture, if you ſay the word. *Life* you will haue to be *ſoule*, *drawing neere* to be *abiding in*, *The graue* to be *the generall condition of ſoules deceaſed*: and to warrant all this your ſelfe is the ſoothſayer. [g] *By his life he meaneth his ſoule, which alſo in the firſt part of the ſentence hee nameth as the manner of phraſe in the Pſalme is, in the ſecond part to ſpeake of the ſame things that are in the former.*] Many verſes in the Pſalmes doe illuſtrate the ſelfe ſame generall with diuers parts, adiuncts, and conſequents; but that the words be of all one force or ſignification in euery ſuch verſe, this is an other of your new found methodes, which is nothing elſe but a meere confuſion of all things. For will you ſee with your *manner of phraſe*, as you finely furbiſh it, what conſequents hang on theſe kind of collections. This life, of which Dauid ſpeaketh, continueth not in Sheol, becauſe it is vtterly extinguiſhed by Sheol: ergo the ſoule likewiſe is mortall, and wholy periſheth in Sheol; for ſo doth the life mentioned by Dauid, which you ſay is all one with the ſoule. Againe if both theſe parts import one ſenſe, then the iuſt in Sheol *are filled with ſorrowes*; for ſo are the former wordes of Dauid. And if that be true, how much hath the ſpirit of God deceiued vs, who bad S. Iohn write, [h] *bleſſed are the dead, which hereafter die in the Lord: euen ſo ſaith the ſpirit: for they reſt from their labours*. But that was the ſpirit of trueth; and therefore the ſpirit of error in you ſucketh theſe abſurdities out of the Pſalmes by your miſconſtruction of them.

[g] li. 36.

[h] Reuel. 14.

[i] Defenc. pag. 158. li. 4. [i] *Indeede I denie not but life may ſignifie heere the whole perſon of man, and ſo may nepheſh the ſoule alſo very well: and then Sheol and Hades ſignifie not peculiarly and diſtinctly the graue, which is only for the carcaſſe, but the condition of the whole man after he hath no being in this world. And peraduenture ſo it is vnderſtood heere in theſe places, in which ſenſe Sheol and Hades are farre from ſignifying hell, yea or heauen either, yea or onely and meerely the graue: but it ſignifieth deſtruction out of this world, and not being heere any more as aforetime to the whole perſon, that is both to the bodie and to the ſoule.*] The idle deuices of this wild-gooſeracer who would ſpend either time or paines to tracke, when he reeleth to and fro, like a man pot-ſhotten, with *it may be, and peraduenture it is ſo*; and cloſeth vp all in the end with a dangerous deſtruction, which he maketh to be iuſt nothing. Boyes meanely Catechiſed can ſoone conceiue, that death or the graue bringeth with it an end of all earthly things, from which the wicked are loth to depart, as hauing no farder nor better hope after this life; and therefore to them death is a deſtruction indeed

deed, that is a ceasing of all their pleasures, and an encreasing of all their paines. To the godly, who put not their hearts to the things of this world, but desire to bee dissolued and to bee with Christ, and in comparison of his presence account all earthly things to be base, and burdenous, death is a gaine, and no destruction; because they renounced the loue of all these worldly thinges before hand, and sought for the permanent citie, whose founder is God. Wherefore to them this bodie is a burden, this life is a warefare, and this world is a desert, full of snares and pits; Wherein they wander as pilgrimes and strangers. If then to lay aside these troubles and trifles, and to be freed from all labours and dangers, and to come home to the countrey and citie which God hath prouided for the faithfull, be in any wise mans sense *a destruction*, then haue you some reason to call the generall condition of death, as well to the iust as to the wicked, a *destruction*: but if that thought and speech be void of all religion and reason, then doe you houer in the midst betweene heauen and hell, and huddle saluation and damnation in one generall condition or state, as you call it, and when you see what inconuenience will follow thereof, you make it nothing but a meere priuation, or an end of things past. And this you would applie as well to the person of Christ, whose soule you say was in no Sheol but this; & as to al his members, whose soules shall not be freed from this destruction and Sheol till the day of resurrection. Did you speake of the nature of death in it selfe, or as it taketh hold on the wicked, I would allow the word destruction; which if it be well vnderstood, is more then a meere priuation: but when you presume to peruert the Scriptures with peraduentures, and to sow to them what sense you list, as may best fit your monstrous fancies; let no man be offended, if I often thinke it fit to reiect your conceits with rounder words, then to any learned or sober writer I would willingly giue.

Sheol is no destruction to the godlie.

That the graue then, by which death is meant, hath in it or bringeth with it a lacke or losse of all earthly things, and that common to good and bad; this, as it is not denied, so is it no special signification of Sheol, as you out of your new found notes obserue; but the generall consequent of Sheol or the graue in all men iust or wicked, as also corruption & returning to dust is, from whence they were taken. To the wicked, that wedde their soules to these earthly vanities, and neglect God & his promises, the Prophets often threaten Sheol, that is the place and state, where all these thinges shal want or perish to them; but with the sheol of their bodies, which is the graue, is ioyned the sheol of their souls, which is hell, though they not regarding or not beleeuing the later, are most often threatned with the former, which they euery day saw before their eies, & so was likeliest to moue them most. To the godly the remembrance of Sheol was somtimes grieuous either because it was ioyned with an vnrimely death to thē-selues, or with the dishonour of Gods name, or with the danger of his Church, or signification of his dislike of their liues and courses; which circumstances haue often troubled the Saints at the sight or foreshew of death. These things you stampe and straine with your distempered and vnlearned fansies, and then you produce a meere priuation, which you call a destruction of the whole man in Sheol. Now what if Iob called the graue, [k] *an house appointed for euery man liuing*; or said the [l] *graue must be an habitation to him*, as well as to others; doth he meane that the whole man, bodie and soule, shall dwell in the graue; or come to corruption as is presently added? [m] *I shal say to corruption, thou art my Father, & to the worme, Thou art my mother & my sister?* Are you so good a Carpenter, that with a meere priuation you can make an habitation, and to furnish your house bring soules from heauen, or the whole man to dwell with corruption and wormes?

What Sheol is to the wicked, and what to the godly.

[k] Iob 30.
[l] Iob 17.
[m] Iob. 17.

A seely reason like the rest you interpose, [n] *That seeing Iob speaketh of Sheol as his continuall habitation to the worldes end, it can not be ment onely of the graue for his bodie, which endured but a very short time, and had no being at all after it was turned to verie earth and wormes.*] Much lesse may it be ment of his soule, that turneth neither to earth nor wormes; and least of all of his whole person, since in the whole euery part is cōtained, & if it be true of neither part, how can it be verified of the whole? but such

[n] Defenc. pag. 158. li. 28.

How the graue is an habitation to the godly

is

is your folly, that with your idle fansies you call the maine grounds of Christian faith in question, and offer doubt how God can raise his Saints out of their graues, when as their bodies being long before turned to earth and ashes haue no being at all. Sir if you speake in earnest, these be wicked quarrels, and shew that you woulde faine shake heauen and earth to vphold your new found Sheol. Otherwise all the godly know, that God hath their ashes in sight before him, and will not mistake one earth for another, though their dust were scattered ouer all the world. And so long as he that will raise them by his mightie power, hath in so certaine number and measure the whole and euery the least dust, that came of their bodies, they lie in their graues till the time of resurrection, and their maker will not misse an haire of their head, nor a mote of their ashes; which if it be strange to you, dispute against him that created heauen and earth of nothing, and not against me, that beleeue the resurrection of mens bodies and flesh many thousand yeeres after they be turned to dust, and as you wickedly surmise, *haue no being at all after they are turned to earth and wormes.*

°Defenc. pag. 258. n. 33. ° *In greatest reason this is that which Iacob meaneth when he saith, he will goe downe mourning to his Sonne in sheol. His body he thought was deuoured and digested in the bellies of wilde beasts. Therefore he will goe to the soule of his sonne in sheôl to enioy the society of his deere Sonne.*] It is no maruell you be so stiffe-necked in rules of Discipline, when you be thus mad-headed in points of doctrine. I pray you Sir where did Iacob thinke that Iosephs soule was after death, or that his owne should be? in hell? in Abrahams bosome? or in some place lately deuised by your selfe to containe iust mens soules? Or are soules by your Diuinitie without all place, that the father might *enioy the societie of his deare sonnes soule*, and yet in no place? you may doe well to declare vs these doubts, for I assure you, vnlesse you plead dottage, these discourses will amount to plaine impietie. In hell there is no great enioying one of an other, I trow. In heauen you meane it not, for then you must confesse heauen to be Sheôl, which you say you *neuer thought*. In the graue I hope soules doe not lodge: then must you find vs a place, whither Iacob would descend to enioy the society of his deere sonnes soule. Will you call it a meere priuation and destruction, which are the graffes that you haue newly planted? you must first tell vs what ioy there is in priuation and destruction. Next whether this priuation and destruction be any where, and so in some place; or no where, and so a right creature of yours, as being a priuation of all witte and trueth. Thirdly if Iosephs soule were neither in ioy nor rest, what comfort Iacob could take to finde his deere sonnes soule in such a plight. And lastly whether the Patriarks had no promises of rest and receit with God after this life, but that they were to seeke for the soules of their parents and children in your priuatiue Sheol which is neither hell, heauen, nor Abrahams bosome. For if it be one of these, then is it not onely positiue, but also locall, that is somewhere, and hath a state and condition agreeable to the mercies of God, and the desire of the Saints. But why persue I your follies so farre, as if they were not peeuish pangues of your vnsetled braines? Iacobs words without your iests are plaine enough to ech good Christian; in saying he would goe *mourning to sheôl*, that is, *to his graue*, assuring himselfe after death to haue his soule receaued into that place of rest, into which he did not doubt but the soule of his innocent childe was formerly admitted by the goodnesse of his God. And if any man like Rabbi Selomoes exposition, that *êl* in this place may signifie, *ouer* or *for*, as it often doth; then Iacobs wordes are more easie, that he will *descend to Sheol mourning for his sonne*. Howbeit Iacob knew well enough, that Iosephs bodie though *deuoured and digested in the bodies of wilde beasts* must returne to earth, as to the place by the tenor and trueth of Gods iudgement appointed for all men; ? *Thou art dust and to dust shalt thou returne* (that is) *to the earth out of which thou wast taken*, and to which Iacob would descend mourning all the daies of his life for the losse of his sonne, not meaning in Sheôl to haue ioy with the soule of his sonne; as you peruert his speech and sense; for then he would haue gone to Sheôl not *mourning*, but *reioycing*.

? Genes. 3.

? *Againe*

[p] *Againe to follow our purpoſe: good Ezechiah alſo looked for Sheol to be his habitation likewiſe after this life.* [q] *This cannot bee vnderſtood of his carcaſſe, rotting and waſting away to nothing in the graue and therefore endureth not as the word (Dori my manſion) ſignifieth. Therefore he meaneth it of his ſoules abiding els where.* [r] *Againe Ezechiah was a godly man; therefore hell was not fit for him; and he ſeemeth to inſinuate that in the land of the dead he might ſee (the Lord) whither he was to goe: and that muſt needes bee in the place of bleſſed ſoules, euen that which heere is noted by the word Sheol.*] You ſtumble ſtill at the ſame ſtone, that none of thoſe thinges can be ment of the graue, becauſe the body rotteth and waſteth to nothing in the graue. You muſt leaue theſe falſhoods, if you will but ſeeme to be a Diuine. The bodies of the Saints can not bee raiſed from their graues, if they be waſted wholy to nothing in their graues. And if you follow this argument well, whatſoeuer your name be, that by this meanes vndermine the reſurrection of the dead, your wordes will broach an open hereſie, though you ſlily vrge them to eſtabliſh your new found Sheol. Wherefore I omit this deſperate cauill as fighting rather againſt the faith, then againſt the name of Sheol, wherein mens bodies after death, though turned to duſt, yet not to nothing, doe ſtill remaine. Your next reaſon that the graue can not be called *Dor* an *habitation* or a continuance, is idle and vtterly miſtaken by you, as all the reſt is. For *Dor* is the time of mans life heere on earth, as well as a place of abode. And what ſhould hinder Ezechiah to ſay, the time of my life is ended, or the place of mine abode heere on earth is remooued or paſſed away? Muſt it needes follow, that he ſhall haue a time to liue in Sheol, or a place for his ſoule to abide there, as you abſurdly vrge; or that this habitation may not be ſaid to be in the graue, where his body lieth knowen to God, though vnknowen to man? Theſe be miſerable ſhifts to hale in your *priuatiue, poſitiue, generall, ſpeciall, ſtation, ſtate, place without place*, of your firſt found Sheol. For where before you auouched that Sheol *ſignified indeed* [s] *no poſitiue thing properly, but a meere priuation of this life*, you be now come vpon confidence of theſe rather riots then reaſons, to reſolue in plaine tearmes, that *the place of bleſſed ſoules*, where they *ſee God*, *is* [t] *euen that which heere is noted by the word Sheol.* The place of bleſſed ſoules, where God is ſeene, I hope is firſt ſpeciall to the godly; not generall to good and bad. Next it is poſitiue, and not meerely priuatiue. Thirdly it is peculiar to the ſoules of iuſt men, not imparted as yet to their whole perſons. Fourthly it is not deſtruction, it is ſaluation. And laſtly it is heauen, or Paradiſe a part of the third heauen, which you neuer thought to be Sheol. Theſe many contrarieties you haue contriued in leſſe then two leaues, hauing none other ground for all this, but onely that the dead bodies of men turned to aſhes, and waſted to nothing, as you defend, can not be ſaid to be any where, and ſo not in Sheol; and ſince there is ſomewhat of iuſt men in Sheol, as the Scriptures witneſſe, it muſt needes be the ſoule; and this erroneous and perfidious poſition, that the body of man hath no being at al after it is turned to duſt, is the ſole foundation of your late made Sheol for iuſt mens ſoules.

[p] Defenc. pag. 159. li. 15. [q] li. 26. [r] li. 35. [s] Pag. 157. li. 2. [t] Pag. 160. li. 2.

[x] *It is a moſt vaine reaſon, that you giue that Sheol heere is taken for hell, becauſe death to the wicked is the paſſage to hell, which death Ezechiah was not neere vnto.*] I doubt not but you wilbe as bold with me, as you are with others, to corrupt or peruert euery word you light on, ſo you may ſeeme to ſay ſomewhat. My words were, that death in his owne nature was a paſſage to hell, as we find yet by proofe in all the wicked, though the faithfull be freed from it by the mercies of God in Chriſt. And therefore Ezechiah in the bitterneſſe of his ſoule might well call death the gates of hell, euen as our Sauiour ſaid, *The gates of hell ſhould not preuaile againſt (his Church)* though they ſhould perſue it on earth, calling ſinne, *error*, and perſecution *the gates of hell*, albeit in the godly they worke not ſo much, but in the wicked only. And in death denounced by Eſaie to Ezechiah, the king did not ſo much feare the paſſage out of this life, as the ſuddaine change of Gods fauour towards him, who not long before with a mightie hand from heauen, and by a miraculous ſlaughter of his enemies, ſaued

[x] Defenc. pag. 160. li 3.

[7] Eſa.38. him and his city from the rage of Senacherib, and on the ſuddaine [7] *about that very time*, as the Scripture noteth, ſtrake him with ſickneſſe, and ſent him word to putt his houſe in order, for he ſhould die. which meſſage the king feared was a ſigne of Gods diſpleaſure againſt him, as iudging him vnworthy to enioy ſo great a deliuerance. And this might make Ezechiah, otherwiſe a good king, to tremble at that, which in Gods ſecret counſell he was not neere vnto, though in the feare and g iefe of his own hart, he might feele in ſome ſort the bitternes of death in that ſhort pangue.

[8] Defenc pag 160.li.12. [2] *Another obiection of yours is as weake, where you ſay; Sheol heere muſt be the graue, becauſe it is ſaid afterward, Sheol doth not confeſſe thee, death cannot praiſe thee: for it is euident that Ezechiah meaneth not abſolutely, there is no praiſing of God in Sheol, but onely he vnderſtandeth the outward frequenting of the Temple, and publiſhing of Gods goodneſſe to others.*] If you can ſhift of one circumſtance, or make a ſhew with ſome ambiguity, you thinke your ſelfe ſafe; neither care nor conſcience leadeth you to looke to the reſt, that is written either in the ſame or in other places of the ſacred Scriptures. This compariſon made betwixt the liuing and the dead, that the liuing confeſſe and praiſe God, which the dead cannot doe, belongeth in the liuing to the whole man, that is, chiefly to the ſoule, the maker and directer of our praiers, but aſſociated with the body, whoſe parts and affections ſhe guideth and compoſeth, euen as ſhe doth the tongue to ſerue ſo good an action. In the dead this ioint deuotion of body and ſoule, with heart and voice, ceaſeth by reaſon the body ſeuered from the ſoule by dea h can not concurre with the ſoule in any ſpeach, action, or affection whatſoeuer. So much then, as is dead in the iuſt, is vtterly made vnprofitable by death to performe any ſuch duty to God. For that which is dead, is depriued as of life, ſo of all ſenſe and motion anſwerable to that life, which is loſt. But an vtter want of praiſing God is in Sheol, as Ezechiah declared, the place therefore where the ſoules of the iuſt deceaſed are, is not Sheol by the ſcriptures, ſince they doe not ceaſe to confeſſe and praiſe God. In Sheol, you ſay, there is no ſuch prayſing of God as on earth.] In Sheol, I ſay, there is no prayſing of God at all. Now let vs ſee, to which of theſe two the Scriptures accord. You thought with a wrench, as your manner is, to decline the force of trueth, and make way to your fanſie, but the Scriptures hold you faſter then ſo. In

[9] Eſa.38.v.18. the very ſame verſe the next words are [9] *They that goe downe to the pit, cannot hope* (on, in, or) *for thy trueth.* Whoſoeuer confeſſeth or praiſeth God, muſt hope in the trueth of God. They can therefore no way confeſſe or praiſe God. Now the ſoules of the iuſt no queſtion confeſſe and praiſe God. They are not therefore in the pit, which the Scriptures call Sheol. And ſo much you might plainly haue perceaued by the words of Salomon, if trueth had been in greater requeſt with you, then your owne deuices. [b] *The liuing* ſaith Salomon, *know that they ſhall die, but the dead know nothing at all.* [c] *There is neither knowledge, nor wiſedome in Sheol, whither thou goeſt.* And of Dauid likewiſe, [d] *Shall thy wonderous works be knowen in the darcke? and thy righteouſneſſe in the land of oblivion?* If the ſoules of the iuſt and bleſſed be in that place, which the Scripture calleth hSeol, as you ſtifly maintaine, then haue they no wiſedome, knowledge, nor memorie at all, no not of Gods righteouſneſſe and trueth. But that were to prop vp error with open hereſie, and as before you gaue a good puſh to denie the Reſurrectionof the fleſh, by ſaying their bodies waſted to duſt had no being at all, ſo by this you fairely aboliſh the immortality of the ſoule, and by conſequent life euerlaſting. For if the bodie be nothing after it returneth to duſt, and the ſoule after this life remaining in Sheol (as you ſay) can haue neither wiſedome, nor knowledge, nor memory of Gods righteouſneſſe and trueth, as the Scriptures ſay, you muſt hold a new creation of other bodies and other ſoules, before either ſoules or bodies can be partakers of life euerlaſting.

[b] Eccleſiaſtes 9.verſ.5.& [c] 10.
[d] Pſal.88.

This is your world of ſoules, for which you make ſo much worke, and whither you ſtriue to bring the ſoule of Chriſt, defending that his ſoule was in your Sheol, where the Scripture ſaith is neither wiſedome, knowledge, nor memorie. And ſo handſomly you haue ſet vp the ſides of your Sheol, that by your *Reſolution it is* [e] *indeed no poſi-*

[e] Pag.157. li.2.

tiue,

tiue thing properly, but a meere priuation of this life: [f] *and yet it is the condition or place as well where the iuſt mens ſoules are after death, as that where the damned are:* And laſtly, *it is the land of the dead, where they ſee him* (euen the Lord) *which muſt needs be the place of bleſſed ſoules:* Theſe many variations you haue made vs, and all theſe be properly Sheol in the Scriptures, and yet Sheol is neither hell nor heauen, but ſomewhere, no where, if you could tell what to make of it. And the proofe of all this is as pretious, as the place it ſelfe. For ſince the iuſt goe to Sheol as well as the wicked, and there remaine til the reſurrection, the bodies of the Saints [h] *waſte away to nothing* in the graue, [i] *neither haue any being at all,* & conſequently their ſoules muſt haue their [k] *habitation, manſion, and abode* in Sheol, which is in the land of the dead (ſoules,) where they ſee God, and yet this condition and place common to them with the wicked, who can neither ſee God, nor haue any bleſſednesſe. Much to blame ſhall I be, if I correct not mine opinion vpon ſuch pregnancies as theſe be.

[f] Pag. 155. li. 34.
[g] Pag 159. li 38.
[h] Pag. 159. li. 27.
[i] Pag. 158. li. 30.
[k] Pag. 159. li.

The figuratiue ſenſes of Sheôl, as when men liuing thinke, or complaine, they are in *Sheôl*, or other things beſides man are ſaid to goe to Sheôl, I purpoſely let paſſe, the corruption of all earthly things returning to duſt for the ſinne of man, as man doth. And the feare and force of deſtruction perſuing man in this life, if he ſeeke not to God for helpe, are figuratiue ſignifications of Sheôl in the Scriptures, but deriued by reſemblance from the proper ſignifications thereof, as likewiſe the conſequents depending on the higher Sheôl appointed for the bodies, or on the lower prepared for the ſoules, that are dead, are ſometimes intended by that word, and compriſed in it, as adherents and acceſſories vnto it: Theſe I ſay I omit, becauſe we reaſon heere of the proper ſignification of Sheôl, which conteineth places vnder earth prouided for ſinners, to which the bodies depriued of life, and ſoules forſaken of grace, deſcend as to the manſions aſsigned them by the iuſt iudgement of God for euer. That the ſoules of the Righteous are in Sheôl till the Reſurrection, the more you labour to confirme, the leſſe cauſe I find to beleeue, ſince you therein wander moſt vnwiſely not only with meere vncertainties, and many contrarities, but euen to open and moſt deſperate falſhoods.

[l] *To the verie ſame purpoſe the Septuagint vſe Hades. For it is well and truely acknowledged by you, that both Sheol and Hades are iuſt all one.*] I neuer doubted but Hades in Greek was vſed by the Septuagint to expreſſe Sheol in Hebrew, and with them did note as well the graue, where the bodies of men lie ſilent and dead, as the place of puniſhment, whither the ſoules of the wicked deſcend: but in the new Teſtament where our Sauiour often and openly reuealed the place and paines of the damned, there the Euangeliſts and Apoſtles diſtinguiſhing the death of the body from the deſtruction of the ſoule, and counting the one to be but a ſleepe to the godly; They ſeparate *Hades* from *Thanatos*, and vſe them diuerſly, referring *hades* to ſignifie the place of torment, whither the wicked are condemned, which is hell, and expreſsing by *Thanatos* the diſſolution of ſoule and body, ſaue when they ſpeake of the death of the ſoule, either on earth, which is the loſſe of all grace, or in hell which is an excluſion from all glorie, and a ſubiection to perpetuall and intolerable miſery; in which caſe they doe not forbeare the word *Thanatos*, death. The Greeke fathers exactly follow this ſignification of hades for hell, which they learned from the Euangeliſts and Apoſtles. Your fitting of Dauids phraſes to your owne deuices is a dangerous and deceitfull courſe. For you make what you will of his words, and then conclude your owne conceits out of them. Wherein if any man aske for proofes, your friends muſt replie with Pythagoras Scholars, αὐτὸς ἔφη, *he ſaid the word*. And you ſo intangle your ſelfe with termes, that you do not ſee your owne poſitions contradicted & confuted by your owne allegations. For where before you were peremptory that Sheol was properly a meere priuation of this life; now by miſconſtruing ſome ſpeaches in the Scriptures you will haue life not only to be in hades, which you make all one with Sheol and death, but there to continue and abide. And when againſt your owne poſitions, and againſt the grounds of all reaſon, you haue vouched life to be in hades

[l] Defenc. pag. 161. li 3.

which you ſay is death, then you turne round and would inferre, that ſince life cannot be in death, life there muſt be the ſoule, and ſo the ſoule muſt be in hades. And thus you daunce the Morriſco, that life is in hades, and life is not in hades, not knowing or not caring what you ſay, ſo you may ſtill ſteppe forward, though it be ouer the ſhoes.

ᵐ Pſal.88. The words of Dauid, *My life drew neere to Sheol, my ſoule had almoſt dwelt in ſilence*, as likewiſe of Elihu in the booke of Iob, ſpeaking of one that is viſited with ſickneſſe ⁿ Iob.33. by the hand of God, and in great danger of death, ſo that ⁿ *his ſoule drew neere to corruption, and his life to the ſlayers*, are not ſpoken of dead men that are in hades, as you miſconceaue, but of men yet liuing, and hauing both ſoule and body vnited together. And this phraſe of drawing neere to Sheol or Hades, and almoſt dwelling there, noteth onely the danger of death approching, and readie to make an end of life, by ſeuering the ſoule from the bodie. Neither are theſe the wordes of the Septuagint, *his life* (is) *in Hades*, (this in me you would call a falſification of the text,) ſince the verbe precedent ἤγγυσεν, his life drew neere; muſt be repeated, and not the verbe (is) added at your pleaſure. And where the ſpeech in Greeke *his life* (drew neere) *in Hades*, isſomewhat defectiue, it muſt be ſupplied, as the former verbe requireth, ἡ δὲ ζωὴ αὐτῆς (τῆς) ἐν ᾅδῃ, *and his life* (drew neere to thoſe) *in Hades*, and not with a new verbe of your deuiſing; ſpecially ſince the Hebrew keepeth *lamed* prefixed before both the wordes, *corruption* and *ſlayers* which noteth a motion towards either, not a being in either. And yet if the Septuagint did ſwarue from the originall ſenſe, as by this ſupplie they doe not; their authoritie is not ſufficient to eſtabliſh any point of doctrine not deliuered in the Authentike words of the holy Ghoſt. They were Iewes liuing in very corrupt times, and ignorant of the true myſteries of Chriſt, to which all faith muſt be proportioned; and therefore their wordes being not canonicall muſt be leuelled by the text, which they tranſlate, or elſe refuſed as vnſound. The phraſe of dwelling, in things that be contrary each to other, and ſo extinguiſh ech the other, is as much as to bee vtterly oppreſſed without recouerie: though the ſoule may alſo be ſayd to dwell in ſilence (which is the word that Dauid vſeth) when it is parted from the bodie, and hath neither action, motion, nor ſpeech, but in ſilent and ſecret maner; where as by her bodie ſhe performeth all theſe things euen ſenſibly to the eyes and eares of others.

ᵒ Defenc.pag. 161.li.17. ᵒ *Againe it ſufficeth for our purpoſe, that Hades and Sheol are often vſed euen indifferently for death, and as being in effect the ſame. Which alſo ſometime wee may likewiſe conceaue of the Latine Inferi, which is by the tranſlatours and other writers vſed for Sheol and Hades, though (I denie not) very dangerouſly and corruptly indeede.*] That, which is moſt corrupt and ambiguous, beſt ſufficeth your purpoſe, who ſeeke nothing but a confuſion in Scriptures, Tranſlatours, and Expoſitours, that you may ſay what you liſt: otherwiſe it doth you little good, that ſometimes Sheol and Hades are vſed for death, ſince with the Septuagint Hades importeth the place and ſtate of ſo much, as is dead, either in the wicked, as of bodie and ſoule; or in the godly, as of bodie alone. And ſo much doth the Latine word *Inferi* ſignifie with the old tranſlator, euen places in the earth below for the dead bodies or ſoules; though the Latine Fathers moſt vſually take it for the receits of ſoules below the earth, to which they ſuppoſed all deſcended till Chriſts comming. How the Greeke doth ſometimes render the word Sheol in Hebrew, either by Hades or *Thanatos*, is little to the purpoſe; much leſſe, that *Sheol and Maueth* are ſometimes ioyned together in the Canonicall writers, either becauſe they agree in neuer being ſatisfied, or for that they are ioyned together, and the one is the way to the other. For it is death, that bringeth the good to their graues, though their ſoules be in reſt; & the wicked to hell, when as yet their bodies be in the duſt. Your determining, what is meant in ech place of Scripture, is of as much force with mee, as a feather in the aire, that flieth euery way; you can no more leaue talking, then water can running, where it hath an iſſue; but you are as lame in your proofes, as you be lauiſh in your words; you will ſay any thing, and prooue nothing.

[p] *That death craueth more then either hell or the graue ſtrictly taken*, is vouched and proued after your maner, that is by your owne authoritie; and hath no ſhew of trueth, except you ſuppoſe, that the ſoules of the righteous are dead, againſt our Sauiours aſſertion, who ſaith of Abraham, Iſaac, and Iacob, that they are not dead, meaning in ſoule, which ſhould not alway want her body; and hath therefore a day prefixed, when ſhee ſhall receaue her fleſh raiſed out of the graue. With like boldneſſe you vouch, which is the maine queſtion, that Chriſt [q] *reioyced, becauſe God would deliuer his ſoule from* (Sheol) *the condition of death, after he was in it*; ſetling your concluſion, as you doe your religion vpon your owne fantaſticall miſconſtering the Scriptures. With the ſame diſcretion you adde, that in this ſenſe [r] *the reprobate and the elect after death are ſaid to be together*; and for proofe thereof you bring the diuels wordes appearing in Samuels ſhape vnto Saul, as if the diuell were lately become a teacher of trueth, becauſe he can lie; or it were in you to pronounce, whether, or which of Sauls ſonnes were elect. [f] Saint *Auſtins* meaning you are as neere, as the North Pole is to the South: Auſtin neuer thought of your world of ſoules (good and bad) in one common condition, much leſſe that the Saints in heauen might be ſaid to be in Sheol. Hee ſpeaketh of the condition of their bodies, on which death ſeaſeth; not of their ſoules, which paſſe from death to life, and are by no diuinitie called dead, ſince they liue with God, and are farder from death, then when they were liuing heere on earth.

[p] Defenc. pag. 161. li. 30.

[q] pag. 161. li. 37.

[r] Defenc. pag. 162. li 3.

[f] pag 162. li. 8.

[t] *Not that there is any poſitiue thing common to the elect and reprobates after death (which you obſerue well) but onely that they alike remaine in death.*] I aſſure my ſelfe, that my obſeruation in that behalfe is conſonant to the word of God, and is indeede the trueth, as you now confeſſe: but then your world of ſoules and common condition of the dead muſt come to bare wordes, and meere priuations; or elſe to a manifeſt and confeſſed falſhood. If Sheol and Hades in the Scriptures be nothing but wordes, or priuations importing that men are departed this life; then happie are the wicked, that haue none other Sheol or Hades, but onely the want of this mortall and miſerable life; and Atheiſts all this while were true beleeuers, if Moſes and the Prophets threatned nothing after death but a lacke of life. And vnhappie are the godly, [u] *if the place of bleſſed ſoules, noted* (as you ſay) by the word *Sheôl*, bee nothing elſe but an emptie name and a meere priuation. It were good you did a little conſider with your friends, how theſe things agree with the Chriſtian faith, that the STATE, CONDITION, AND PLACE of iuſt mens ſoules departed this life (for theſe three you containe in the name of Sheol and hades) ſhould haue nothing in them poſitiue, but all priuatiue. The place of their ſoules I ſuppoſe to bee Paradiſe; and when you are in your good moodes, you make it not onely to be heauen, but aboue all the heauens, euen where Chriſt is at the right hand of the throne of maieſtie. Their ſtate is bleſſed with reſt and ioy. Hath heauenly reſt and bliſſe no poſitiue thing in it, but onely a priuation of this life? theſe be ſtrange conceits; and yet if you will needes haue one common *condition, ſtate, and place*, to good and bad, you muſt come to worſe conſequents then theſe. There is indeed one common condition, ſtate, and place of the dead bodies of iuſt and vniuſt, that is, to come to corruption in their graues; but touching their ſoules no man beſides you was euer ſo vnwiſe, as to auouch that there was one condition, ſtate, and place of the dead; howſoeuer, now and then, ſome men light on generall wordes touching the dead, that require a ſober and heedefull interpreter. And by what authoritie doe you call the condition and ſtate of bleſſed ſoules a meere priuation, or a priuation at all; ſince to them their ſtate is an exchange for a better life, in reſpect whereof this life is but a ſhadow of death, and the vale of miſerie? Vſe we to ſay, that men are depriued of their burdens, when they are eaſed of them? or depriued of their bondage, when they are freed from it? or that the hauen depriueth Sea-men of ſtormes? No more may wee rightly ſay, that the condition or ſtate of bleſſed ſoules is any priuation, but rather a permutation of a ſhort and wretched life (ſo iuſtly tempered for the deſert of our ſinnes) with a perpetuall and happie life gi-

[t] Defenc. pag. 162.

[u] pag. 160. li. 2.

uen vs by Gods mercies. The wicked, that are excluded from all sense and hope of blisse or ease, may bee sayd to bee depriued of this life which they loued aboue all things: but the Saints, that were otherwise minded, and are prouided of a farre better life, may not be said to be depriued, but rather deliuered of the manifold troubles and afflictions of this life. But such is your conceited disposition, that if you may not haue a doctrine and discipline by your selfe, you loath the way of other Christian beleeuers.

[a] Defenc. pag. 162. li. 13. [a] *Thus the old Latin translator vseth Infernum, as commonly for Hades, so sometimes for Thanatos death, and sometimes Mors, death, for Hades. Epiphanius readeth the text, Acts 2. 24. indifferently Thanaton, or Hadou, as reckning them in effect all one.*] In your

[y] Treat. pag. 96. li. 21. last pamphlet you were at defiance with all the Fathers, Greeke and Latin, [y] *for abusing the wordes* HADES AND INFERI *to signifie Hell properly and particularly, that is, the place of the damned, or a place vnder earth, a part thereof, which the latter writers haue since named Limbus:* you now are taught another lesson by some of your friends, whose fingers are in this second part of your defence, that it is more for your credit rather to peruert the meaning of ech Father, then wholy to reiect their writings. And therefore you, or they turne quite about; and now without all question the Greeke and Latin Fathers (you say) meant by *Hades* and *Inferi*, not as they did before, hell or a part thereof; but your priuatiue world of soules, and that you take vpon you to iustifie with a round and readie course, as if it were no more masterie for you to misconstrue their sayings, then the Scriptures. Notwithstanding by processe it will appeare, how much your helpers haue beguiled you, and brought you into a fooles Paradise, vpon sight of one place, with which you might wrangle, to thinke that all their testimonies were as soone auoided, or wrested to your purpose. The place of the Acts 2.24. which the old Translator rendreth by the name of *Infernus*, and Epiphanius citeth sometimes with *Hadou*, sometimes with *Thanaton*, I omit till we come to the speciall handling thereof; in the meane while let vs here how well you prooue your proiect of the rest of the Fathers.

[z] Defenc. pag. 162. li. 16. [z] *Iustine the Martyr long before saith, Christ noted the follie of those men, that thought him not to be Christ, but that he should die and remaine in Hades as a common man. He meaneth not heere as a wicked man in hell, but as any common man (whether good or bad) dying abideth in death.*] Could you finde no wiser men to ground your reason on, then such as Christ himselfe noteth of error and folly? maketh it any matter to the trueth, what cogitations fooles caried in their brests? I pray you Sir why might not these vnchristian fooles thinke, that all mens soules good and badde, went after death to the place called Hades vnder the earth, as well as wiser men, who were of that opinion? were you so neere of their counsell, as to know their thoughts? not onely Iewes and Pagans, but euen Christians were of that perswasion, as appeareth by many of the Fathers; much more then might fooles be of that minde, and therefore except you haue some better stuffe, we may note this allegation of folly, and so let it passe. But if you would needes know, in what sense Iustine himselfe vseth the word Hades, and what maner of place for soules after death he tooke it to be; reade his answere to the

[a] Iustin. quest. & respons: ad Orthodox. responsio. 75. 75. *question* touching Christian religion. [a] *After the soule is departed from the body, straightwaies there is a separation of the iust from the vniust. For they are caried by Angels into places meete for them; the soules of the iust to Paradise, where is the fellowship and sight of Angels and Archangels, with a kinde of beholding of Christ our Sauiour.* αἱ δὲ τῶν ἀδίκων ψυχαὶ εἰς τὸν ἐν τῷ ἅδῃ τόπον, *but the soules of the vniust (are caried) to places in Hades as it is said of Nabuchodonosor king of Babylon.* [b] ὁ ἅδης ταράσσει, *Hades below was stirred to meete thee.* So likewise he citeth and alloweth Platoes words. When death

[b] Esa. 14.

[c] Idem in cohort. ad Graecos. draweth neere, *the tales that are told,* περὶ τῶν ἐν ἅδῃ, *of things in Hades, how he that heere dealeth vniustly, shall there be punished, and were laughed at, then trouble the soule, least they prooue true.*

[d] Defenc. pag. 162. li. 24. [d] *Irenaeus saith. Heerein Christ, (legem mortuorum seruauit,) did as other doe that die, and conuersed three daies, vbi erant mortui (sancti) where the dead (Saints) were.*

And

And this he calleth locum inuisibilem; the vnseene world. What meaneth thie but Hades as we take it? yea a little before he expresly calleth it Paradise. Neuertheless I graunt, that he thought this vnseene world was indeed beneath in the earth. Wherein his proofes doe vtterly faile him, as you your selfe doe fully grant, and professe in this point as well as we.] In time you may learne some skill to alter and counterfait the Fathers writings; but as yet your cunning faileth you. You doe not marke, or will not see, that Irenæus in this Chapter expresly confuteth a number of your positions, and subuerteth the whole frame of your meere priuatiue Sheôl; and not Irenæus, but your sense put to Irenæus his words against his manifest meaning, is all the hold you haue in thisplace. Irenæus condemneth two of your assertions as erroneous; the one that Christes soule after death went vpward to heauen, and descended not downeward to the lower parts of the earth. The next, that the soules of the Saints, as soone as they die, ascend to the highest heauens. [e] *Hæretici, simulatque mortui fuerint, dicunt se supergredi cælos. Heretickes, as soone as they be dead, say they ascend aboue the heauens. They will not vnderstand, that if this were so as they say, the Lord himselfe surely would not haue made his resurrection on the third day, sed super crucem expirans confestim vtique abisset sursum relinquens corpus terræ; but giuing vp the ghost on the crosse, would no doubt haue straightwaies gone vpward, leauing his bodie to the earth. But now he staied three daies where the dead were.* [e] Ireneus li.5. ca.31.

As he refelleth your imaginations, so he nothing relieueth your assertions, though you touch nothing of his, which you turne not awrie with corrupting his sense or his sentence. *Christ kept the law of the dead* saith Irenæus; that is say you, *he did but as others that die, and conuersed three daies where the dead (Saints) were.* The lawe of the dead, which Irenæus heere speaketh of, is to expect the resurrection of their bodies till the time prefixed by God. His wordes are. As then our Master [f] *non statim euolans abijt; did not straight* (after death) *ascend vp, but staied the time, appointed for his resurrection by the Father; so we ought to endure the time of our resurrection prefixed by God, and so to be assumed, as many as the Lord shall count woorthy.* You make a new law of your owne for the dead, which Irenæus neuer thought of, and *the inuisible place* appointed for their soules vntill the resurrection, if you will haue it to be the same which Irenæus saith Christ had, must be *the lower parts* of the earth, which I trust is not Paradise. [f] Irenæus vt supra.

[g] *If therefore* (saith he) *the Lord obserued the law of the dead, and staying vntill the third day in the lower parts of the earth, then rose in his flesh, and so ascended to his father, how should they not be confounded, who say, their inward man leauing the body heere in supercelestem ascendere locum, ascendeth to the highest place of heauen.* [g] Li.5.ca.31.

Touching the place, where Christs soule seuered from his bodie was; as the transcriber or printer before you mistooke the word *sanctorum* in Irenæus for *sanctus*, so you the second time corrupt the same in saying, *Christ conuersed three daies where the dead* (Saints) *were*, in steed of, *Vbi erant mortui, where the dead were.* This place is twise before alleadged by Irenæus, where the word *sanctus is* referred to God, and not to the dead. [h] *Commemoratus est dominus sanctus Israel mortuorum suorum (qui) dormierant in terra sepultionis. The Lord the holy one of Israël remembred his dead, which slept in the earth of their buriall, and descended to them.* So in his 4 booke and 39 chapter he repeateth it againe. [i] *Recommemoratus est dominus sanctus Israel mortuorum suorum qui prædormierunt in terra defossionis. The Lord the holy one of Israel remembred his dead, which before* (his comming) *had slept in the earth digged to lay them in,* (that is in their Graues.) Iustine Martyr citeth the Greeke words to like effect. [k] *The Lord God out of Israel remembred his dead, that slept εἰς γῆν κείμενοι, in their graues.* This being the true tenor, or translation of this sentence, it is euident that the transcriber or printer of Ireneus mistooke *Sanctorum* for *Sanctus*, and you more wilfully presume to put the word *Sanctus* to the former period; of purpose to imply that Christ went no whither but where the souls of his (Saints) were. But you vtterlie peruert Ireneus meaning. for Christs going to them doth not exclude his goinge els whither, and in those generall words Christ *conuersed three dayes with the dead*, are compriſed not only the graue and

[h] Irenæus.li.3. ca.23.

[i] Idem li.4. ca.34.

[k] Iustinus in dialogo cum Triphone.

and place of buriall, where the Lords dead were; but as appeareth by Ireneus proofes following, the [l] *Heart and lower parts of the earth, & euen the nethermost Infernum, hell,* where others were, which were no Saints, and the souls of the Saints were not; except you mind to establish Limbus out of these words. Now what hath your priuatiue Sheôl and Hades to do with these words? heere are places described in the earth and vnder the earth, where if you set the soules of the Saints vntill the day of resurrection, you empty Paradise, and quite deny the Saints deceased to be in any part of heauen, since heauen is aboue and not vnder the earth. And though you say Ireneus proofes doe faile him for his purpose, they are plaine and full: as that Christ was [m] *in the heart of the earth, and* [n] *descended to the lower parts of the earth*, and that of Dauid applied by him to Christ: [o] *Thou hast deliuered my soule from the nethermost hell.* There is therfore nothing in these words of Ireneus, that fauoreth your new found hades, though the souls of Christs disciples after death be granted [p] *to go to an inuisible place prepared for them by God*, which whether it be Paradise, or heauen, or a place vnder earth (for thither saith Ireneus Christ descended, but he doth not say that the souls of his Disciples shall thither goe till the resurrection, as you falsly collect) it cannot be your hades, which is a meere priuation of this life, and hath no positiue thing in it; much lesse a certaine and defined place for the soules of his Saints. And where you presume, as your manner is, that Ireneus a little before calleth this inuisible place expresly Paradise, if that were so, you must then confesse your hades is not common to good and bad, and hath in it not only an heauenly place, but an happie state, which I trust you will not allow to the wicked: and so hades and heauen to be all one with you, which thing you so much disclaime. But by your leaue it is not so, your friends and you are ouerbold with Ireneus to make him say what you list. Six and twenty Chapters before this he saith, the elders, which were the Apostles Disciples, deliuered that [q] *such as were translated*, (that is, remooued hence with their bodies without dying, as Enoch and Elias) *were translated thither euen to Paradise, and there remaine they which were translated euen to the end; shewing now a beginning of incorruption.*

[r] *Againe he further sheweth that in the Scripture he taketh hades to be al one with death or the dominion of death, where he readeth the text thus, Vbi est mors aculeus tuus? Vbi est mors victoria tua? Death where is thy sting? Death where is thy victory?* | You shew your selfe to be well read in the fathers, that cannot tell whether Ireneus wrote in Greeke or in Latin, and therefore in steed of a most [s] *learned and most eloquent writer*, as Ierom calleth him, you bring vs the authority of an vnknowen and obscure interpreter. Were there no more, but the very place euen now cited, and abused by your selfe, the parts whereof are found in Ireneus thrice after three seuerall interpretations, as for example, in [t] *Terra sepultionis, in* [u] *terra defossionis, in* [x] *terra stipulationis*; it were enough to shew the Author neuer wrote in Latine, that varieth so much from himselfe, and that the translator was verie seely; but there are other arguments infinite: the Greeke wordes expressing the conceits of heretikes, aboue 120, euery where be retained; the stile throughout exactly resembling the Greeke phrase, the manifold citations thereof by the Greeke Fathers, as 18. whole Chapters by Epiphanius, 22. peeces and parts thereof by Eusebius, and 14. by Theodoret, besides Polycarpe his instructor and teacher euen in his youth, who was altogether a Grecian. But we shall not need to seeke reasons for it, since Ierom so many hundred yeeres agoe, when the originall was extant, numbreth Ireneus amongst the Greek writers. [y] *We shall seeme* (saith he) *to crosse the opinions of many auncient writers; of the Latins, Tertullian, Victorinus, Lactantius: of the Greekes, to omit the rest, I will make mention onely of Ireneus Bishop of Lions.* And againe [z] *To name the Greeke writers, and to ioine the first and last together, Ireneus and Apollinarius.* Ireneus then writing in Greeke, and citing the Apostles words likewise in Greek, you cannot proue by the rude and late translation of his works, which we haue, how he read the Apostles text. Gregorie Bishop of Rome more then 600 yeeres after Christ, saith. [a] *Scripta beati Irenei iamdiu est, quòd solicitè quæsiuimus, sed hactenus ex eis inueniri aliquid non potuit.* *The writings of blessed Ireneus*

[l] *Ireneus li. 5. ca. 31.*

[m] Matth. 12.
[n] Ephes. 4.
[o] Psal. 85.

[p] *Ireneus li. 5. ca. 31.*

[q] *li. 5. ca. 5.*

[r] Defenc. pag. 162. li. 32.

Ireneus wrote in Greeke.

[s] *Hier. de script. eccles. in Irenæo.*

[t] *li. 3. ca. 23.*
[u] *li. 4. ca. 39.*
[x] *li. 5. ca. 31.*

[y] *Hierony. in procmio li. 18. Commentariorum in Esaiam.*

[z] *Idem in c. 36. Ezechielis.*

[a] *Greg. Regist. lib. 9. c. 50.*

we

we haue long and carefully ſought for, but hitherto nothing of his can be found: he meaneth in Latin, for before and after euerie Greek diuine, as Baſil, Cyril, Theodoret, Oecumenius, Aretas, Anaſtaſius, Damaſcen, Procopius, Nicetas, cite Irenæus workes and words. The Latin tranſlation of the Apoſtles words, 1 *Corinth*: 15: *Death where is thy ſting, death where is thy victory*, I ſhall haue fitter occaſion by and by to examine.

[b] *Tertullian doth likewiſe. For ſpeaking of Infers, which he taketh for the ſame that hades is, he noteth it as the place, quo vniuerſa humanitas trahitur; whither all mankind muſt goe, and therefore of Chriſtes going thither he ſaith. Becauſe he was a man* (therefore) *hee died according to the Scriptures, and was buried according to the ſame, alſo heere he ſatisfied the common law (of nature) by following the forme of mens dying (and going) to the world of the dead.*] If you ſhould not peruert both Tertullians wordes and ſenſe, neither would make for your purpoſe. And though you gain not much by corrupting the coherence of his wordes, yet are you ſo vſed to haue all to your liking, that you cannot hold your hand from diſordering other mens ſpeeches. [c] *Chriſt* (ſaith Tertullian) *being God, becauſe he* (was) *alſo man,* (and) *died according to the Scriptures, and* (was) *buried according to the ſame; euen in this ſatisfied the law* (by) *performing the courſe of an humane death,* (apud Inferos) *in the places below.* In ſteed of (*Legi*, the law) you ſay *the common law (of nature); apud inferos*, you tranſlate *(going) to the world of the dead.* Theſe bee your fanſies added to Tertullians wordes, and no parts of his purpoſe. In the meane while you diſſemble, and therein abuſe both your ſelfe and your Reader, that euen in that Chapter, and the ſentence before, Tertullian deſcribeth Inferi to be a place vnder the earth, whither the ſoules of good and bad deſcend after death, the good to a kind of refreſhing, which is plainely Limbus ſo much refuſed by your ſelfe, the bad to puniſhment. His wordes in the fiue and fiftie Chapter, which you quote, precedent to thoſe which you cite are theſe. [d] *Nobis inferi non nuda cauoſitas, nec ſubdiualis aliqua mundi ſentina creduntur, ſed in foſſa Terræ & in alto vaſtitas, & in ipſis viſceribus eius abſtruſa profunditas. Siquidem Chriſtum in corde Terræ triduum mortis legimus expunctum, id eſt in receſſu intimo & interno, & in ipſa Terra operto, & intra ipſam cauato, & inferioribus adhuc abyſſis ſuperſtructo. We beleeue Inferi to be no bare hollowneſſe, nor any ſincke vnder the world, but in the gulfe of the earth; and in the depth of vaſtitie, and in the very bowels of the earth an abſtruſe profunditie. For we reade that Chriſt was the three dayes of his death in the heart of the earth, that is in an inward place within the midſt thereof; and couered with the earth, and hollowed within the ſame, and ſeated ouer mighty deepes below.* If this be your world of the dead, let any man of vnderſtanding iudge, whether this be not a plaine & euident deſcription of that, which the latter writers called Limbus, and whether there can be any fuller delineation of it, *then a place vnder the earth, and in the midſt thereof, euen hollowed in the bowels of the earth, and couered with the ſame, hauing vnder it mighty deepes.* And that in it there is as well reſt for the good, as torments for the wicked. And the continuation of the very ſame ſentence, which you guilefully bring for your world of dead, and the concluſion of both are deliuered by Tertullian in theſe words, ([e] *if Chriſt did performe the courſe of an humane death in places below*) *neither did aſcend into the higth of the heauens, before he deſcended into the lower parts of the earth, there to make the Patriarkes and Prophets partakers of him ſelfe, habes regionem inferûm ſubterraneam credere, thou muſt beleeue the* (place or) *region of inferi to be vnder the earth.* If you draw theſe words to your world of the dead, then are the ſoules of the iuſt neither in heauen nor in Paradiſe, but vnder the earth, euen in the heart or midſt thereof, and there ſhall remaine vntill the reſurrection, for ſo Tertullian reſolueth of his inferi.

[f] *Which yet is farder moſt cleerely to be ſeene. Lazarus apud inferos in ſinu Abrahæ refrigerium conſecutus, Lazarus in the world of the dead enioieth comfort in Abrahams boſome, contrariewiſe the rich man is in the torments of fire, both of them there receauing their diuers rewards. How cleere is this that he maketh hades and inferos euen in Luke alſo to be nothing but the common ſtate and world of the dead?*] It is farre cleerer, that you neuer read Tertullian with indifferent care to trie the trueth of his meaning and words, but only to

[b] Defenc. pag. 163 li. 7.

[c] Tertullian. de anima ca. 55.

[d] Ibidem.

[e] Ibidem. ca. 55.

[f] Defenc pag. 163. li. 35.

to abuſe the Reader with a ſeelie ſhew not of his writings but of your wreſtings. For there can be no directer ſpeach to prooue, that *inferi* are neither heauen nor Paradiſe but places vnder the earth, and in the midſt thereof, where bad and good, excepting onely Martyrs, are kept in reſt or paine till the generall day of iudgement, then is found in theſe bookes of Tertullian, from which you would gather your world of the dead. For euen in the fiue and fiftie Chapter of his booke *De Anima*, whence you firſt beganne to weaue your world of the dead, he poſitiuely auoucheth, [g] *Nulli patet cælum; terra adhuc ſalua, ne dixerim clauſa. Heauen is opened to no man, ſo long as the earth is continued, that I ſay not cloſed* (ouer them). *Together with the end of the world ſhall the kingdome of heauen be opened.* And touching Paradiſe he admitteth no ſoules to be there, but onely Martyrs. And therefore to this obiection. [h] *But thou wilt ſay* (the dead are) *in Paradiſe, whether the Patriarkes and Prophets, that roſe with our Lord, paſſed euen then (ab Inferis) from the places below:* he anſwereth: *How then was the region of Paradiſe; which is vnder the Altar, reuealed to Iohn in the ſpirit, to haue none other ſoules in it beſides Martyrs? how did Perpetua the moſt valiant Martyr the day before her ſuffering, when Paradiſe was reuealed to her, ſee there onely her fellow martyrs, but becauſe the glittering ſword, that keepeth the gate of Paradiſe, yeeldeth to none ſaue to ſuch as die in Chriſt,* that is, as Martyrs for Chriſt? *Tota Paradiſi clauis tuus ſanguis eſt. The only key to open Paradiſe, is thine owne bloud* (ſhed in Martyrdome). So that in as plaine words, as Tertullian vſeth any, *Inferi* are *neither heauen nor Paradiſe*, but *Regio ſubterranea, a place* (or Region) *vnder earth, and in the heart of the earth*; where ſome ſoules are in reſt, as he thinketh, and ſome in torments, which if you can turne to your generall and priuatiue Hades, you ſhall worke wonders. That other poſition of his, *conſtituimus omnem animam apud Inferos ſequeſtrari in diem Domini; we reſolue that euery ſoule is kept in Inferi till the day of the Lord* (or of iudgement), as it is priuate to himſelfe, and ſauoring of Montaniſme, ſo it is different from the reſt of the Fathers, who confeſſe not onely Martyrs, as he doth, but all good Chriſtians after this life to bee receiued into Paradiſe. This error if you be diſpoſed, you may mainetaine with Tertullian, but you ſhall neuer thence eſtabliſh your world of ſoules, which you ſeeke for.

[g] *Tertullianus de anima ca. 55.*

[h] *Ibidem.*

[i] Defenc. pag. 164. li. 3. [i] *Whereupon the learned Iunius noteth thus. Inferos Latini Patres (vt Græci Haden) pro omni loco aut ſtatu mortuorum dixerunt promiſcuè. The Latine Fathers vſe Inferi (as the Greeke doe Hades) for euery place and ſtate of the dead indifferently.*] That Iunius was very learned, I doe not denie, but that learned men may be partiall, and many times addicted to their priuate collections and opinions, I would God we had not ſo much experience as wee haue. If Iunius meane, that Hades or Inferi were taken for euery place and ſtate of the dead, vnder the earth, before Chriſtes comming, Iunius wordes are very true; that many of the Fathers tooke *Hades & Inferi* for *the place of al the dead*, which they thought to be vnder the earth before Chriſts comming; but that they called heauen or Paradiſe, which are places for the Saints deceaſed in Chriſt, by the name of Inferi; or that they tooke Inferi for the ſtate of the bleſſed ſoules ſince Chriſtes reſurrection, this I ſay neither Iunius was, nor any man liuing is able to prooue. And for Tertullians meaning, his wordes are ſo plaine, that neither Iunius, nor whoſoeuer might or may ouerrule them. I repeated them before, the effect is this. [k] *Inferi*, ſaith he, *are beleeued of vs to be a vaſtitie in the depth of the earth; and an hidde profunditie in the bowels thereof; for we reade that Chriſt was the three dayes of his death in the heart of the earth, that is in the inward and middlemoſt receit thereof couered in the earth, and hollowed* (or compaſſed on euery ſide) *with the earth, and ſeated vpon the lower gulfes.* If theſe words be not plaine enough, he addeth, [l] *Habes Regionem Inferûm ſubterraneam credere; thou muſt beleeue the Region of Inferi to be vnder the earth.* I ſhall not need many wordes to ſhew that Iunius obſeruation out of Tertullian is not true, except you adde *euery place and ſtate of the dead vnder the earth*, thereby to exclude the place and ſtate of the bleſſed in heauen and in Paradiſe; I leaue it to the Iudgement of any man, that hath learning or vnderſtanding, whether theſe words of Tertullian do not define and deſcribe a certaine place *vnder the earth, and within the earth*, in which he thought the ſoules

[k] *Tertullianus de anima ca. 55.*

[l] *Ibidem.*

soules of all men (Patriarkes and Prophets not exempted) were before Christes comming, and should bee till the resurrection, saue such as rose with Christ, or suffered Martyrdome for Christ, (for that is his exception afterward, as I haue shewed:) the good in rest, the badde in punishment. To that end he saith. [m] *Omnes ergo animæ penes inferos, inquis. Velis ac nolis, & supplicia iam* ILLIC, *&* REFRIGERIA; *habes pauperem & diuitem. Cur enim non putes animam & puniri & foueri in Inferis interim sub expectatione vtriusq; iudicij? All soules then you suppose, are in Inferi. Will you, nill you, you haue* THERE *alreadie both punishment and comfort, the poore man and the rich. For why should you not thinke the soule to bee punished and cherished in Inferis, in the places below, meane while vnder an expectation of either iudgement?* These wordes you can alleage, and neglecting how plainly Tertullian hath taught before, that *Inferi* are *places in the heart of the earth, and a region vnder the earth*, you wilfully change condition for region, and state for place, skipping cleane, that all this is vnder earth, and then you say this is your world of the dead, whereof part are in heauen by your owne positions, and part in hell. But this is too sensible a subuerting of Tertullians words, vnfit either for Iunius to beginne, or for you to follow. If Tertullians words were as true as they be plaine, neither side might refuse his opinion.

[m] *Idem de Anima. cap. 58.*

Neither was Tertullian alone in this perswasion, that all departing this life before Christes death went to places below in the earth. Ireneus affirmeth almost as much. [n] *Ea propter Dominum in ea, quæ sunt sub terra descendisse euangelizantem & illis aduentum suum. Therefore the Lord descended to the places vnder the earth to preach* (or publish) *euen to them his comming.* And againe, Christ conuersed three dayes, [o] *where the dead were, yea where the soules of the dead were, and was in the heart of the earth, and stayed till the third day in the lower parts of the earth*, where I trust you will not defend Heauen or Paradise to be. Ierom is more plaine in this point: [p] Salomon *speaketh thus*, sayth he, *because before the comming of Christ, omnia ad inferos pariter ducerentur, all were caried alike to the places below. Wherefore Iacob sayth, He shall descend ad inferos, to the lower places. Et Iob pios & impios in inferno queritur retentari. And Iob complaineth that the godly and the wicked are detained in inferno, in the gulfe below.* And lest you make what you list of the words *Inferi & Infernus*, as Iunius and some other learned men by their leaues haue done, you shall heare what Ierom himselfe sayth of them both: [q] *Inter mortem & inferos hoc interest, betweene death and inferi this is the difference. Death is that whereby the soule is separated from the bodie. Infernus locus, in quo animæ includuntur siue in refrigerio, siue in pœnis. Infernus is the place in which the soules are shut vp, either in refreshing or in punishment.* Now where this place was, and how long the soules of the iust stayed there, he doth not dissemble. [r] *We learne* (by Esay) sayth he, *that Infernus is vnder the earth. And* [t] *that Infernus is in the lower part of the earth, the Psalmist witnesseth, saying: The earth opened and swallowed Dathan, and couered the congregation of Abiram.* For [t] *as the heart is in the midst of the liuing creature, so Infernus is sayd to be in the midst of the earth.* And vpon these words of Salomon, *There is neither thought, knowledge, nor wisdome in Infernus whither thou goest*, he sayth. [u] *Nota vt Samuelem quoq; verè in Inferno credas fuisse, & ante aduentum Christi, quamuis sanctos, omnes Infernu lege detentos. Porro quod sancti post resurrectionem Domini nequaquam teneantur Inferno testatur Apostolus dicens, melius est dissolui & esse cum Christo. Qui autem cum Christo est, vtiq; non tenetur in Inferno. Note, that thou mayest beleeue Samuel also was truely in Infernus; and that before Christes comming, all, though saints, were detained vnder the law of Infernus. But that the saints after the Lords resurrection are no longer in Infernus, the Apostle witnesseth, saying: It is better to be dissolued, and to be with Christ. Now he that is with Christ, certainly is not held in Infernus.* I would not repeat so much of this, which I do not acknowledge to be vndoubtedly true, were it not that you and some others take aduantage of these sayings, (which yet you reiect as vtterly false) to establish hence your new world of soules, and that after Christs resurrection, directly repugnant to their assertions, out of whose words you would seeme to derive your opinion. For you hold, that to this hower the soules of the iust are in *hades and infernus* and

[n] *Ireneus li. 4. ca. 45.*

[o] *Ireneus li. 5. ca. 31.*

[p] *Hieron. in 3. ca. Ecclesiastis.*

[q] *Idem in Ose. ca. 13.*

[r] *Idem in Esaiæ. ca. 14.*

[t] *Hiero. in Epistol. ad Ephes. ca. 4.*

[t] *Idem in Iona. ca. 2.*

[u] *Idem in ca. 9. Ecclesiastis.*

and ſo ſhalbe till the reſurrection; ſince *infernus and hades*, as you beare men in hand, import no more with the Latin and Greek fathers but the condition and ſtate of the dead in generall, whether they be in hell or in heauen. Well this may be your conceit, but no father Greek, or Latin, euer made mention of any ſuch thing, as you would gather out of their words. That all mens ſoules before Chriſts comming, good and bad, were in places vnder the earth, the good in eaſe and comfort, the reſt in paines and torments, this ſome of the fathers both Greek and Latin auouch; but that the iuſt ſtill remaine now after Chriſts reſurrection either in hades or Infernus, I find no man that auoucheth any ſuch thing, ſaue only Tertullian. The firſt I muſt confeſſe I doe not beleeue, neither did Saint Auſten before me, who learnedly and truely concluded, that Abrahams boſome mentioned by our Sauiour in the Goſpell could be no part nor member of *Infernus* or *hell*; ſince the Scripture ſaith, there is a great and mighty gulfe ſet betweene them, ſo that the one can haue no acceſſe to the other, and the iuſt were aboue in comfort, whiles the wicked were below in hades, a place of torment, puniſhed with flames of fire. But ſince the reſurrection of Chriſt, no father (I ſtill except Tertullian) affirmeth the ſoules of the iuſt to be in hades or infernus; but in Paradiſe, which Tertullian yeelded to none but to Martyrs, being himſelfe infected with the error of Montanus, when he wrote his booke *De anima*, as ſhall moſt plainly appeare, though you neuer ſo ſtifly denie it. Howbeit his opinion in that was priuate, and different from the reſt. For Ierom ſaith. [x] *Ante Chriſtum Abraham apud Inferos, poſt Chriſtum latro in Paradiſo. Before Chriſt Abraham was in places below: after Chriſt the Thiefe was in Paradiſe.* Now the thiefe was iuſtly puniſhed for his offences, and ſo no Martyr. [y] And againe. *The munition, to which God exhorteth the Priſoners of hope, we ought to vnderſtand none other but the habitation of Paradiſe, to which the Thiefe firſt entred with the Lord. For* [z] *this is the Land of the liuing (in which the good things of the Lord are prepared for meeke and holy men,) to which before the comming of our Lord and Sauiour in the fleſh, neither Abraham, nor Iſaac, nor Iacob, nor the Prophets, nor other iuſt men could attaine.* But euen by Tertullian himſelfe it is euident, that your collection out of him is vtterly falſe. For he excepteth martyrs out of Inferi, and placeth them in Paradiſe, who yet I truſt are in the condition of the dead. And ſo by no meanes doe inferi ſignifie with Tertullian the place or ſtate of good and bad indifferently, that are dead, but onely ſuch as were, or are in places vnder the earth, who are properly and truely called inferi in reſpect of vs, and not thoſe that are aboue vs in heauen or Paradiſe, where on euery ſide we now confeſſe the Saints are; though their bodies lie yet in the duſt vnder earth.

[x] *Hiero. in Epitaphio Nepotiani.*

[y] *Idem in Zacharia. ca. 9.*

[z] *Idem tomo 3. ad Dardanum de terra viuentium.*

And becauſe Chryſoſtome is quoted as one of the Patrons of theſe pretences, I am content to let you ſee, that Chryſoſtome is abuſed as well as the reſt. For howſoeuer Chryſoſtome be vehement and ſometimes figuratiue in his ſpeeches, yet ſhall you not be able to prooue, that he euer vſeth Hades after Chriſtes death and reſurrection for the place of iuſt mens ſoules. Before that time (ſome of the Greeke Fathers ſuppoſing the ſoules of the iuſt to be kept vnder the earth) you may perchance finde heere and there a ſentence where the iuſt are ſaid to be in Hades: but you ſhall neuer be able to euince, that after Chriſtes reſurrection Hades is either the common condition or place of ſoules departed good and bad, as you and ſome others would ſeeme to obſerue out of the Greeke Fathers. I ſpeake of no more then I haue read in Greeke, but for ſo much as is extant of theirs, and I could get, I dare aſſure the Reader he ſhall finde my ſaying to be true. As for the Homilie of Chryſoſtome, which you cite, it can doe you no great good. The Greeke to my knowledge is not Printed, and therefore you can conclude nothing for Hades, ſince the Grecians haue and vſe many words for *Inferi* beſides Hades. Cyril of Ieruſalem expreſsing in Greeke that Article of the Creed, *deſcendit ad inferos*, ſaith, [a] κατῆλθεν εἰς τὰ κατώτατα, ἵνα κἀκεῖθεν λυτρώσηται τοὺς δικαίους. *Chriſt deſcended to the places below* (or vnder the earth) *to redeeme thence the iuſt.* But graunt the worde *Hades* be vſed in that place of Chryſoſtome, what prooue you more then that Chryſoſtom was of opinion the ſoules of the iuſt

[a] *Cyrillus Hieroſolymit. catechesi. 4.*

iuſt before Chriſtes comming were not in heauen or Paradiſe, but in Hades vnder the earth: neither ſhall we need for witneſſe thereof to goe any farder then the ſame Homilie, which you produce for your purpoſe. His wordes euen there are theſe. [b] *Simulque conſiderandum, quod Abraham apud inferos erat. Nondum enim Chriſtus reſurrexerat, qui illum in Paradiſum duceret. Antequam Chriſtus moreretur, nemo in Paradiſum conſcenderat niſi Latro. And withall we muſt conſider, that Abraham was yet (ἐν ἅδῃ) apud inferos, with thoſe that were vnder the earth. For Chriſt was not yet riſen; who ſhould bring him into Paradiſe. Before Chriſt died, no man aſcended to Paradiſe but the thiefe. No man could enter into Paradiſe, which Chriſt had ſhut. The thiefe was the firſt, that entred with Chriſt. The croſſe of Chriſt (is) the key of Paradiſe, the croſſe of Chriſt opened Paradiſe.* Abraham is yet vnder the generall condition of death; though his ſoule be in Paradiſe: but Abraham is no longer in *Hades*, where he was before Chriſts comming by Chryſoſtoms opinion. *Hades* therefore is neither Paradiſe, nor the generall ſtate of the dead after Chriſtes death and reſurrection; which cannot be ſtrange to him that with any moderate paines peruſeth Chryſoſtom.

[b] *Chryſoſt. tom. 2. homil. de diuite ex Luc. 16.*

[c] *Ibidem.*

[d] *Nec mors tollere, nec infernus potuit hanc (animam) tenere; quæ iubente tremens etiam vinctas animas, quas tenebat, amiſit.* [e] *Chriſto moriente ditione Tartarus perdidit quos tenebat, abiecit infernus ius poteſtatis antiquæ. Neither could death take nor Infernus* (or Hades) *hold Chriſts ſoule, at whoſe cõmandement, hel* (or Hades) *trembling let go the ſoules which he held bound. Chriſt dying hell loſt out of his dition* (or cuſtodie) *whom before it held. Infernus* (or Hades) *threw of the right of his former power.* And after his eloquent manner ſpeaking in the perſon of Chriſt, hee ſaith amongſt other things. [f] *I ſhould haue left vngratefull* (men) *to euerlaſting puniſhment; but mercie, I confeſſe, preuailed with mee. I ſent not an Angel, but I my ſelfe came downe for thee. I ſuffered my ſelfe to bee ſlaine, & ſic ad iſtos Inferos veni; and ſo came to theſe lower places. Goe out now you that are bound; riſe vp yee that are wretched; breath your ſelues yee priſoners. Behold I ſhine on you as light vnwoonted, behold I breake all your cordes and chaines. Ecce Tartareas ſedes, noctemque profundam fœtidumque chaos extermino. Beholde, I aboliſh* (to you theſe) *infernall ſeats,* (this) *darke miſt, and ſtincking chaos.* Here is Chryſoſtomes hades, which I truſt is not the generall ſtate nor place of all mens ſoules vnder Chriſt: ſpecially ſince Chryſoſtom in plaine ſpeech ſayth, Chriſt *aboliſhed* and ended all theſe things to them that were in hell or hades. If you ſtand on the Greeke word, as not expreſſed in Chryſoſtoms Latine copies; out of theſe Latine tranſlations your Leaders by their leaues gathered their obſeruations (for theſe parts of Chryſoſtom are not yet printed in Greeke) and therefore rightly may they be refuted by the ſame. But though it be no ſmall defect, that we want as yet the moſt of Chryſoſtoms works in Greeke, neuertheleſſe by part you ſhall perceiue what he meaneth by the word Hades whereſoeuer it is occurrent in his writings. In his homilie of the reſurrection (which I before cited, lying in the New Colledge Librarie in Oxford) he hath theſe words: [g] ἦλθεν ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ ὁ δεσπότης, καὶ κατέβαλε τὸν θάνατον ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατεχομένου ὑπὸ διαβόλου, ἵν' ἐκεῖνον ἀπολύσῃ τῷ δεσμῷ τοῦ ἅδου. *The Lord came on his croſſe, and payed a death for* (man) *who was held of the diuell, that he might free him from the bands of hades.* Where the bands of hades are thoſe wherein man was deteined of the diuell. And elſewhere ſpeaking of the croſſe of Chriſt: [h] εἰ γὰρ ἅδου πύλας ἀνέῳξε, καὶ θεσπεσίων ἀψίδας ἀνεπέτασε, καὶ παράδεισον εἰσόδου ἐνεκαίνισε; *If (the croſſe of Chriſt) brake vp the gates of hades; and ſet wide open the arches of heauen; and renewed the entrance into Paradiſe; what maruell is it, if it ouercame deadly poiſons and cruell beaſts.* And ſo againe, *(God by Chriſt)* [i] *aboliſhed the curſe,* καὶ ἅδου πύλας συνέκλασε, καὶ τὸν παράδεισον ἀνέῳξε, *and brake in pieces the gates of hades, and opened Paradiſe.* And ſhewing a generall conſent of all nations in this vſe of the word, hee ſayth; [k] *The Grecians, Barbarians, Poets and Philoſophers, and all ſorts of men conſent with vs in this, though not after the ſame maner,* καὶ φασιν εἶναι τινὰ δικαιοσύνην ἐν ἅδου, *and ſay, that there are certaine iudgements* (or puniſhments) *in hades.* Which Theodoret likewiſe confeſſeth to be true: [l] *Theſe ſpeeches, ſayth he, are fit for Philoſophie* (καταπίμπτειν) εἰς θεωρὸν μὲν τὰς εὐψεβιωκυίας (ψυχὰς) κάτω δὲ εἰς ἅδου τὰς τἀναντία πεπραγμένας, *to ſend the ſoules,*

[f] *Idem ſerm. 3. de Reſurrect. tom. 3.*

[g] *Chryſoſt. aduerſus Ebrios & de Reſurrectione.*

[h] *Chryſoſt. in Matth. 26. hom. 55.*

[i] *Idem tract. 7. de gloriatione in tribulatione.*

[k] *Idem in 2. ad Corinth. homilia 9.*

[l] *Theodoret. ſermo. 11. de fine & iudicio.*

soules, that haue liued here well, to heauen, and those that haue followed the contrary, downe to hades. And of Plato he sayth, [m] πολλαχῦ τὰ ἐν ἀδου κολασεσι δεινυσι. *In many places he affirmeth tortures in hades.*

[m] *Ibidem.*

And least I should be thought to be lead with a desire to contradict without cause, or vpon some conceit to oppose my selfe against such learned men, as haue leaned that way supposing hades with the Greek Fathers to import the place and state of good & bad after death, I am not vnwilling, good Christian Reader, if it be not tedious or troublesome to thee, to set downe part (for the whole would make a new volume) of that which in reading I haue obserued touching the vse of the word *hades* with auncient writers that were Christians, who vse not hades either for the place or state of the godly now deceased in Christ, nor for the generall or common condition of both elect and reprobate since Christs resurrection, but as we saw before in *Iustine the martyr, Chrysostome* and *Theodoret* precisely for a place opposite to Paradise, and heauen; where the wicked after this life find the due wages of their sinnes, which is eternall darckenesse and death, where the dwelling and dominion of Diuels is; and whence the Saints dead and liuing from the beginning of the world to the end thereof were and are redeemed and deliuered by Christ.

Iosephus a Iew, and yet a fauourer of Christian Religion, as appeareth by his testimonie, giuen of Christ, and one that liued euen in the Apostles time, as being a chiefe leader of the Iewes in the battaile against the Romans, and taken by Vespasian, to whom he foretold by the gift of prophesie, whiles Nero yet liued, that he should be Emperour, in his oration to dissuade them, that would haue killed themselues and him before he should yeeld to the Romans; [n] *Know you not,* saith he, *that such as goe out of this life by the law* (or course) *of nature, and repay the debt, which they receaued of God, when he that gaue it, is willing to receaue it, haue immortall glory, an house and offspring setled, and their soules cleansed and fauoured of God, inhabit the holiest place of heauen:* and [n] *whose hands waxe mad against themselues,* τῶν μὲν ἁδης λήψεται τὰς ψυχὰς σωτήρους, THEIR SOVLES HADES, *that is, darke,* RECEIVETH. Ignatius the third bishop of Antioch after the Apostles, sayth of Christ: [o] κατῆλθεν εἰς ἅδην μόνος, καὶ ἔλυσε τὸν ἀπ' αἰῶνος φραγμὸν, καὶ τὸ μεσότοιχον ἄπτωτον ἔλυσε. *He descended alone to Hades* (Hell) *and threw downe the rampier, that had stood from the beginning; and brake vp the partition wall thereof;* which kept men from heauen. To the state of the dead Christs soule did not descend alone, the thiefs soule was with him; neither had the rampier of bodily death continued vnbroken from the beginning, since many before Christs suffering rose from the generall condition of the dead; but hell it was, to which he alone, of all men that euer returned, went, and brake the strength and force thereof, which till that time was vntouched. Theophilus the sixt bishop of Antioch, about 170 yeeres after Christ, alleageth against Autolycus a maligner of Christian religion the verses of Sybilla, to proue that the Gentiles did sacrifice to diuels: [p] δαίμοσι τὰς θυσίας ἐποιήσατε τοῖσιν ἐν ἅδῃ. *You made sacrifices to diuels in hades.* Clemens Alexandrinus not long after labouring to proue that Peters words, *Christ preached to the spirits in prison,* pertained to the wicked, not to the godly, giueth this reason: [q] τίς ἂν εὐφρανθεὶν ἐν μιᾷ κατασκήνῃ καὶ τοὺς τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τοὺς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ ἑστάναι ψυχάς; *who being well aduised, will thinke the soules of the iust and of sinners, to be in one condemnation?* Whence he concludeth, that none heard Christs voice there, but [q] οἱ ἐν ἅδῃ καταπαγέντες καὶ εἰς ἀπώλειαν ἑαυτοὺς ἐκδεδωκότες; *such as were placed in hades; and had yeelded themselues wittingly to destruction.* And for proofe thereof alleageth these words as out of the Scripture: [q] λέγει ὁ ἅδης τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ, εἶδον μὲν αὐτὸν οὐκ εἴδομεν, φωνὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἠκούσαμεν. *Hades sayd to destruction, We saw not his shape, but we heard his voice.* I cite not these places to approoue euery allegation or opinion that is occurrent, but to shew in what sense the auncient Greeke writers, that were Christians, vsed the worde Hades, not for the common condition and state of soules iust and vniust, which Clemens heere disauoweth; but for the place where the wicked were detained, that wilfully wrought their owne destruction. Eusebius speaking in the person of Christ, saith [r] ὁρῶ τὸν εἰς ἅδου καταβάσιν

[n] *Iosephus de captiuitate Iudaica li. 3. ca. 25.*

[o] *Ignatius epistola ad Trallianos.*

[p] *Theophil. li. 2. ad Autoly.*

[q] *Clemens Stromat. li. 6.*

[r] *Eusebij demonst. Euangel. li. 10. c. 8.*

καταβασιν πλησιαζουσαν, καὶ τῶν ἀντικειμένων, καὶ ἐχθρῶνι τῷ θεῷ δυνάμεων ἐπαναστασιν. *I see my descent to Hades approch and the rebellion* (against me) *of the contrarie powers that are enemies to God*; He saith Eusebius *went thither*, [f] ὅτι σωτηρία τῶν ἐν ἅδου ψυχῶν, *for the saluation of the soules that were in Hades, and descended to breake the brasen gates,* καὶ τοὺς πρὶν δεσμίους ἅδου ἐλευθέρους ἀνήσων; *& to dismis those that before were prisoners of hades.* And out of Plato he alleageth this for a trueth [g] ἅμα τῇ τελευτῇ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαττομένας, δίκας ἐν ἅδου ὧν ἔδρασαν διδόναι, *that the soules of the wicked immediately after death departing hence, endure the punishment in Hades, of their doings heere.*

[f] *Ibidem.*

[g] *Idem Euangelicæ preparat. lib. 13. quod Plato non per omnia rectè senserit de anima.*

Athanasius a man of no meane iudgement, in whose confession or Creede allowed in the Booke of Common Prayer, we finde it a part of the Christian faith, that Christ *descended to Hades*, declareth in infinite places what he meaneth by the word *Hades*. [h] *After man had sinned,* saith he, *and was fallen, by his fall death preuailed from Adam vntill Christ; the earth was accurst,* ὁ ἅδης ἠνοίγη, ὁ παράδεισος ἐκλείσθη, ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐθυμώθη. *Hades was opened; Paradise was closed, Heauen was offended: but after all things were deliuered to Christ, the whole was reformed and perfited, the earth in steede of a curse was blessed, paradise was opened,* ὁ ἅδης ἔπτηξε, *Hades shranke for feare, the gates of heauen were left open.* [i] *He suffering for vs recouered vs, and hungring refreshed vs;* καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅδην καταβάντων ἡμᾶς ἀνήγαγε. *And descending to hades brought vs backe.* [k] *For if the Lord had not beene made man, we had neuer risen from the dead as redeemed from our sinnes, but had remained vnder the earth as dead, neither had we euer beene lifted vp to heauen,* ἀλλ' ἐκείμεθα ἐν τῷ ἅδῃ, *but had lien in hades.* Againe, [l] *he that examined* (mans) *disobedience; and gaue iudgement, inflicted a double punishment, saying to that which was earthly, Earth thou art, and to earth shalt thou returne; and to the soule, Thou shalt die the death; and so man was distracted into two parts, and condemned to abide* (after death) *in two places. If you can shew an other place, whither man was condemned, well may you say man was deuided into three parts, and that being recouered out of two places, he remaineth bound and chained in the third.* εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔχετε δεῖξαι ἕτερον τόπον παρὰ τοῦτον καὶ τὸν ἅδην, ἐξ ὧν ἠλευθέρωται τελείως ὁ ἄνθρωπος χεῖρα ἐλευθεροῦντος, *but if you can shew none other place besides the graue and hades* (hell) *out of which man was perfectly freed by Christ, how say you then, that God is not yet reconciled to man?* [m] *This appeareth not onely in vs, but in the death of Christ; the body comming to the graue,* ἡ δὲ μένει ἅδου διαβᾶσα, διαιρετῶν δὲ ὄντων τῶν τόπων πολλῷ μέτρῳ, *and the soule descending to Hades, being places that are seuered with a great distance; the graue receiuing his body, (for there it was present) and hades his spirit* (or soule.) *els how did (Christ) present the shape of his owne soule to the soules detained in bandes,* (ἵνα) διαῤῥηξῃ τὰ δεσμὰ ψυχῶν τῶν ἐν ἅδου κατεχομένων, (that) *hee might breake in sunder the bandes of the soules detained in hades?* So likewise speaking of Christes persuing the diuell by his life and death, hee else where saith. [n] *The diuell was fallen from heauen, hee was cast from the earth, hee was persued in the aire, euery where conquered, and euery where straightned,* ἐγνω καὶ τὸν ἅδην φυλαξαι: τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ χωρίου ὑπελείπετο αὐτῷ, *he determined to keepe Hades* (hell) *for this place was yet left him.* [o] *But the Lord a true Sauiour would not leaue his worke vnfinished,* ἅδὲ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἅδῃ ἡδέως τοὺς ἀφεῖναι τῷ ἐχθρῷ, *nor leaue those that were in hades as yeelded to the enemie. The diuell therefore* [p] νομίσας ἀποκτεῖναι ἕνα, τῶν πάντων ἐστέρηται, καὶ νομίσας εἰς ἅδην καταφέρειν, ἐκβέβληται τοῦ ἅδου, *thinking to kill one lost all, and hoping to carie one to Hades* (hell) *was himselfe cast out of hades (hell.)* [q] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἅδης καταργεῖται, ἐκεῖ τοῦ θανάτου κρατοῦντος, ἀλλὰ πάντων ἐγειρομένων. *Hades* (hell) *is abrogated, death no more preuailing, but all being raised to life, neither can the diuell stand vp any more against vs, but is fallen, and indeed creepeth on his brest and bellie.* And therefore of the Saints he saith, [r] εἶδεν (λοιπὸν) καὶ τὸν ἅδην σκυλευθέντα: and *in fine they saw Hades* (hell) *spoiled.*

[h] *Athanas. in illud omnia mihi tradita sunt à Patre.*

[i] *Ibidem.*

[k] *Idem contra Arianos oratione 2.*

[l] *Idem de incarnatione Christi.*

[m] *Ibidem.*

[n] *Athanas. in passionem & crucem Domini.*

[o] *Ibidem.*

[p] *Ibidem.*

[q] *Ibidem.*

[r] *Ibidem.*

Epiphanius in sundrie places expresseth the parts and purpose of Christs descending to hell, or hades. [s] *He was crucified, buried,* κατέρχεται εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια ἐν θεότητι καὶ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, αἰχμαλωτίσει τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν, καὶ ἀνίσταται τριημέρος, *Hee descended to the places vnder earth in his diuinitie and in his soule, he tooke captiuitie captiue, and rose againe the third day.* What here he calleth places vnder the earth, whither Christes

[s] *Epiphanius in hæresim Anacephaleos.*

soule went after his death, that elſwhere he calleth Hades. [h] *The Godhead of Chriſt would performe all things that perteined to the myſterie of his paſſion;* καὶ σὺν τῇ ψυχῇ καταλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ καταχθόνια, *and would deſcend together with his ſoule to the infernall places to worke the ſaluation there of ſuch as were before dead, I meane the holy Patriarcks:* ἵνα πληρώσῃ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν ᾅδε ἐν τῇ ἰδέᾳ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φθάσας τοῦ ᾅδου, ἵνα ὁ ἄρχων ὁ ᾅδης, καὶ ὁ θάνατος, &c. *that he might performe the things he would againſt hades in the forme of a man euen in hades, that the chiefe Ruler* HADES *and death thinking to lay hands on a man, and not knowing his Deitie vnited to his ſacred ſoule, Hades himſelfe might rather be ſurpriſed, and death diſſolued; and that fulfilled which was ſpoken, Thou wilt not leaue my ſoule in Hades.*

[h] *Idem in li. 2. hæreſi 69. contra Ariomanitas.*

Baſil: [i] *Death is not altogether euill, except you ſpeake of the death of a ſinner,* διὸν τὴν ἐν ᾅδῃ κολάσεων ἀρχὴν τυγχάνει ἡ ἀπαλλαγὴ τοῦ ἐντεῦθεν: πάλιν δὲ τὰ ἐν ᾅδῃ κακὰ, ἃ θεὸν ἔχει τὸν αἴτιον ἀλλ' ἡμᾶς αὐτούς: *becauſe their departure hence is the beginning of their puniſhments in hades; againe, the euils that are in hades haue not God for their cauſe, but our ſelues, the head and root of ſinne is in vs, and in our willes.* And againe: [k] *Dathan and Abiram were ſwallowed vp of earth, the gulfes and clefts thereof opening vnder them. Heere were not they the better for this kinde of puniſhment:* πῶς γὰρ οἱ καταβάντες εἰς ᾅδην: *for how ſhould they be ſo, that went to hades* (to hell) *but they made the reſt the wiſer by their example.* And writing on the 48 Pſalme: [l] *Becauſe (man) turned himſelfe from the word of God, and became a beaſt; the enemie caught him as a ſheepe without a ſhepheard,* καὶ ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ ἔθετο, *and put him in hades* (hell); but when he ſayth, *God will redeeme my ſoule from the power of hades,* [m] *he doth plainly propheſie,* τὴν τοῦ κυρίου κάθοδον τὴν εἰς ᾅδην, *the deſcent of the Lord to hades, who would redeeme the Prophets ſoule with others not to abide there.* Nazianzene in his ſecond Oration againſt Iulian the Rencgate: [n] φεῦγον τὰ ᾅδου τά σου καὶ τὰς εἰς ᾅδην φερούσας ὁδούς. ἐγὼ τὰς φανερὰς καὶ φερούσας πρὸς ἔργον ἐξηγήσομαι. *Stop thou thy ſecrets and wayes that leade to hell* (hades), *I will declare the plaine wayes which leade to heauen.* And of Chriſt he ſayth; [o] *Chriſt died, but he reſtored to life, and with his death aboliſhed death. He was buried, but he roſe againe.* εἰς ᾅδην κατέπεσεν, ἀλλ' ἀνάγει ψυχάς, ἀλλ' εἰς οὐρανὸν ἄνεισι. *He deſcended to hell* (hades), *but he brought backe ſoules, and aſcended to heauen.* Macarius: [p] *When thou heareſt that Chriſt deliuered ſoules* ἐκ τοῦ ᾅδου καὶ τοῦ σκότους, καὶ ὅτι καπῆλθεν εἰς τὸν ᾅδην ὁ κύριος, καὶ ἐποίησεν ἔνδοξον ἔργον, *out of hell* (hades) *and darkeneſſe, and that the Lord deſcended to hades, and did an admirable worke; thinke not theſe things to be farre from thine owne ſoule.* And thus he maketh Chriſt to ſpeake to death and to the diuell; κελεύω σοι ᾅδη καὶ σκότος, καὶ θάνατε, ἐκβαλε τὰς ἐγκεκλεισμένας ψυχὰς &c. *I command thee hades and darkeneſſe and death reſtore the ſoules incloſed. And ſo the wicked powers trembling, refund man that was incloſed.* Cyrill of Alexandria: [q] *In olde times* (before Chriſt) *the ſoules of men departing from their bodies were ſent to fill the receptacles of death* ἐν τοῖς ὑπὸ χθόνα μυχοῖς *in dennes vnder the earth. But after Chriſt commended his owne ſoule to his Father, he renewed the ſame way for vs:* βαδίζομεν γὰρ οὐκ εἰς ᾅδου πεδίον, ἐφόμεθα δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο αὐτῷ; *And now we goe not to hades from any place, but we follow him rather in this, and committing our ſoules to a faithfull Creatour, we reſt in excellent hope.* Yet of Chriſt he affirmeth, [r] *The ſoule which was coupled and vnited to the word* καταβᾶσα μὲν εἰς ᾅδου *deſcended into hades; and vſing the power and force of the Godhead* τοῖς ἐκεῖσε πνεύμασι παρέσχεν, *ſhewed it ſelfe to the ſpirits* (or ſoules) *there.* [s] *For we muſt not ſay that the Godhead of the onely begotten, which is a nature vncapable of death, and no way conquerable by it,* τὴν ὑπὸ χθόνα μυχῶν ἀνακεκόμισται; *was brought backe from the dennes vnder the earth.* Cyrill of Ieruſalem likewiſe in his Catechiſmes vpon thoſe words of the Pſalme, *If I aſcend to heauen, thou art there; if I goe downe to hades, thou art preſent,* ſayth; [t] εἰ γὰρ ὑψηλότερον οὐρανοῦ ἐστὶν ὅτι; βαθύτερον δὲ τῆς γῆς ὁ ᾅδης &c. *If there be nothing higher than the heauens, and hades be lower than the earth, he that comprehendeth the loweſt, doth alſo touch the earth.* And to thoſe that were baptized, he ſayth; [u] *When thou renounceſt Satan, thou haſt vtterly abrogated the couenant had with him,* τὰς παλαιὰς πρὸς τὸν ᾅδην συνθήκας, ἀνοίγεταί σοι ὁ παράδεισος τοῦ θεοῦ &c. *euen the olde couenant with hades* (hell) *and the Paradiſe of God is opened to thee.*

[i] *Baſil. homilia quod Deus non eſt author malorum.*

[k] *Ibidem.*

[l] *Idem in Pſal. 48.*

[m] *Ibidem.*

[n] *Nazianzen. in Iulianum oratione 2.*

[o] *Idem oratio. 1. de filio.*

[p] *Macarius homil. 11.*

Ibidem.

[q] *Cyril. de recta fide ad Reginas lib. 2. §. quod Chriſtus ex mortuis reſurrexit in virtute Patris.*

[r] *Idem li. de fide ad Theodoſium.*

[s] *Ibidem.*

[t] *Cyril. Hieroſoly. Cateh. 15. 8.*

[u] *Idem cateh. myſt. gegica 1.*

In the Homilies which Leo the Emperour made for the exerciſe of his ſtile and confeſsion

confeſsion of his faith; it is ſaid [x] Χειστὸς ἀνέστη τὸν ἅδην αἰχμαλωτίσας καὶ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἐλευθερίαν κηρύξας. *Chriſt is riſen bringing Hades priſoner with him, and proclaiming libertie to the captiues. He that held others bound, is now in bonds himſelfe.* Χειστὸς ἐξ ἅδου τροπαιόφορος, *Chriſt is come from hades with the enſigne of his triumph;* [y] *the ſowre and heauie lookes of thoſe that are vtterly ouerthrowen,* ἅδου, καὶ θανάτου, καὶ τῶν συμφερῶν δαιμονίων, *as of Hades, death, and the hatefull diuels.* Damaſcene. [z] κάτεισιν εἰς ἅδην ψυχὴ θεωμένη, &c. *The ſoule deiſied deſcended to Hades, that as to thoſe on earth the Sonne of righteouſneſſe was riſen,* ἄνω καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ γῆν ἐν σκότει καὶ σκιᾷ καθημένοις *ſo to thoſe that ſate vnder the earth in darkeneſſe and in the ſhadow, light might ſhine.* [a] *The brazen gates were torne, the iron barres were broken,* καὶ ἐφείξεν ἅδου πυλωρός, *and the keeper of Hades* (hell) *did ſhake for feare, and the foundations of the world were laid open.* Cydonius. [b] εἶναι μὲν ἐν ἅδου τίσιν τῶν ἐντεῦθα ἁμαρτανομένων. *That there is in hades* (hell) *vengeance for all ſinnes heere committed, not onely the conſent of all wiſe men, but alſo the equalitie of the Diuine iuſtice confirmeth and ſtrengtheneth this opinion.* Æneas Gazeus. [c] *He that in a priuate life committeth ſmall ſinnes, and lamenteth (them) eſcapeth* τῆς ἐν ἅδου τιμωρίας *the puniſhments that are in Hades* (hell.) Gregentius. Chriſt [d] *tooke a rodde out of the earth, which was his pretious croſſe, & ſtretching his right hand, ſtrake all his enemies, & conquered them;* τυτέστιν τὸν ἅδην, τὸν θάνατον, τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον τὸν κακότροπον ὄφιν, *that is Hades, death, ſin, and that wilie ſerpent.* Theophylact. [e] *The rich man dying is not caried by the angels,* ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν ἅδην καταγεται, *but is throwen downe to Hades. For he that minded neuer any high or heauenly thing,* τὸ καταπάτατον τόπου ἄξιος, *was woorthy of the loweſt place. In ſaying then he was buried, the Lord ſecretly ſignifieth, that his ſoule had the place, that was loweſt and darke.* And though hee there ſhew the opinion of ſome, that thought *hades* to be rather the condition of the ſoule after death then a place, yet he himſelfe reſolueth the cõtrary. [f] τί δὲ ὁ ἅδης; οἱ μὲν αὐτὸν φασὶ χῶρον ὑπόγειον σκοτεινὸν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς εἰς τὸ ἀφανὲς καὶ ἀειδὲς μετάστασιν τῆς ψυχῆς ἅδην ἔφασαν. *What is hades? Some ſay it is a place of darkeneſſe vnder the earth, others ſay Hades is the change of the ſoule from ſenſible to obſcure and vnſeene.* And though the wordes of our Sauiour determine that doubt, who maketh the rich man call it τὸν τόπον τοῦτον τῆς βασάνου, *this place of torment*, yet Theophylact himſelfe reaſoning there againſt Origen out of Abrahams wordes, ſaith; [g] *As it is then vnpoſſible for any of the iuſt to paſſe to the place of ſinners, ſo Abraham teacheth vs it is impoſſible* τὸ μεταβῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου τῆς κολάσεως εἰς τὸν τόπον τῶν δικαίων, *to paſſe from the place of puniſhment to the place of the righteous.*

And ſince their names doe not appeare that were of this opinion, and being latter in age, deſerue not the ſame credite for their iudgements that the auncient and learned Fathers doe, I omit theſe petite maſters, whom no man knoweth, as fanſing ſomewhat, if they could prooue it, and will goe forward with the maine conſent, as of all Greeke diuines that are extant; ſo of the beſt and eldeſt commentators and expounders of Greeke words, to ſhew that Hades is *a place of darkeneſſe vnder earth* for ſoules, where now none but wicked are contained, and there puniſhed. Euſtathius Archbiſhop of Theſſalonica, a man of no meane skill in the Greeke tongue, as appeareth by his commenting vpon Homere, ſaith. [h] *Haïdes* (which is Hades) is τόπος σκοτεινὸς ὑπόγαιος, ἀφανὴς, ἀφωρισμένος ψυχαῖς, *a darke place vnder earth, vnſeene, and appointed for ſoules.* Phauorinus Biſhop of Nuceria in his commentaries of the Greeke tongue, ſaith likewiſe: [i] ὁ ἅδης τόπος ὅτι ὑπόγαιος καὶ κεκρυμμένος, *Hades is a place vnder the earth, ſecret and hidde*; which hee alſo calleth, [k] χωρίον ἀσεγγές, καὶ σκότους αἰωνίου πεπληρωμένον, *a place without light, and filled with eternall darkeneſſe.* The great Etymologiſt of the Greeke tongue concurreth with them. [l] ἅδης χωρίον ἀσεγγές, σκότους αἰωνίου καὶ ζόφου πεπληρωμένον. *Hades is a place void of light, and full of euerlaſting darkeneſſe and miſts.*

I ſhall not neede with many wordes to vrge the properties and conditions of the place, which theſe Greeke Fathers call Hades. It is apparent to any who will peruſe them, that they auouch it to be a place *of darkeneſſe, oppoſed to heauen and Paradiſe, and vnder the earth, where Diuels are keepers and tormentors of ſoules*, and where *the wicked*

[x] *Leo Imperator hom. 2. in ſanctam Reſurrectionem.*
[y] *Ibidem.*
[z] *Damaſc. orthodoxa fidei li. 3. cap. 22.*
[a] *Eiuſdem homil. de Sabbato ſancto.*
[b] *Cydonius de morte contemnenda.*
[c] *Aeneæ Gazei Theophraſtus.*
[d] *Gregentij diſputat. cum Herbano Iudæo.*
[e] *Theophraſt. in 16. ca. Lucæ.*
[f] *Ibidem.*
[g] *Ibidem.*
[h] *Euſtathius in 1. Iliados.*
[i] *Phauorini Dictionarium in verbo ἅιδης.*
[k] *Idem de verbo ἅιδης.*
[l] *Etymologicon magnum in verbo ἅιδης.*

after this life are kept priſoners, and ſuffer puniſhments according to their deſerts; & which *Chriſt deſtroyed and ſpoiled by his deſcent thither, deliuering thence*, that is from the feare, power, and danger thereof, all ſuch as before or after did or ſhould beleeue in him. And though ſome of theſe writers did happily thinke the ſoules of the godly deceaſed before Chriſtes death were kept in a part thereof, in hope of their deliuerance thence; yet with one conſent they witneſſe it to be nothing leſſe then heauen or Paradiſe, or the ſtate of the dead common to good and bad after Chriſts reſurrection; as likewiſe they teach, that Chriſt deliuered thence, not onely ſuch of his elect as were dead before that time, but all the faithfull, aſwell then liuing, as yet vnborne. And therefore a deliuerance thence doth not exactly conclude a locall detention and incluſion there, but a quiting and diſſoluing of all the right, intereſt, and challenge; that hell or Satan had for ſinne vnto the ſeruants and members of Chriſt, whenſoeuer they liued or died. Onely Tertullian is oppoſite to them all, who dreampt that the ſoules of all the faithfull, ſaue Martyrs, were kept in places vnder the earth, which he calleth *Inferi*, till the generall reſurrection; wherein, as in many other points deliuered in his booke *de Anima*, he goeth a priuate way by himſelfe without and againſt the maine reſolution of the reſt of the Fathers.

[m] Defenc. pa. 164. li. 17.

[m] *He doth not montanize in this* (as you obiect) *but conſenteth with Irenæus before and with others after him, as ſhall appeare, who were no Montaniſts.*] Your miſtaking Irenæus here, as you did before, little helpeth your market; and others, when you bring them, ſhall haue an anſwere fitting them. In the meane while where you be ſo zealous to ſaue Tertullian from Montaniſme; he muſt haue a better proctor then you are to vphold his cauſe, or els it will ſoone fall to the ground. That none but Martyrs are in Paradiſe, and all other the faithfull departing this life are in priſons and places vnder the earth till the day of iudgement, this is not onely repugnant to the Scriptures and the reſt of the Fathers, but a plaine branch of Montanus hereſie, which Tertullian deriueth from no grounds of holy Scripture, whence all trueth muſt be ſet; but from certaine Reuelations & Propheſies different from the Scriptures, which Montanus and others publiſhed as made by the holy Ghoſt after the writing of the Scriptures; and which Tertullian in his writings coloureth with the name and pretence of the *Paraclete*; calling the true Chriſtians, that refuſed his new found doctrine, *Pſychicos* naturall men, and not ledde by the latter direction of the ſpirit, as Montanus and others were; whom in exacting chaſtitie, abſtinence, and Martyrdome more ſtrictly then the Church of Chriſt did, he followed. And therefore not onely his doctrine in this place allowing Paradiſe to none beſides martyrs, but his alleaging Montanus verie words, and pretending the *Paraclete* for his conceit no where written in the Scriptures, declare him expreſly in this to be a Montaniſt.

For plainer proofe whereof, firſt Tertullian ſpeaking of himſelfe, when he forſooke the reſt of the Chriſtians to cleaue to the reuelations of Montanus and his adherents, ſaith, [n] *Et nos quidem poſtea agnitio Paracleti atq; defenſio diſiunxit a Pſychicis. The agniſing of the Paraclet* (in the propheſies of Montanus) *and defending thereof did afterward diſioine vs from the carnall men.* So he termed the Church of Chriſt for refuſing the new propheſies of Montanus, as appeareth euidently by his booke *De ieiunio aduerſus pſychicos, of faſting againſt the carnall men*, which Saint Ierom ſaith was written [o] *ſpecialiter aduerſum eccleſiam, particularly againſt the Church.* Where he likewiſe taxeth the Chriſtians for reſiſting the Paraclet, or new propheſies of Montanus, couering them vnder the name of the Paraclet, and interpreting the one by the other. [p] *His paracleto controuerſiam faciunt, propter hoc noua prophetia recuſantur, non quod alium Deum prædicent Montanus, Priſcilla & Maximilla, ſed quod plane doceant ſæpius ieiunare quã nubere. These carnall men quarrell with the Paraclet, and therefore are the new propheſies refuſed, not that Montanus, Priſcilla, & Maximilla preach another God, but that they plainly teach oftner to faſt then to marrie.* Now for theſe very points, that none are in Paradiſe but only martyrs, and that the ſoules euen of the Patriarks and Prophets and all other godlie Chriſtians are *apud inferos, in places vnder the earth*, and ſo ſhalbe till the fulneſſe of the reſurrection;

[n] *Tertull. aduerſus Praxeã.*

[o] *Hiero. de ſcript. Eccleſiaſticis in Tertullians.*

[p] *Tertull. de ieiunio aduerſus Pſychicos.*

resurrection, Tertullian vrgeth in his booke *De anima* and in this chapter the authority of his paraclet, which was the founder of Montanus new propheſies. [q] *Agnoſce differentiam Ethnici & fidelis in morte, ſi pro Deo occumbas, vt paracletus monet, non in mollibus febribus & in lectulis, ſed in Martyrijs. Acknowledge the difference of an Ethnicke and a beleeuer euen in their deaths, if thou die for Gods cauſe, as the Paraclet warneth, not in eaſie agues and ſoft beddes, but in Martyrdomes.* And that theſe were the very words of Montanus new propheſie, may eaſily be perceaued by Tertullian himſelfe, who writing againſt all flight in perſecution (which booke was [r] ſpecially written againſt the Church, by Ieroms owne confeſsion) citeth them as the words of the ſpirit, to witte in the new propheſies of Montanus. [s] *Spiritum ſi conſulas &c, omnes pene ad martyrium exhortatur, non ad fugam, vt & illius commemoremur: publicaris inquit; bonum tibi eſt. Qui enim non publicatur in hominibus, publicatur in Domino. Sic & alibi. Nolite in lectulis & febribus mollibus optare exire, ſed in Martyrijs. If thou take counſell of the ſpirit, he exhorteth all very neere to Martyrdome, not to flight; as to remember you of that ſpeach. Art thou made a publike example, ſaith he, it is good for thee. He that is not made a publike example amongſt men, ſhalbe made one with God. And ſo in another place deſire not to depart this life in beds & eaſie agues, but in Martyrdomes.* Theſe words Tertullian alleageth as euidently written by the ſpirit, which ſince they be no where found in any part of the new or old Teſtament, & diſagree both in words & matter from the ſtile & truth of the ſacred Scriptures, they ſauour of another ſpirit, & muſt of force be referred to the propheſies of Montanus, who in this very point was condemned by the church of Chriſt, againſt which, as Ierom auoucheth, Tertullian wrote this book in fauor of Montanus hereſie. And ſo much alſo that learned obſeruer Rhenanus affirmeth vpon this place. [t] *Verba ſunt Prophetiæ Paracleti Montanici, These are the words of the propheſie of Montanus ſpirit.* Your friends therefore, who lent you their paines, were not well aduiſed in excuſing Tertullian in this matter from Montaniſme, ſince not onely the error of Montanus is heere defended, but the verie words of his new reuelation are heere alleadged.

[q] *Tertullianus de anima ca. 55.*

[r] *De Scriptoribus Eccleſiaſticis in Tertulliano.*

[s] *Tertull. de fuga in perſecutione,*

[t] *Rhenanus in li. de fuga in perſecutione numero. 9.*

[u] *Alſo in that obiection of certaine Hereticks, whom he confuteth, not the true Chriſtians, as you miſconceaue. They argued thus (as you doe). In hoc Chriſtus inferos adijt, ne nos adiremus. Chriſt therefore went to hell, to the end we ſhould neuer come there. He anſwereth them, that it is falſe, that Chriſt went to inferos in that ſenſe, that is, to hell. For then what difference is there between the wicked heathen and the godly Chriſtians, if one and the ſame priſon after death were for them both? taking it for a thing generally graunted in the Church that it were a* WICKED AND HERETICALL THING *to thinke, he went where the damned were, that is, into hell.*] Ignorance maketh you not onely blind and bold, but preſumptuous and ſawcie to acquite from hereſie, and condemne for hereſie, whom pleaſeth you. And therefore I muſt not thinke it ſtrange to be chalenged by you, for *a wicked and hereticall opinion*, ſince you groſly belie the whole Church of Chriſt, and dippe them in the ſame vate of wicked and heretical things with me. You wilfully wreſt and miſconſtrue Tertullians words ſmoothing him in a manifeſt error againſt the whole Church of Chriſt, and roling them vp with wicked hereſie, that were the greateſt lights of Chriſtian religion next after the Apoſtles. Tertullians reſolutions in this very Chapter are plaine enough to him, that is not more then blind.

[u] Defenc. pag. 164. li. 23.

• [x] *Habes de Paradiſo a nobis libellum, quo conſtituimus omnem animam apud inferos ſequeſtrari in diem Domini. Thou haſt a book of ours written touching Paradiſe, wherein we determine all ſoules to be kept ſequeſtred* (apud inferos) *in infernall places till the day of the Lord.* And in the ſentence next before that which you cite, he ſayth with like confidence. [y] *Habes & regionem inferûm ſubterraneam credere, & illos cubito pellere qui ſatis ſuperbè non putent animas fideliũ inferis dignas: ſerui ſuper Dominũ, & Diſcipuli ſuper Magiſtrũ, aſpernati ſi forte in Abrahæ ſinu expectandæ reſurrectionis ſolatium carpere. Thou haſt to beleeue, that the region of inferi is vnder the earth, and to puſh them from their opinions, who proudly enough will not thinke the ſoules of the faithfull to be fitte for infernall* (or lower) *places: ſeruants aboue their Lord, and Scholers aboue their Maſters, in that they ſkorne perhaps to haue the comfort of expecting the reſurrection in Abrahams boſome.* Heere Tertullian

[x] *Tertull. de Anima. ca. 55.*

[y] *Ibidem.*

lian poſitiuely declareth that he taketh *inferi* for a place or *Region vnder the earth*, and that ſuch as thought not the ſoules of the faithfull fitte for that place till the reſurrection, did proudly preſume to be aboue their Lord and Maſter, and skorne Abrahams boſome, where the reſt of the Patriarks & Prophets are kept, (as he dreameth) and ſo ſhalbe till the day of iudgement. Now whoſe opinion I pray you was this, that the ſoules of the faithfull after Chriſts reſurrection went to Paradiſe, and not to places vnder the earth? was it not the maine confeſsion of Chriſts Church? Tertullian then purpoſely refuting that opinion, what els doth he but traduce the generall perſuaſion of the faithfull in fauour of his new propheſie, which reſerued Paradiſe onely for Martyrs, and in that reſpect abandoned all the ſoules of the godly dying in their beds to places vnder the earth, there to be kept till Chriſtes comming.

But examine the words, which he reiecteth, and ſee if they ſauour of hereſie or Chriſtianity. For thereby we ſhall beſt iudge, whether they were Hereticks or Chriſtians, whom he there impugned. His words are, [z] *Sed in hoc, inquiunt, Chriſtus inferos adijt, ne nos adiremus. But to this end, ſay they, Chriſt went to* (inferi) *the places below, that we ſhould not come thither.* If theſe wordes imply hereſie, then was Saint Auſten a manifeſt hereticke, for he affirmed as much in effect, as this commeth vnto. [a] *Ideo* (Chriſtus) *peruenit vſq; ad infernum, ne nos maneremus in inferno. Therefore Chriſt came euen vnto hell, that we ſhould not remaine in hell.* Men that come thither, abide there. If therefore Chriſt freed vs by his deſcent thither from remaining there, he freed vs from comming thither. And Ambroſe was likewiſe an hereticke in ſaying, [b] *deſcendens ad inferos genus humanum liberauit. Chriſt deſcending to hell deliuered mankind*; that is, aſwell from comming thither, as tarrying there. So Hilarie, [c] *Crux, Mors, Inferi, noſtra ſalus eſt*, Chriſtes *Croſſe, death, deſcent to* (inferi) *the places below, is our ſaluation.* So Athanaſius. [d] εἰς τὸν ἅδην καταβαίνων ἡμᾶς ἀνέστησε. *Chriſt deſcending to hades brought vs backe*, (that we ſhould not goe thither). So Ierom, [e] *Liberauit omnes Dominus, quando eius anima deſcendit ad infernum: The Lord deliuered all* (his from thence) *when his ſoule deſcended to hell.* So Fulgentius, [f] *Hoc ideo factum eſt, vt per deſcendentem ad infernum animam iuſti, dolores ſoluerentur inferni:* [g] *ſolutis doloribus inferni, omnes fideles ab iiſdem doloribus liberauit. This was therefore done that by the ſoule of the iuſt deſcending to hell, the ſorrows of hell might be looſed,* (and) *the ſorrows of hell being looſed, he deliuered all the faithfull from them.* Our deliuery thence, who were neuer there, muſt needs be the keeping vs from comming thither. If then Chriſt by his deſcending thither deliuered vs and all his elect thence, it followeth he ſaued them from comming to that place, and that by his deſcent thither. And this ſpeach Auſten prooueth to be right and true in this very caſe by many examples, from which he thus concludeth. [h] *In his omnibus non erant, ſed quia talibus meritis agebantur, vt niſi ſubuentum eſſet, ibi eſſent, inde ſe recte dicunt liberari, quo per liberatores ſuos non ſunt permiſſi perduci. In all theſe* (miſchiefes) *men were not, but becauſe their deſerts were ſuch, that they ſhould haue been in them, had they not been holpen (from them) they rightly ſay they were* THENCE DELIVERED, *whither they were not ſuffered to come, by ſuch as deliuered them.* If then they were Hereticks that vpheld this poſition, the beſt learned of the fathers in Chriſts Church were plainely within the compaſſe of hereſie; and whether it be ſafer to forſake Tertullian in his priuate conceit of Montaniſme, or to muſter ſo many religious and Catholike writers for hereticks, let the Reader iudge.

And what if you take your ſelfe by the noſe before you be ware, and plunge your ſelfe into this wicked hereſie (as you call it) farre deeper then others by alleaging and yet refuſing Tertullians fanſies in this place, doe you not well to be ſo liberall of your termes, when you muſt beare the greateſt waight of them? I cleare my ſelfe in ſaying and prooving, that theſe were Tertullians priuate conceits conſonant to Montanus new propheſies, and repugnant to the Church of Chriſt; and therefore vnleſſe theſe fathers were hereticks I am none: but you are caught like a *Come* with your loude crowing, and cannot ſhift thence but with your owne ſhame. For you ſay, it was the obiection *of* [i] *certaine hereticks*. Now if your ſelfe defend that, which Tertullian there impugneth,

[z] *Tertull. de Anima. ca. 55.*

[a] *Auguſt in Pſal. 85.*

[b] *Ambroſ. in ca. 3. epiſt. ad Galat.*

[c] *Hilar. de trinitate li. 2.*

[d] *Athanaſ. in illud omnia mihi tradita ſunt a Patre.*

[e] *Hier. in Oſe ca. 13.*

[f] *Fulgent. ad Traſimundum li. 3.*

[g] *Ibidem.*

[h] *Auguſt. in Pſal. 85.*

[i] Defenc. pag. 164. li. 23.

impugneth, then are you an heretick by your owne confeſsion. Firſt then, that Chriſt dying went *ad inferos*, that is, *ad inferiora terrarum, to the lower parts of the earth*, Tertullian exactly auoucheth. His words of Chriſt, in this very Chapter are, [k] *Forma humanæ mortis apud inferos functus, nec ante aſcendit in ſublimiora cælorum, quam deſcendit in inferiora terrarum. He performed the manner of an humane death in the places below, neither did he aſcend to the higher parts of the heauens, before he deſcended to the lower parts of the earth.* This Tertullian bringeth as graunted on all ſides: for he refuſeth not that, which himſelfe affirmeth. The obiection then of the heretiks, as you name them, was this; *Ne nos adiremus, that we ſhould not come thither*; that is, *ad regionem inferûm ſubterraneam, to the region of inferi vnder the earth*, which is Tertullians inferi whither he thought all muſt come. Now make your choiſe, wiſe Sir, whether you wilbe one of the Hereticks, as you ſay, whom Tertullian refuteth, or hold this groſſe error with Tertullian, that all the Saints ſaue Martyrs, after this life are in places vnder the earth, there to remaine till the day of reſurrection. But this you euery where ſeeme to diſclaime as being that Limbus, which you ſo much auoide. Then are you one of thoſe hereticks, whoſe obiection this is, and that which argueth you to be a witt-all, aſwell as an heretick of your owne calling, you haue not ſo much ſenſe as to ſee, that you yeeld your ſelfe to be an heretick for defending the trueth.

[k] De Anima. ca. 55.

Tertullian ſaith, [l] *it is falſe that Chriſt went to inferos, that is to hell.*] You that rightly vnderſtand not one word in this place of Tertullian, talke as if you were authorized not onely to contradict your owne Author, but to pronounce them all heretikes, that gaineſay your abſurd and ignorant follie. Tertullian in this place reſolueth, that Chriſt dying went ad *Inferos*, that is *ad Regionem Inferûm ſubterraneam*; *to the Region of Inferi vnder earth*, for ſo he expoundeth himſelfe; and concludeth, that all the faithfull after death (ſaue Martyrs) ſhall goe to the ſame Region vnder earth, and there ſtay till the generall reſurrection. This concluſion you denie as well as I doe, and ſay they were Heretikes, that made that obiection. But awake out of this maze or madneſſe, and ſee that Tertullian to ſtrengthen the priuate opinions of Montanus in adnauncing Martyrs and none elſe to Paradiſe, impugneth the profeſsion of the whole Church, that Chriſtes deſcending to Inferi, that is to the Region vnder the earth, freed all the faithfull from comming thither. With like ſtupiditie you ſeuer the reaſon of this poſition from the poſition it ſelfe, and make that a refutation of the obiection as you call it, which is a confirmation thereof. For they which oppoſed the former wordes, Chriſt, *therefore went ad inferos, to the places below, leaſt we ſhould come thither*: brought this for a reaſon of their aſſertion. [m] *Caterum quod diſcrimen Ethnicorum & Chriſtianorum, ſi carcer mortuis idem? For what difference is there betweene Ethnicks and Chriſtians, if they haue one and the ſame priſon after death?* You ſay this is Tertullians anſwere to them; but your head is ſo heauie, that you doe not perceaue this maketh for them, not againſt them; and ſo rather confirmeth then anſwereth their obiection. They, who made the former obiection, that Chriſt *went to the places below, leaſt we ſhould come thither*, neuer excepted infidels but Chriſtians from comming to thoſe places. If Tertullian were of the ſame mind, he did rather confeſſe, then refell their obiection. But his anſwere to theſe words commeth after, which you did not reade, or not marke. [n] *Agnoſce differentiam Ethnici & fidelis in morte, ſi pro Deo occumbas vt Paracletus monet, non in mollibus febribus & Lectulis, ſed in Martyrijs. See the difference betwixt an Ethnick & a beleeuer, if thou die for Gods cauſe, as the Paraclete warneth, not in eaſie feauers and (ſoft) beddes, but in Martyrdomes.* Where following not onely the fanſies, but the very phraſes of Montanus propheſies, as I haue formerly ſhewed, he maketh no difference (as touching the place) betweene Ethnicks and Chriſtians after death, except they be Martyrs: and thereby faſtneth all the faithfull, that die in their beddes, or of any ſickeneſſe, (be it neuer ſo grieuous) *to Inferi, the Region vnder the earth*, which error was alwayes condemned by the Church of Chriſt.

[l] Defenc. pag. 164. li. 28.

[m] Tertull. de anima. ca. 55.

[n] Tertull. de anima ca. 55.

[o] *Thus alſo is Auguſtine well vnderſtood, where he denieth that the Patriarkes were apud inferos in hell, namely the place of the damned, becauſe they were in Abrahams boſome. Which yet*

[o] Defenc. pag. 164. li. 37.

p Epiſtola 57. & de ciuitate Dei 20.15.

q Pag.188. 200.204.

yet [p] *elſewhere he graunteth vnto, that they might bee apud inferos in the world of the dead, and namely where the godlie dead ſhould be. So that thus if you had but diſtinguiſhed theſe and other Fathers like words, as you ought to haue done, there needed no ſuch follie of contradiction to be imputed vnto them, as* [q] *you doe lay to their charge in this point. altogether vndeſeruedly.*] Indeed if I would follow your example in drawing the Fathers wordes from their plaine and true meaning, and force them to a ſenſe which they neuer thought, yea which they directly refute; I might eaſily make the fathers ſay, what pleaſed me, as you doe. But this with me, and with all that be wiſe, is the perverting, not the producing of Fathers. And therefore I did them leſſe wrong to ſhew, where they differed amongſt themſelues in ſome ſecret points not fully reuealed to men in this life, then to falſifie them, and abuſe them after this manner. Neither ſaid I any worſe of them, then they ſay of themſelues, that *theſe things are vncertaine*, and *no man might be offended*, if they were not able to bring *any ſetled* (or aſſured) *expoſitions* (or reſolutions) *in theſe points*, which Auſtin openly [r] profeſſed of himſelfe, as I told you in that [f] place which you cite. But let vs heare how you medicine theſe matters, and by that we ſhall ſound the depth of your skill.

r In Pſal.85.

f Serm. pag. 189.

If I would take *Inferos in ſome places for hell, in other places for the world of the dead, and namely where the godly dead ſhould be*, all were ſafe you thinke: Saint Auſtin did no way diſagree from him in thoſe places, which I cited, which were Epiſtola 99. 57. *de Geneſi ad literam li.12.ca.33. de ciuitate Dei li.20.ca.15.*] To him that catcheth but after a word, and neuer looketh what is precedent or conſequent, this may ſeeme plaiſter of Paris to amend this breach; but he that readeth three lines on either ſide, ſhall ſoone perceaue how fooliſhly and groſſely you make Saint Auſtin irreconciliablely to croſſe himſelfe, and yet euidently to ſubuert your whole building. Beginne with that place, which you quote laſt in your margine, and ſee how well you reconcile S. Auſtins words to make for your aſſertions. [t] *Si enim non abſurdè credi videtur, antiquos etiam ſanctos, qui venturi Chriſti tenuerunt fidem, locis quidem à tormentis impiorũ remotiſſimis, ſed apud Inferos fuiſſe, donec eos inde ſanguis Chriſti, & ad ea loca deſcenſus erueret; profectò deinceps boni fideles effuſo illo pretio iam redempti,* PRORSVS INFEROS NESCIVNT, *donec etiam receptis corporibus, bona recipiant quæ merentur. If it ſeeme without abſurditie to be beleeued, that the Saints of the old Teſtament, which kept the faith of Chriſt to come, were in places moſt remote from the torments of the wicked, and yet apud inferos in infernall* (or lower) *places, vntill the bloud of Chriſt, and his deſcent thither did deliuer them thence; certainly after that time the godly beleeuers now redeemed with that price* (of his bloud) *ſhed, neuer know* (or trie) *any inferi, to the time that recouering their bodies they receaue the good things deſerued by them*, (or prepared for them). If here we take *Inferi for the world of the dead*, as you would haue vs, doe not your eares glow to heare ſo vehement and violent a gunne ſhot againſt all your deuices, and namely againſt your world of the dead, that *certainely* after the time, that Chriſt deſcended to Inferi, *the godly beleeuers* PRORSVS INFEROS NESCIVNT, *neuer come to any Inferi?* Where if you put your world of the dead for *Inferi*, & ſay the godly dying neuer come to be dead, or to the place where the godly dead ſhould be, the world of the liuing will thinke you out of your wits, that ſo tempeſtuouſly tumble out falſehoodes and contradictions. And what will you doe with that poſition of Auſtins ſo often repeated, and vrged as the ground of his reſolution, that he neuer found *Inferi* in the Scriptures taken in any good ſignification? [u] *Ne ipſos quidem Inferos vſpiam Scripturarum in bono appellatos potui inuenire; I neuer could find in any part of the Scriptures Inferos vſed in any good ſenſe.* And ſo againe. [x] *Illud me nondum inuemiſſe confiteor, Inferos appellatos vbi iuſtorũ animæ requieſcunt. I confeſſe I haue not yet found that the place where the ſoule of the righteous do reſt, is called inferi.* The like he ſaith in his fiftie ſeuen Epiſtle. You will expound *Inferi* in Auſtin for the place, where the godly dead ſhould be: Auſten himſelfe vtterly diſauoweth it, and expreſſely ſaith, he neuer could find the word taken in the Scriptures for any good, and therefore neuer did vſe it in any ſuch ſenſe. Call you this the clearing, or the croſsing of Saint Auſtins words?

t Auguſt. de ciuitate Dei li. 20.ca.15.

u Auguſt. epiſt. 99.

x Idem de Geneſi ad literam li.12.ca.33

Euen

Euen ſo another of your maine maſts is ouerthrowen by Saint Auſtin, though you in your rancor or rage make it a [y] *wicked and hereticall thing to thinke, Chriſt went where the damned were, that is into hell*, which yet S. Auſten beleeued & profeſſed in thoſe very places, which you vndertake to reconcile. [z] *Quæri ſolet, ſi non niſi pœnalia rectè intelliguntur Inferna, quo modo animam Domini Chriſti piè credamus fuiſſe in inferno? Sed benè reſpondetur ideo deſcendiſſe, vt quibus oportuit ſubueniret. Some vſe to demaund, if Inferna be rightly taken for none other but for the places of puniſhments* (after this life) *how may we ſafely beleeue, that the ſoule of the Lord Chriſt was (in Inferno) in hell? but it is wel anſwered, he deſcended (thither) to ſuccour thoſe, that were to be ſuccoured.* And ſo elſewhere. [a] *Chriſti quidem animam veniſſe vſque ad ea loca, in quibus peccatores cruciantur, vt eos ſolueret a tormentis, quos eſſe ſoluendos, occulti à nobis ſuâ iuſtitiâ indicabat, non immerito creditur. That Chriſts ſoule came euen to thoſe places, in which ſinners are tormented to deliuer them from torments, whom his iuſtice vnknowne to vs thought fit to deliuer, is beleeued not without good cauſe.* Auſten acknowledgeth the Church belieued it in his time; howſoeuer your tongue ouerrunneth your teeth to make it a wicked & hereticall thing ſo to thinke. Ambroſe confeſſeth the ſame. [b] *Expers peccati Chriſtus cum ad Tartarii ima deſcenderet, vinctas peccato animas mortis dominatione deſtructa é faucibus Diaboli reuocauit ad vitam. Chriſt free from ſinne, when he deſcended to the loweſt pit of hell, recalled to life out of the diuels iawes the ſoules that were bound with ſinne, deſtroying the Dominion of death.* And ſo doth Ierom. *Infernus locus ſuppliciorum atq; cruciatuum eſt, in quo videtur diues purpuratus; ad quem deſcendit & dominus, vt vinctos de Carcere diuitteret. Infernus is the place of puniſhments and torments, in which the rich man clothed with purple was ſeene, and to which the Lord deſcended to dimiſſe ſuch, as were bound, out of priſon.* Theſe I truſt were no Heretikes, but if need were, and I would vſe that aduantage againſt you, which you inſiſting on Tertullians error ſeeke againſt me, they would doe little leſſe then prooue you to be a refuſer and peruerter of the faith receiued in the Church of Chriſt, and profeſſed not by them onely, but by all thoſe Fathers, whom I [d] formerly cited as concurring in this cauſe with them. But I ſmile at your follie, and remit your reproches to the Readers impartiall Cenſure.

[y] Defenc. pag. 164. li. 33.

[z] *Auguſt. epiſt.* 57.

[a] *Idem de Geneſi. ad liter. li.* 12. *ca.* 33.

[b] *Ambroſ. de myſterio Paſchæ ca.* 4.

[c] *Hiero. in Eſaiæ ca.* 14.

[d] *Supra pa.* 544.

[e] *Athanaſius alſo ſaying, where humane ſoules were held by death, there Chriſt brought his humane ſoule; meaneth nothing elſe, but that his ſoule came vnder the ſame condition of death, as other humane ſoules did: not that he went to the place of the damned. Neither muſt he be vnderſtood after your partiall tranſlation, when you ſay ex orco, out of hell, himſelfe ſaith ex Hadou, out of the power of death.*] You ſet your ſelfe to outface all the places, which I brought out of the Fathers for Chriſts deſcent to hell; and as you played your part in wrenching & wrying the words of Tertullian & Auſtin from their right ſenſe, ſo you continue in all the reſt with like ſucceſſe, thinking it enough for you to ſay the word, though it be neuer ſo falſe, and farre from the Fathers meaning. As firſt in Athanaſius wordes; what double puniſhment was that I pray, which God threatned to Adam for ſinne, in ſaying [f] *to the earthly part, earth thou art, & to earth ſhalt thou returne; and to the ſoule, thou ſhalt die the death*; for thoſe are Athanaſius words; and what be *the* [g] *two places, to which man after his diſſolution was condemned?* Did God threaten nothing to Adam but the diſſolution of bodie and ſoule, or did he threaten the death of the ſoule alſo after this life, which properly noteth hell, beſides the death of the bodie? I truſt you be not ſo ſenſeleſſe as to ſay, that God for ſinne threatened no more to Adam and his poſteritie but onely a bodily death; for ſo could none of Adams off-ſpring by that ſentence be adiudged to hell, which yet we find daily performed by Gods iuſtice. Then the death of mans ſoule threatened by God for ſinne, and meant by Athanaſius in thoſe words, which you would elude, was the place of perpetuall torments, where the ſoule of man was truly held in death, and not the condition of the ſoule ſeuered from the bodie without reſpect of any conſequent miſerie. Therefore your maine foundation is euidently falſe, that Athanaſius by the death of mans ſoule *meaneth nothing els*, but the ſoules being apart from the bodie without regard of puniſhment following: but in expreſſe words he noteth the place, [h] *Vbi tenebatur anima humana in morte,*

[e] Defenc. pag. 165. li. 10.

[f] *Athanaſ. de incarnatione Chriſti.*

[g] *Ibidem.*

[h] *Ibidem.*

morte, where the soule of man was held (captiue) *in death*; which spite of your heart must needes be hell. Againe according to the double death threatned for sinne, Athanasius saith, [i] *Homo in duas partes discerpitur, & vt ad duo loca discedat, condemnatur. Man* (dying) *is distracted in two parts, and* CONDEMNED TO TWO PLACES. Now in your diuinitie is any man condemned to heauen, or to Paradise? you must find vs then *two places of condemnation*, whither either part of man dissolued was adiudged, as his bodie to the graue, his soule to hades. So saith Athanasius in expresse words. [k] *If you can shew me another place of condemnation, well you may say, that a man is diuided* τειχῆ, *(into three places), and that being reuoked out of two places he remaineth bound in the third; but if you can shew none other place* (of condemnation) παρὰ τὸν τάφον, καὶ τὸν ἅδην, *besides the graue and Hades, from which man is perfectly freed, Christ deliuering vs, how say you then, that God is not reconciled vnto mankind?* If then Hades bee a place of condemnation for sinne, where the soule of man was bound, till it was freed by Christ, most certainely Hades with Athanasius is neither Paradise nor heauen, but onely hell.

[i] *Ibidem.*

[k] *Ibidem.*

Againe if by *death raigning in the soule of man*, Athanasius intended nothing but the condition of death common to good and bad, and euen to Christ himselfe, how could he say of Christ, that he was then and there [l] *inuictus a morte, not subiect to death*, or that he brake τὰ δεσμὰ ψυχῶν τῶν ἐν ἅδῃ κατεχομένων, *the bands of the soules detained in hades?* Hath heauen or Paradise any bands, that must be broken? And as for you last conceit, that [m] *Hades being enemie and opposite to the immortalitie and resurrection of mens persons, cannot by any means be hell, for in hell shalbe immortality & resurrection, as well as in heauen*; it is so like to the rest of your diuinitie, that I doe not ouer much maruaile at it. If hades be enemie and opposite to immortalitie, as you confesse out of Athanasius, then Hades is neither heauen nor Paradise, for they are both places of immortalitie; there is no death, but life in either of them. And though you cunningly shift handes, and change mens *persons* for mens soules, of which Athanasius speaketh, when he sayth, ὅπου κατεχράτο ἡ ψυχὴ ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη ἐν θανάτῳ, *where mans soule was held in death, there Christ presented his humane soule to breake the chaines of death*, euen in hades; yet that *immortality is as well in hell as in heauen*, is a phrase of your owne framing to put all trueth and faith out of ioint, The Scriptures teach most truely, that God alone hath [o] *immortality*. If then you haue found vs a new immortalitie in hell, you haue found vs a new God also. And what is immortalitie, but without all death? since then in hell there is nothing but death, & that eternall as well of soule as of body, your deuices are very delicate, in euerlasting death to finde no death. But dally not thus with the grounds of Religion, least God doe not dally with you: if by your assertion the deliuerance from death, and immortalitie which Christ brought to his elect, be none other then such as men in hell shall haue; pray God your braines be not as much crazed, as your faith is. And as for your interpreting Athanasius words, and gessing at his meaning, when we vse madde men to giue aduise, we will send for you to make comments vpon their counsels.

[l] *Ibidem.*

[m] Defenc. pag. 165. li. 23.

[o] 1. Tim. 6.

Where you make Athanasius say, [p] *Christ was held in this death till he spoiled and conquered it, which (you conclude) cannot be hell out of question*; You speake not one true word. Athanasius hath no such words, that Christ was *held in death*. Of mans soule he saith, [q] κατεκράτησεν ἐν θανάτῳ, *that was held in death*, but of Christ in that very sentence he auoucheth the cleane contrary, saying, ὁ κατεχράτησε ἐν θανάτῳ, *he could not be held in death*. Secondly that hades was spoiled of all his power, *right*, and *claime*, to or ouer all Christs elect, and we deliuered thence; Athanasius, as well as the rest, beareth plentifull witnesse. But that Christ spoiled heauen or Paradise, where the soules of the Saints were seuered from their bodies, & brought vs thence, is not onely a false fable, but a pestilent error. Christ raising his body from the graue (by Athanasius iudgement) gaue vs hope of the resurrection of our bodies, and bringing backe his soule from hades, as not onely vntouched of any death there, but also loosing the bands τῶν ψυχῶν ἐν ἅδῃ κατεχομένων, *of soules surprised by hades*, he made vs partakers of his immortality,

[p] Defenc. pag. 165. li. 32.

[q] De Incarnat. Christi.

mortality, which the strength of hades could not touch. [r] *Descending to hades Christ brought vs backe*, saith Athanasius of himselfe, and of all Christs members as then not borne. Christ did not bring all the faithful of the old Testament from the condition of death, much lesse brought he the rest thence, that were not either dead or borne. We die still, and so the condition of death is common to vs after Christs resurrection as it was to the fathers before Christs death and birth; but hell hath now no right to vs, nor power ouer vs, since Christ our head conquered and spoiled Satan of all interest and chalenge to any of his members. And where you pretend, that hades is spoiled, because our soules shalbe ioined againe to our bodies at the resurrection; know you good Sir, that the separation of the soule from the bodie was to dure by Gods ordinance but for a time, as well in the wicked as in the godly, that is vntil the generall iudgement. And you that defend a resurrection and immortality as well of the wicked in hell, as of the Saints in Paradise, what reason can you giue, why the condition of the soule separated from the body is more conquered by Christ for his members, then by Satan for his partners? for that separation shall cease in both; and consequently the force of death seuering the soule from the body is spoiled aswell for the reprobate, as for the elect. Yea the continuing of the godly soules asunder from their bodies till the last day is rather a furnishing and storing of your hades, then a conquering and spoiling of it. And therefore mocke not with these matters, they be of more importance, then that they may be thus idlely caried.

[r] *In illud omnia mihi tradita sunt a Patre.*

[r] *Hilarie verily hath this meaning also saying, this is the law of humane necessity, that their bodies goe downe to the graue, their soules to the world of the dead, ad inferos. Which descent the Lord did not refuse that he might proone himselfe in euery point to be true man. And* [t] *this* (for his soule to come vnder the power of death) *was indeed the law of humane necessity (after the like phrase as Iustine, Irenæus, and Tertullian also speake) but not to goe to hell.* | Your head is so fraighted with falsehoods, that trueth can take no place there; and so little is your skill, though your pride be great, that you doe not know, for ought that I see, how necessity of death came into mans nature. Whiles man was free from sinne, he was free from death. [u] *By sinne came death.* When man lost his innocencie, he lost his liberty, and fell both within the seruitude of sinne, and necessity of death. Now death being the wages of sinne reacheth aswell to the soule after this life, as to the body to be depriued of this life. [x] *By one offence* (came guiltinesse) *on all men vnto condemnation.* The law then of humane necessity for sinne (without Christ Iesus in whom we recouer liberty) is for the body to goe to corruption, and for the soule to descend to destruction, and not onely to be seuered from the body, as you would faine mistake the words of Hilarie. It is no part of humane necessity for the soule seuered from the body to ascend to heauen or to Paradise; that is the honour and fauour of our Redemption purchased by Christ our Sauiour, but necessity of death in vs, which is the reward of sinne, draweth the whole man body and soule vnto condemnation. This you might haue found to be Hilaries meaning by the words precedent, which occasioned this conclusion. *Si descendero in infernum, ades. If I goe downe to hell, thou art there*; Which Hilarie sheweth to be verified in Christ, by the words that you bring; meaning, that as men by sinne [y] *came to this necessitie, that their bodies lying in the graue, their soules descended to hell:* So *Christ* the redeemer of man, *refused not euen this descent to hell, ad consummationem veri hominis, to consummate true man*, or to recouer and restore both parts of man, to witte, body and soule, whereof a true man consisteth. That Christ should descend to places vnseene and vnknowen to proone himselfe a true man, what sense can this haue, since no man liuing was present to see the proofe thereof? and he that doubted, whether Christ liuing were a true man, would much more doubt, whether Christ rising in that glorious bodie, which neuer man saw before, nor the like, were a true man or no. I thinke therefore by your leaue, that as Christ died, not to proone himselfe a true man, but to ransome our sinnes, so he descended to the places below, not to make proofe to vs, that he was a true man, but to worke our saluation and consummation, as elswhere the same Father

[t] Defenc pag. 165. li. 35.

[t] Pag. 166. li. 5.

[u] Rom. 5.

[x] Rom. 5. v. 18.

[y] *Hilar. in Psal. 138.*

 saith;

ſaith; *Crux, mors, inferi, noſtra ſalus eſt. Chriſts croſſe, death, and deſcent to inferi, are parts of our ſaluation.* And of Chriſt he voucheth, *mortem in inferno perimens, he killed death in hell.* And yet if with you we ſhould take conſummation for demonſtration, which is farre fet; and ſay Chriſt refuſed *not that deſcent to ſhew himſelfe a true man*, it nothing hurteth me, ſince that burden of neceſsity lay on all men, for deſert of ſinne, till they were deliuered by Chriſt, to haue their bodies goe to the graue, and their ſoules to the place of puniſhment: both which Chriſt refuſed not, though he were in the one without any corruption, in the other without any condemnation, but as conquerour of both.

Of *Iuſtine, Irenæus & Tertullian* we haue ſpoken before, we ſhall not need to iterate your ouerſights; Iuſtine ſpeaketh of no law at all, Irenæus noteth the law of the dead to be this, that they muſt ſtay a time dead before their reſurrection; and Tertullian nameth the law either threatning Adam, if he ſinned; or the Law of Moſes puniſhing ſinne committed by men; either of which ſtretcheth farder then the ſeparation of the ſoule from the body. As for [a] *the law of our nature*, which you ſay is to die, and no more; you talke thereof, as if you were rather a prophane Philoſopher, then anie piece of a Diuine, ſince this law was laid on our nature for ſinne, and forceth as well our ſoules to hell, if we be not thence redeemed by Chriſt, as our bodies to the graue. That in death the whole *man is diſſolued*, the ſoule *ſeparated from the body*, and the bodie *left voide of ſenſe* and *life*, what is this to your purpoſe? will this conclude, that the ſoule in heauen or in paradiſe, being not onely in reſt, but in ioy, feeleth ſtill the ſting of death, which ſhe felt at her parting from her body, before ſhe taſted the life to come? Will you continue the power and ſenſe of death euen in heauen, becauſe the ſoule aſſured of Gods goodneſſe and promiſe expecteth her body to be partaker of the ſame bliſſe with her, and to receaue the crowne of righteouſneſſe laide vp in ſtore for all, that loue Chriſtes comming? or if you be ſo venturous in fauour of your owne conceits, that you will mingle darkeneſſe with light, death with life, and the feare of hell with the ioy of heauen, thinke you to finde any man ſo vnwiſe, as to tread your ſteppes in theſe vnchriſtian deuices?

[a] Defenc. pag. 166. li. 17.

[a] *Chryſoſtome and Baſil likewiſe (with the reſt of the Greekes) may be noted, how they yeeld Hades to the ſoules of the godly and iuſt men deceaſed remaining in ioyes.*] If you ſpeake of the time afore Chriſtes comming, and take Hades for places vnder the earth, you may chance to finde ſome ſuch thing in Chryſoſtome and Baſil; but that either of them after Chriſts reſurrection yeeldeth Hades to the ſoules of the bleſſed, is a manifeſt vntrueth. And ſince I haue handled theſe places before, I ſhall not need to repeate them againe.

[a] Defenc. pag. 166. li. 30.

[b] *Alſo Ambroſe is to be conſidered, who right according to all the reſt, ſaith; Soules departed from their bodies did goe to Hades, that is to an inuiſible place, which in Latin we call Infernum.*] Could you alleage the Fathers wordes rightly, you might happely ſometimes vnderſtand them; but alwaies peruerting them as you doe, what maruell if alwaies you miſſe their meaning? Ambroſe doth not there deliuer either his owne opinion, or the perſwaſion of any Chriſtians, but ſpeaketh of Heathen Philoſophers, who knew nothing of our ſaluation by Chriſt, and of them ſaith. [c] *Satis fuerat dixiſſe illis, quod liberatæ animæ de corporibus ἀϊδων peterent, id eſt locum, qui non videtur, quem locum Latine infernum dicimus. It had beene enough for them* (being Pagans) *to haue ſaid, that the ſoules ſeuered from* (their) *bodies went to Aides, that is to a place vnſeene, which in Latine we call Infernus* (hell). If you be a Pagan, we looke for none other confeſsion at your handes; he that is ignorant of the faith, muſt needs be ignorant of the trueth; but if you be a Chriſtian, you may not ſay as the Pagans did, that the ſoules of the godly, who are with Chriſt, goe to *Hades* or *Infernus*. Ambroſe himſelfe will tell you ſo much. [d] *In Inferno ſemper eſt, qui non aſcendit ad Chriſtum. He that aſcendeth not to Chriſt, is alwaies in hell.* As for Chriſtes deſcending he ſaith, [e] *Dominus in Infernum deſcendit, vt & illi, qui in Infernis erant, à perpetuis vinculis ſoluerentur. The Lord deſcended to hell, that they which were in places below, might be looſed from perpetuall chaines.*

[c] *Ambroſ. de bono mortis. ca. 10.*

[d] *Ambroſ. de Tobia. ca. 19.*

[e] *Idem in Pſal. 45.*

You

You haue found out the death of the ſoule in heauen, can you finde vs there *perpetuall chaines* alſo?

[f] *And Ierom: Infernus is a place where the ſoules are included either in reſt or paines.*] It is no newes for him that hath no ſenſe of trueth, to haue no ſhame of falſhood. If Ierom were not plaine enough, that he hath no ſuch wordes or meaning, as to beſtow the ſoules of the ſaints *in Inferno* after Chriſts reſurrection, you might be borne with; but when expreſly he voucheth and prooueth the contrarie, what can be in you but preciſe impudence to outface your Reader with Ieroms name againſt Ieroms moſt manifeſt aſſertion? [g] *Porro quòd ſancti poſt reſurrectionem Chriſti nequaquam teneantur in Inferno, teſtatur Apoſtolus dicens: Melius eſt diſſolui & eſſe cum Chriſto. Qui autem cum Chriſto eſt, vtique non tenetur in Inferno.* That the Saints, ſaith Ierom, are not after *Chriſtes reſurrection detained in Infernus, the Apoſtle witneſſeth, ſaying: it is better to be diſſolued, and to be with Chriſt. Now he that is with Chriſt, ſurely is not held in Infernus.* And againe. [h] *Quid ſimile Infernus, & regna cælorum? what likeneſſe* (or neereneſſe) *hath Infernus to the kingdome of heauen?* and this the ſituation of *Infernus* euery where vrged by Ierom will prooue. [i] *Simul diſcimus, quod infernus ſub terra ſit, dicente ſcriptura, vſque ad fundamenta Laci. Withali,* ſaith he, *we learne, that Infernus is vnder the earth, the Scripture ſaying, euen vnto the bottom of the lake.* And againe. [k] *Inferiora terrarum infernus accipitur, ad quem Dominus noſter ſaluatorque deſcendit. The lower parts of the earth are taken for Infernus, to which our Lord and Sauiour deſcended.* [l] *Quod autem Infernus in inferiore parte terræ ſit, Pſalmiſta teſtatur. And that Infernus is in the lower part of the earth, the Pſalmiſt teſtifieth ſaying; The earth opened, and ſwallowed Dathan, and couered the congregation of Abiram. And in an other place we reade, let death come vpon them, and let them deſcend aliue to Infernus.* If you will place the ſoules of the Saints deceaſed in Chriſt below in the earth, then may you haue ſome hold in Ierom, that they are yet in *Infernus*; but if that be repugnant to the Scriptures, to the Fathers, to Ieroms expreſſe words, and euen to your owne poſitions; why vſe you, or rather ſo openly abuſe you Ieroms ſpeech againſt ſo maine and manifeſt a trueth, not diſtinguiſhing the time whereof he ſpake, but confounding the old and new Teſtament together, to giue place to your lame collections?

[f] Defenc. pag. 166. li. 36.

[g] Hiero. in Eccleſia. ca. 9.

[h] Idem in Epitaphio Nepotiani.

[i] Idem in Eſaia ca. 14.

[k] Idem in epiſt. ad Epheſ. ca. 4.

[l] Ibidem.

[m] *Ruffinus vpon Deſcendit ad Inferna, giueth this ſenſe, Deſcendit in mortem, He ſubmitted vnto death.*] If death had none other ſenſe nor force, but the death of the bodie, your ſaying were ſomewhat, but ſince death for ſinne raigneth aſwell in hell ouer the Soule, as in the graue ouer the body, the name of death doth not exclude Chriſtes deſcent to hell; and ſo much Ruffinus words will eaſily conuince. [n] *Eouſque ille miſerando deſcendit; vſque quo tu peccando deiectus es. So farre Chriſt of mercy deſcended, how farre thou by ſinning waſt deiected.* Now if we by ſinning were in danger of none other but a bodily death, then Chriſt deſcended onely to the graue; but if the deſert of our ſinne tied vs as guiltie to the torments of hell, then Chriſt by Ruffinus confeſsion ſo farre deſcended, how farre we were by Gods iuſtice deiected, that is to the place of condemnation for ſinne. And therefore Ruffinus doth not onely knit theſe ſpeaches together in the perſon of Chriſt, as expounding one the other. [o] *Eduxiſti de Inferno animam meam, & de abyſſo terræ iterum adduxiſti me; thou haſt brought my ſoule from Infernus, (and) haſt brought me backe againe from the deepe of the earth:* But of the diuell he ſaith, [p] *Qui mortis habebat imperium, diſruptis Inferni clauſtris, velut de profundo tractus traditur: he that had Rule of death,* (was) *drawen as it were out of the deepe, the cloyſters of Infernus being broken open.* The place where the diuell was, and whence he was drawen, when he was ſpoyled and triumphed by Chriſt, was not the ſeparation of the Soule from the Body, which the diuel hath not, but it was the deepe of hell, which here is called Infernus.

[m] Defenc. pag. 166. li. 37.

[n] *Ruffinus in Symbolum Apoſtol.*

[o] *Ibidem.*

[p] *Ibidem.*

[q] *So that it is certaine by all the Fathers generally, Firſt, that Hades and Sheol are taken for the ſtate of death common to the Soules of good and bad. Secondly, Chriſt went not into hell the place of the damned, as you hold, but to the habitation of the bleſſed deceaſed.*] If I haue not conuinced both theſe collections to be falſe by the manifeſt Teſtimo-

[q] Defenc. pag. 167. li. 1.

nies of the Fathers, (for out of them you gather theſe obſeruations) then I deſire no mans conſent to any thing that I haue ſayd : but if you groſly miſtake and miſuſe all the Fathers names and ſpeeches; then I truſt the Reader will better conſider what credit is to be giuen to your certainties; and giue me leaue to be ſhorter in ſlipping ouer your idle, preſumptuous, vaine crafts and falſe collections; which are almoſt all that is behinde. A taſte whereof if he will take, let him heare theſe bragges of yours following.

[r] Defenc. pag. 167. li. 22. [r] *Thus your vaine boaſting of all the Fathers is but a bubble; So that if you conſent (as you ſay) to be tried by all the Fathers, Greeke and Latine; they quite ouerthrow you notwithſtanding your great words.*] If your vaine and ſhameleſſe boaſting were not by this time well knowen, I would giue ſome freſh aſſault to theſe bulwarks of falſitie and inſolencie; but the proofs being euident and precedent, which I leaue to the Readers indifferent iudgement, I will ouerskip this, and a great deale more of the ſame kind, as the bubbles or your vanitie; and if ought be ſaid to any purpoſe, I will refute that; otherwiſe I will beſtow no more paper and incke on your wandring and wilde conceits.

[s] Defenc. pag. 167. li. 28. [s] *Only Auſten doubtingly and waueringly differeth from all the reſt; for thus he ſaith, I confeſſe I haue not yet found, that Inferi are named, where the iuſt mens ſoules are at peace.*] You might haue done well to haue learned of Auſten this ſober and modeſt courſe, not by vaunting and outfacing, but by plaine and faire confeſsing, to ſhew the ground of your opinion, as Auſten doth of his. Wherein he differeth not from all the reſt, as you confidently, yet moſt iniurioully report of him : but in this hee exactly and reſolutely conſenteth with them all (Tertullians errour ſtill excepted) that after Chriſts reſurrection; [t] *Deinceps boni fideles prorſus Inferos neſciunt, Good Chriſtians* (dying) *come not to Inferi at all.* And as for the former opinion, that the godly deceaſed before Chriſtes death went *ad Inferos*, to places below in the earth, though not to torments, which is the ſtone that ſtill you ſtumble at, and make it the very heart of all your defence, deceitfully applying that to the time ſince Chriſtes reſurrection, which the Fathers euer intended and expreſſed to pertaine to the time before Chriſtes comming; S. Auſten though he yeeld ſo farre to former writers, as to ſay, [u] *If it may ſeeme to be beleeued without abſurditie*, yet he euery where profeſſeth, he could finde no ſuch vſe of the word *Inferi* in any place of the ſacred Scriptures; and that Abrahams boſome, where the Saints did reſt before Chriſts death, was a part or skirt of hell, he vtterly refuſeth that, as no way conſonant to the wordes of Chriſt in the Goſpell. And therefore when he propoſeth the other opinion with a condition, *if it may be beleeued without abſurditie*; euen there he retaineth his owne reſolution, that Abrahams boſome was *in locis à tormentis impiorum remotiſſimis*; *in places moſt remote from the torments of the wicked*; and to beleeue otherwiſe were an abſurditie, as he concludeth in his 99. Epiſtle.

[t] *Auguſt. de ciuitate Dei li. 20. ca. 15.*

[u] *Ibidem.*

[x] Defene pag. 168 li. 3. Againſt Auſtin you obiect: [x] *Firſt, that ſurely the auncients named the places for all deceaſed good and badde, Inferos: as they named the world, (where both wicked and good doe liue) Superos. Secondly, that Auſten, (if hee had well marked it) might haue found euen this, (which he ſaith he found not) in the Latin tranſlation of the Scripture.* [y] *What man is there that ſhall deliuer his ſoule from the hand of inferi, that is death?* [z] *Where the ſoule being taken properly for the ſoule, then Inferi is found applied to iuſt mens ſoules deceaſed, as well as to the wicked: which Auguſtine might haue obſerued.*] Were you masking, this might make mirth; but being in earneſt, it is more then idle. What if Arnobius in reſpect of hell being in the earth beneath vs, call vs that liue on earth, *ſuperos*; *thoſe aboue*; is that a proofe that the godly deceaſed are called inferi? who knoweth not, that *infra & ſupra* are differences of place, which in diuers reſpects may be diuerſly varied? To thoſe that are in heauen, we are Inferi, that is beneath them, and in that reference to heauen, which is aboue vs, Auguſtine himſelfe doubteth not to call the earth Infernum. [a] *Ad hoc infernum miſſus eſt* (filius Dei) *naſcendo, ad illud* (inferius) *moriendo. To this (earth) below was the Sonne of God ſent, when he was borne, to that other place beneath (vs) when he died.* But if no ſpeciall compariſon of place bee expreſſed, then

[y] *Pſal. 88.*

[z] Pag. 168. li. 3.

[a] *Auguſt. in Pſal. 85.*

Superi

Superi & Inferi, the Saints aboue, and the spirits beneath, are generally so called in regard of vs, who dwell on earth, and speake on earth, & are by position of place in the middest, that is lower then the highest, and higher then the lowest. And because vnder vs there are none liuing but those in hell, therefore Inferi, whom the Apostle calleth καταχθόνιοι, are spirits vnder the earth, whether men or diuels. As for that other obiection out of the Psalmes, it is not onely a bubble soone blowen away, but a bable not worth the bringing. The translation of Tremelius and Iunius, to whom you most appeale for these matters, hath [b] *eripiat seipsum à sepulchro*; *shall he saue himselfe from the graue?* that is, can hee keepe himselfe that he shall not die? and where you take hold on the word *soule*, as if that must be either in the graue, which is absurd, or in the hand of Inferi, which is that you would haue; your hastie head doth not perceiue, that take the word SOVLE, which way you will, either for the life of man, which is an vsuall speech in the Scriptures, or for the soule properly; neither of them doth steede you a rush. For no man can preserue his life from the graue, that he shall not die; neither can any man withstand the hand or power of death, that it shall not seuer the soule from the bodie; since that is the ordinance of God against all men. Saint Austen giueth you a third sense, taking the soule there for the soule separate from the bodie, which is more then euer you would be able to proue, and yet that maketh nothing to your purpose. [c] *The rest of the faithfull*, saith he, *shall rise from the dead, and liue for euer, and not see death; and yet can they not deliuer their owne soules from the handes of hell. He which deliuered his owne soule from the hands of hell, he hath deliuered the soules of his faithfull, they cannot deliuer themselues.* This S. Austen could obserue, though he regarded none of your vaine suppolals.

[b] *In Psal.* 98.

[c] *August. in Psal.* 88.

And where you say, [d] *Austen himselfe elsewhere graunteth the iust in peace might bee in infernus after death* | You might haue obserued the difference betwixt a condition and a position, which you doe not; and therefore you wrong him the more in saying, that he graunteth any such thing. He saith, [e] *Si non absurde credi videtur, if it seeme to be beleeued without an absurditie*; not affirming it might be beleeued without an absurditie, but respecting it with a conditionall, least he should shew himselfe ouer peremptorie in condemning others, that were of that opinion. Otherwise his owne assertion and conclusion are earnest enough. [f] *Non vtiq; sinus ille Abrahæ aliqua pars inferorum esse credenda est. The bosome of Abraham is not to be beleeued to be any part of inferi.* [g] *In his ipsis tanti Magistri verbis, satis (vt opinor) apparet, non esse quandam partem & quasi membrum inferorum tantæ illius felicitatis sinum. In these very wordes of so great a teacher* (as Christ) *it appeareth sufficiently, (as I thinke) that the bosome of so great felicitie is not any part or member of hell.* In Christs descent to hell Saint Austen is more resolute. Of that he pronounceth. *Satis constat, it is cleare enough.* Yea he putteth more waight vnto it, and saith; *For neither can the Propheſie be contradicted, which sayd, thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell; nor Peters words by which he affirmeth, Christ looſed the sorrowes of hell, wherein it was not possible he should be held.* And so concludeth, *who* [h] *then but an infidell will denie, Christ was in hell?* And againe. [i] *Euidentia testimonia & infernum commemorant, & dolores. Euident testimonies* (of the Scriptures) *mention both hell, and the paines thereof.* These be no coniecturall inclinations, they bee iudiciall assertions, whatsoeuer you say to the contrarie.

[d] Defenc. pag. 163. li.

[e] *August de ciuitate Dei li.* 20. *ca.* 15.

[f] *Epistola* 99.

[g] *Ibidem.*

[h] *Ibidem.*

[i] *Ibidem.*

[k] *Fulgentius denieth not inferos to the godly deceased, nor that Christ was locally only with them in inferis. So that in saying he was where the wicked are tormented, he meaneth that in respect of the common place, which in the whole he calleth infernum.*] Heere is a hole, where through your wit is wholy runne, and not your wit alone, but your religion, learning, and conscience are runne after. Plainer wordes then those of Fulgentius, I neither doe, nor can speake any. *(Christus)* [l] *illuc vsq; descendit, quousq; homo separatus à Deo peccati merito cecidisset, id est ad infernum, vbi solebat anima peccatoris torqueri. Christ descended euen thither, whither man seuered from God by desert of sinne was fallen, that is to infernus, where the soule of a sinner vseth to bee tormented.* What doth your wisedome answere to this? *He meaneth that in respect of the common place, which in the whole hee calleth*

[k] Defenc. pag. 168. li. 13.

[l] *Fulgentius ad Trasimundum li.* 3.

calleth infernum.] Is there any one *place common* to the Saints in heauen, and to the damned in hell? You haue learned belike of Parmenides the riddle-maker, that *all is one*; and becauſe the world is but one, that heauen and hell make one common place. Whether fell man, I pray you, by the deſert of ſinne, to heauen or to hell? not to heauen, I hope; for then man ſinning ſhould approch to Gods Throne; who, Fulgentius ſaith, *was ſeuered from God.* to hell then he fell: ergo Chriſt deſcended to hell by Fulgentius aſſertion, and that place, where the *ſoules* of ſinners are wont to be tormenmented, he calleth *Infernum*; which if you can prooue to bee heauen, you ſhall doe greater wonders, then M. Hugh Broughton can doe. For he maketh but a *great ditch* betwixt heauen and hell. You fill vp that ditch of M. Broughtons digging, and ſay both hell and heauen are one place common to Saints and Duels. For *infernus* is the ſingular number, and by the rules of Grammer, if any rules will hold you, muſt note but one place, in which if both the bleſſed and the damned are, then heauen and hell are both but one place. Againe you farre paſſe M. Broughtons skill, in that he ſaith, *they are much deceaued, who thinke hell to be below in the earth,* though Saint Paul diſtribute all reaſonable creatures ſubiected to Chriſts kingdome, into things [m] *in heauen, on earth, and vnder the earth.* You change the whole ſite of the world, and ſay heauen is *below.* For where *infernus* is deriued from *infra*, which is *below*, if heauen bee called *infernus*, then ſurely heauen is below; and then muſt the Apoſtle recall his error in ſaying, [n] *ſeeke the things which are aboue, where Chriſt is ſitting at the right hand of God*; he ſhould haue ſayd by your doctrine, ſeeke the things which are below; where the ſoules of the wicked are tormented; for that is heauen with you. But if at your next exerciſe you ſhould pray for your Auditorie to come to *infernus, where the wicked are puniſhed,* I winne they would thinke you more madde, then M. Broughton is. Howbeit with this one anſwere you giue the lie aſwell to Prophets, as Apoſtles. For where Dauid ſaith to God, [o] *Thou haſt brought my ſoule out of infernus,* that cannot be by your rules, ſince heauen and hell make but one place, and the earth being in the midſt of them muſt needes be one place with both extreames, and haue the ſame name with both. So that Dauids ſoule whereſoeuer it was, was not out of Infernus. Againe where he ſaith in the perſon of Chriſt, [p] *Thou wilt not leaue my ſoule in infernus*; that is falſe by your doctrine, who teach that Chriſt and all his Saints deceaſed are yet in a common place with the damned, the whole being called Infernus. And where before you were very angry, That I ſaid you made aſcending to be deſcending, and heauen to be hell; to decline the force of Fulgentius wordes, you fairely anſwere, that Chriſts *deſcending to infernus, where the ſoules of ſinners are tormented,* was his going to heauen, becauſe they both are but one place common to good and bad, and the whole hath one name, which is Infernus.

[m] Phil. 2.

[n] Coloſ. 3.

[o] Pſal. 30.

[p] Pſal. 16.

A ſpeciall ſpleene you beare againſt S. Auſtin, & diſgrace him you would, if you could tell how, that you might be freed from the waight of his iudgement in matters of faith: but you want both wit & learning for ſuch an enterpriſe, & therefore you reſiſt his opinion with more lies then lines. [q] *Auſtins differing from you,* you ſay *is to little purpoſe.*] and why? [r] *Firſt becauſe it is contrary to all the auncient Fathers before him, with him and ſince him.*] Heere are three lies in one line, all the Fathers before him, with him, and ſince him do not diſſent from him, & with you not one of them conſenteth. [s] *Secondly we muſt not eſteeme his ſaying by the Latin word inferi, but by the Originall Sheôl & hades, which are more againſt him, as before I haue ſhewed.*] Though he did folow the Latin tranſlation then receiued in the Church where he liued; yet neither the Hebrew, nor the Greeke words are againſt him. For you ſhal neuer ſhew that Sheôl or Hades throughout the Scripture are taken for any good condition or receptacle of the dead, which is Auſtins aſſertion of the word Inferi; much leſſe that either of thoſe wordes, Sheôl or Hades, doe any where in the Scriptures import the place or ſtate of the bleſſed ſoules, which is your error, and which you haue no way prooued, though you haue ſpent much paper & paines to make ſome ſhew for it. [t] *Thirdly it is waueringly deliuered and with doubt in himſelfe, yea contrary to himſelfe, as I haue ſhewed.*] Heere are three lies more

[q] Defenc. pag. 168 li. 17.

[r] li. 18.

[s] li. 20.

[t] li. 22.

more in another line, beſides thoſe that ſwarmed in the midſt. Auſtin doth deliuer his opinion conſtantly, conſonantly to himſelfe; and you haue ſhewed no ſuch thing as you pretend; but the contrary is euident to him that will but either peruſe what I haue ſayd, or will but reuiew the manner of his ſetting downe that opinion vpon the eighty fiue Pſalme, where he ſaieth, *aliam etiam opinionem dicam*, *I will ſet downe another opinion, or the opinion of others.*

[a] *Fourthly, he ſeeketh to maintaine it erroneouſly: for he giueth this reaſon and end of Chriſts going to hell, (the place of the damned) that he might deliuer ſome of the damned out of hell torments; which moſt ſtrange conceit of his your ſelfe confute rightly.* The end of Chriſts deſcending to hell is by the Fathers confeſſed to be double; the one to deſtroy death, and the Ruler thereof, euen the diuell; the other, to deliuer all his Elect *from the power, danger, and feare of hell.* The Scriptures doe not conceale, that Chriſt by his death and reſurrection wrought theſe things. [x] *By death* (Chriſt) *deſtroyed him, that had the rule of death, euen the diuell, and deliuered all them, which for feare of death were all their life long ſubiect to bondage.* Riſing againe, *he* [y] *looſed the ſorrowes of death,* [z] *ſpoiled Principalities and powers, and made an open ſhew of them, triumphing ouer them in his owne perſon.* Had Chriſt died and not riſen, we had [a] *periſhed*, as Paul confeſſeth. The conquering then of hell and Satan, and the deliuering of vs from the power and feare of either, though this were purchaſed by Chriſtes obedience vnto death, yet was it effected and performed by his reſurrection from the dead. And ſo much the Councell of Alexandria in their letters to Neſtorius profeſſe, which the generall Councell of Epheſus repeated and allowed, and the fift generall [b] Councell of Conſtantinople afterwards confirmed: τεθνεκὼς δὲ ἀνέστησε τὸν ἅδλιον. *Chriſt roſe to life the third day, hauing ſpoiled hades* (hell). So Ierom: [c] *Propterea illuc (in infernum) deſcendit, vt Electos ſuos exinde eiiceret, & Diabolum ligaret. Chriſt deſcended* to hell *for this cauſe, that he might cleere his Elect thence, and binde the diuell.* This end of Chriſtes deſcending to hell and hades to deliuer not only the dead, but the liuing from thence, the Fathers Greeke and Latine euery where confeſſe. The Chriſtians in Tertullian ſay, as I haue formerly proued notwithſtanding your idle exceptions; [e] *In hoc Chriſtus inferos adiit, ne nos adiremus. Chriſt to this end went to hell, that we ſhould not come thither.* Athanaſius: *Chriſt deſcending to hades,* [f] ἡμᾶς ἀνέστησε, *brought vs backe.* [g] *Noſtram detentionem relaxans, looſing our detention* (there). He ſpeaketh of himſelfe and others then liuing, which were not in hades; but muſt haue gone thither, if Chriſt had not freed them from comming there. For of the ſoules departed he ſayth: [h] *In the ſoule of* (him that was) *God, the power of death was looſed, his raiſing from hades was performed;* χριστὸς ψυχαῖς εὐαγγελίζετο, *and declared to the ſoules* (deceaſed). Hilarie: [i] *Chriſtes deſcent to hell ſalus noſtra eſt, is our ſaluation.* So Nazianzen: [k] ῥύσῃ τὲ πάντας ὢν ἐλεύθερος μόνος. *Thou wilt deliuer all,* (from hades) *being only free thy ſelfe.* As Ierom likewiſe ſayth: [l] *Liberauit omnes Dominus, quando anima eius deſcendit in infernum; The Lord deliuered all, when his ſoule deſcended into hell:* meaning all Chriſtes Elect both liuing and dead. So Fulgentius expreſſeth this point: [m] *As dying for vs, Chriſt made vs all to die with him, ſo looſing the ſorrowes of hell, omnes fideles ab iiſdem doloribus liberauit, he deliuered all the faithfull from the ſame* (feares and) *ſorrowes.* Which Ambroſe calleth *mankinde.* [n] *Deſcendens ad inferos genus humanum liberauit. Chriſt deſcending to hell deliuered* (thence) *mankind.* With theſe S. Auſten agreeth, and ſayth: [o] *Ideo ille vſque ad infernum peruenit, ne nos maneremus in inferno. Therefore Chriſt went euen vnto hell, that we ſhould not remaine in hell.* Auſten knowing this end of Chriſtes deſcending to hell, why ſhould he not ſay, Chriſt went thither to deliuer thoſe, [p] *quos eſſe ſoluendos occultâ nobis ſuâ iuſtitiâ iudicabat, whom in his iuſtice ſecret to vs he thought fit to be deliuered?* Since then there are ſo ſufficient cauſes acknowledged by the Fathers and by Auſten himſelfe of Chriſtes deſcent to hell, which you can not refute; what reaſon hath it, that his maine opinion of Chriſtes ſpoiling hades and hell, approued by ſo many Fathers and by Councels prouinciall and generall, ſhould be falſe, though in the maner thereof he did ſomewhat varie from the reſt

[a] Defenc. pag. 168. li. 24.
[x] Hebr. 2.
[y] Acts 2.
[z] Coloſſ. 2.
[a] 1. Cor. 15. verſ. 18.
[b] *Inter Acta Concilij Epheſ.*
[c] *Et 5 Synodi Conſtantinopol. ſeſſio. 6.*
[d] *Hiero. in Pſal. 15.*
[e] *Tertull. de Anima. ca. 55.*
[f] *Athanaſ. in illud omnia mihi tradita ſunt.*
[g] *Idem de Salutari aduentu Chriſti.*
[h] *Ibidem.*
[i] *Hilar. de Trinitate. li. 2.*
[k] *Nazianz. in Chriſto patiente.*
[l] *Hiero in Oſee ca. 13.*
[m] *Fulgentius ad Traſimundum li. 3.*
[n] *Ambroſ. in caſ. 3. Epiſtola ad Galat.*
[o] *Auguſt. in Pſal. 85.*
[p] *Idem epiſtola. 99.*

reſt? which yet I neither do, nor need grant, if we take his owne expoſition elſwhere; that [q] *there they were not, but becauſe ſuch were their deſerts, that there they had beene, vnleſſe they had beene holpen, they are rightly ſayd to be deliuered from thence, whither they were not ſuffered to come* by Chriſt their deliuerer.

[q] Idem in Pſal. 85.

[r] Defenc. pag. 169. li. 2. [r] *As for Auſtens oppoſing againſt this our ſenſe of Hades, ſaying, In Græcâ linguâ origo nominis, quo appellantur Inferi, ex eo quod nihil ſuaue habeant reſonare perhibetur: it ſheweth his miſtaking more, yea the very ground of all his miſtaking, as I thinke.*] Though Auſtens skill in the Greeke tongue was not ſo great, that he could readily [s] *reade and vnderſtand* the writings of the Grecians, as himſelfe confeſſeth; yet wanting that, he kept himſelfe to the beſt and moſt approoued tranſlation of the Latine; and gat ſo much knowledge at length, that he could compare the originall Greeke with the tranſlation, and ſee the difference betwixt them, as is euident in many [t] places of his works. The deriuation, which you ſo much depraue, was made by many Grecians as well as by Saint Auſten, and therefore he may the better be excuſed in ioyning with them. Euſtathius the learned expounder of Homer, ſaith that many deriued Hades without contraction, and did not ſubſcribe ἰῶτα vnder the firſt letter, as you haue it, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἥδω φασὶ παραχθῆναι τὸν ἅδην κατ' ἀντίφρασιν, ᾧ ἥδεται καὶ χαίρει οὐδείς: *but affirme hades to be deriued from hêdô by a kind of antiphraſis, becauſe no man delighteth or reioiceth therein:* & ſo Heſychius the great Grammarian witneſſeth, that Ades in the Greeke tongue doth ſignifie [x] ἀτερπὴς, *vnſweete or vnpleaſant*: and Hades hath his h of aſpiration from the Atticke, and not from the common Greeke tongue, as Euſtathius noteth. So that there is no cauſe why you ſhould ſo much reueil at Saint Auſtens ignorance in the Greeke tongue, as you doe, he followed whom he liked, and yet notwithſtanding he wanted the perfection of the Greeke tongue, hee goeth righter to the nature and force of Inferi and Hades, then you and your partners with your glut of Greeke. For Auſten ſaith two things of Inferi, which you would faine impugne, if you could tell how: the one is. [y] *Inferi eo quod infra ſunt, Latine appellantur, Inferi are in Latine ſo called, becauſe they are below:* The other: *Sicut ſecundum corpus inferiora ſunt omnia grauiora, ita ſecundum ſpiritum inferiora ſunt omnia triſtiora. As all bodily thinges, the lower their* (naturall) *place, the waightier they are; ſo all ſpirituall thinges the lower, the grieuouſer they are.* You againſt all reaſon, and learning contradict both theſe: for you ſay that *heauen is infernus*, which by force of the word muſt needes be below; and you bring death, which is a moſt grieuous thing, into heauen; though it be the higheſt place and ſtate, that men can or ſhall haue. Beſides you ſticke not to alter your authors, *Ireneus, Tertullian, and Ambroſe*, whom you bring for your pretence; and where they talke of an *inuiſible place* or priſon, you turne their wordes to an *inuiſible ſtate* common to good and bad. Irenæus in that place ſaith nothing of Hades; Ambroſe ſaith, the heathen were of opinion, that ſoules looſed from their bodies went to *aïdes, a place not ſeene, which the Latines call infernus.* Tertullian ſaith, [z] *Carcerem illum, quod Euangelium demonſtrat, inferos intelligimus. That priſon which the Goſpell mentioneth, we vnderſtand to be inferi.* What is this to heauen or paradiſe, or to the ſtate of bleſſed ſoules departed this life?

[s] Auguſt. in proœmio li. 3. de Trinitate.

[t] Epiſt. 59. 78. 89 de Trinit. li. 1. ca. 6 queſt. ſuper Exodum l. 3. 28. 32. & ſæpius alibi.

[x] Euſtathius in 1. Liados fol. 13.

[x] Heſychij Dictionar. in verbo ἅδης.

[y] Auguſt. de Geneſi ad literam li. 12. ca. 34.

[z] Tertull. de anima ca. 58.

[a] Defenc. pag. 169. li. 17. [a] *(Hades) ſignifieth ſometimes darkneſſe, or a place of darkneſſe, not that the ſtate of all the dead generally was thought to be in darkneſſe, but becauſe death tooke them out of this cheerefull worldes light, and couered them (as it were) with darkneſſe and oblition from the worlds ſight and knowledge.*] You would faine ſhift off the deſcription of Hades made by Greeke Fathers, which by no meanes can agree to heauen or paradiſe; but your ſhifts are all of one ſort, that is deuoid of learning, trueth, and ſenſe. The Greeke writers of all ages that were Chriſtians, acknowledge Hades to be full of fearefull and eternall darkneſſe. As Nazianzene. [b] ἥκων ἐς ἀΐδαο πυκίνον σέλας, *Chriſt comming to the houſe of Hades all full of miſt and darkneſſe.* And Chryſoſtome. [c] *The Lord deſcending into the darke miſt of Hades.* Euſtathius. [d] τόπος σκοτεινὸς ὑπὸ γῆν. *Hades is a darke place vnder earth.* Nicetas Choniates. [e] τὰ τῆς ἅδου κοιλάδος φοβερὰ σκηνώματα. *The*

[b] Nazianzen. in Chriſto patiente.

[c] Chryſoſt. de Reſurrect. ſerm. 7.

[d] Euſtath. in 1. Iliados.

[e] Nicetas Choniat. in Bal.

darke

darke and dreadfull tabernacles of Hades. Nicephorus Gregoras [1] ἡμεῖς δὲ παχυτάτῳ τῷ σκότει, καθάπερ οἱ τὰς ἐν ᾅδου καθόδους ποιεῖσθαι φασι. *We walked in groſſe darkeneſſe, as they ſay of thoſe, that deſcend to Hades.* Phauorinus. [2] χωρίον ἀφεγγές, ἢ σκότει διηνεκεῖ πεπληρωμένον. *Hades is a place voide of light, and full of eternall darkeneſſe.* Theſe and the like teſtimonies when you cannot auoid; you anſwer, that the ſoules of the godly *are taken out of this cheerefull worlds light, and couered as it were with darkeneſſe and obliuion, from the worlds ſight, and knowledge*: as if this world were *cheerefull light*; and the light of heauen muſt for your pleaſure be counted darkneſſe, or the ſight of Chriſt and his Saints might be called (as it were) obliuion, that we ſhould take more ioy and comfort in the faces of mortall men, then of the Lord Ieſus. This conceit would well become him, that had no heauen but this world; otherwiſe to change the natures and names of earthly and heauenly things vpſide downe, and to diſgrace eternall bliſſe with the note of darkneſſe and obliuion, preferring temporall eaſe or honor before it, as *cheerefull light*; this is fit for a Pagan, but not for a Chriſtian.

[1] Gregoras hiſt. Roma. li. 8.

[2] Phauorinus in verbo ᾅδης.

[h] *I come from the auncients to the later learned writers: that we may not neglect their iudgement in this queſtion,* [i] *who were obſerued before, yet becauſe you let them go without ſaluting them, they ſhall be noted once more, that I may preſſe you with them.* As you haue handled the auncients, ſo doe you the later writers: you doe not, or will not vnderſtand them, but keepe on your peruerting of theſe, as you did of the other. I could eaſily haue ſaluted them, if leaſure had then ſerued to me to diſcuſſe all your vntoward aſſertions and allegations, which becauſe it did not, you will once more preſſe me with them: Well then let vs heare them.

[h] Defenc. pag. 170. li. 27.
[i] li. 31.

[k] *Bucere ſaith, the Scripture no where ſpeaketh or hades of infernum, but as being common as well to the bleſſed as to the damned.* When you alleage but little, you ſhould alleage it right, & not adde what pleaſeth you, to other mens words. In this place which you bring out of Bucere, he maketh no mention of hades at all, that is your interlacing; & by Infernus he meaneth the graue, which is common to good & bad. His own words are. [l] *Quid hîc ſit ad infernum deſcendere, aliud quam recondi corpus ſub terra. What is heere deſcending to infernus, but the body to be couered vnder earth.* The reaſon whereof he giueth; [m] *Sheôl enim pro quo in Scripturis nss fere infernus legimus, ſepulchrũ ſignificat. Sheol, for which in the Scriptures we read almoſt euery where infernus, ſignifieth the graue.* And ſo he there interpreteth himſelfe. [n] *Sanctos qui in inferno erant, id eſt dormiebant corpore in puluere terræ. The Saints which were in infernus, that is, which ſlept with their bodies in the duſt of the earth.* And therefore that which followeth and is by you cited, [o] *By this which we confeſſe that the Lord deſcended to infernus, we muſt vnderſtand that the Lord ioined himſelfe in ſpirit to the ſpirits of the Saints deceaſed*; that I ſay is added as a conſequent to Chriſts death, and not as the proper ſignification of the phraſe. For it were more then abſurd by your leaue, that one and the ſame word, which he ſaith ſignifieth the graue, ſhould properly note the burying of the body in earth below, and the aſcending of the ſpirit to heauen on high, though in all the Saints the one is performed as well as the other. And where Bucere ſeemeth to impugne the ſenſe, which the fathers gaue of this Article; as his reaſons be none, ſo his words in no wiſe mans iudgement can ouerſway theirs.

[k] Defenc. pag. 170. li. 35. *Hades with new writers is the graue or hell.*
[l] Bucerus in 27 Matth. verſ.
[m] Ibidem.
[n] Ibidem.
[o] Defenc. pag. 171. li. 1.

[p] *Peter martyr, that Chriſt deſcended to inferos (or hades) ſignifieth nothing els, but that he did vndergoe the ſame ſtate, as other ſoules doe that depart this life.* Why ſtoppe you there? are you bleere eied, that you cannot ſee what preſently followeth; or ſhort winded, that you can read no farder? the very next words will plainly ſhew with what ſincerity and fidelity you be conuerſant in old and new writers. Peter Martyrs words are theſe. [q] *Eundem ſubiit ſtatum, quem reliquæ animæ à corpore ſeiunctæ experiuntur, quæ aut in Sanctorum ſocietatem coaptantur, aut cum damnatorum ſpiritibus in æternum exitium detruduntur. Et vero vna atq; altera tum piorum ſpirituum, tum eorum qui damnati eſſent, ſocietas, animæ Chriſti præſentiam perſenſit. The ſoule of Chriſt did vndergoe the ſame ſtate,* (by going to the ſame place) *which the reſt of the ſoules ſeuered from the body doe trie, that are either admitted into the fellowſhip of the ſaints, or caſt into euerlaſting*

[p] Defenc. pag. 171. li. 3.
[q] Petri Martyris loci com. in Expoſitione Symboli.

ting deſtruction with the ſpirits of the damned. For both the one and the other ſociety, aſwell of godly ſoules, as of thoſe that were damned, perceaued the preſence of Chriſts ſoule. The ſoule then of Chriſt by Peter Martyrs iudgement cleane contrary to Bucers, went aſwell to the place of the damned; as to the ſeats of the bleſſed, and either ſociety perceaued the preſence of his ſoule ſeuered from his body.

[r] Defenc. pag. 171. li. 6.

[r] *Mollerus, (touching Sheol, Hades, and infernum aſcribed to Chriſt) ſaith they do ſignifie but that Chriſt died: and to be no more then if he ſhould ſay in the Pſalme, therefore I reioice becauſe I know, that although I die, yet I ſhall riſe to life againe.*] Of Sheol Mollerus ſaith, *Sæpe pro ſepulchro dicitur, it is often taken for the graue*, which no man denieth. Of hades and infernus he ſpeaketh not a word. And albeit he be of opinion, that Chriſts deſcent to hell, *ſat is certò euinci non poteſt ex hoc loco, cannot cleerely and fully be euinced out of this place of* the Pſalme, by reaſon (as he thinketh) the words may be wreſted to diuers ſenſes; yet touching Chriſts deſcent to hel he ſaith; [r] *We vnderſtand that Article of the Creed ſimply and without allegory, and we beleeue that Chriſt truely deſcended to the lower parts of the earth, as Paul ſpeaketh Epheſ. 4. and his victory he would ſhew to the Diuels after a ſpeciall manner, to ſtrike perpetuall terrors into them, and to free vs from the feare of their tyranny.*

[r] *Mollerus in Pſal. 16.*

[t] Defenc. pag. 171. li. 10.

[t] *Bullinger (ſpeaking of Chriſt and indifferently of the godly,) ſheweth that to goe to infernus is to goe to Abrahams boſome, that is into heauen, not into hell. And that inferi and hades doe make difference onely betweene the liuing and the dead, and nothing els.* Bullinger bringeth foure ſenſes of that Article of the Creed, Chriſt deſcended to Inferna. The firſt, that is all one with, he *was buried*; which expoſition he ſaith others miſlike. The ſecond is Auſtens, who in his Epiſtle to Dardanus writeth; [u] *The Lord deſcended to Tartarus, but felt there no torment.* The third, to which he more inclineth, *Longe ſimplicius videbimur hunc articulum intelligere ſi ſenſerimus virtutem mortis Chriſti, dimanaſſe etiam ad defunctos, & his profuiſſe. We ſhall ſeeme farre more ſimply to vnderſtand this article, if we thinke that the force of Chriſts death pearced euen to the dead, and profited them.* The fourth is, *Vel certè per inferos & inferna intelligimus, non locum ſupplicij deſtinatum impijs, ſed defunctos fideles. Or els by inferi & inferna we vnderſtand not the place of puniſhment appointed for the wicked, but the faithfull deceaſed.* Here are all foure ſenſes. He liketh beſt, that the vertue and force of Chriſts death deſcended and was ſhewed both to the bleſſed and to the damned; as Saint Peter [x] *telleth vs, that the Lord went in ſpirit and preached to the ſpirits, that were inobedient and kept in priſon. Nimirum innotuit & his iuſta damnationis ex morte Chriſti ſententia. For euen to the damned appeared the ſentence of their condemnation to be iuſt by the death of Chriſt.* This he confeſſeth Chriſt did in ſpirit. If by Chriſts ſpirit he ment Chriſts ſoule, he expreſſely refuteh your conceits. If he mean, the force of Chriſts diuine ſpirit deſcended, he hath Athanaſius, Cyril, and others oppoſite againſt him. Athanaſius ſaith: πῶς γὰρ ἦν χὴ ὁ λόγος τὸν εἰς ἅδου ἐπίβασιν ἐποιήσατο; *How could the word* (or Sonne of God) *deſcend to Hades?* And againe: [y] πῶς εἰς ἅδου κατῆλθεν ἀποκαλύπτῳ τῇ θεότητι; *How could he deſcend with his Godhead open and vncouered?* [z] ἔτι γὰρ ὁ ἅδης ἤνεγκεν ἀποκαλύπτου θεότητος ἐπίβασιν. *Neither could hades endure the acceſſe of his Godhead vncouered.* And ſo Cyrill: [b] οὔτε γὰρ πῶς τὸν θεότητα τοῦ μονογενοῦς ἔξω τῶν κάτω μυχῶν ἀναχεκομίσθαι φήσομεν. οὔτε γὰρ ἂν ἠξιώθη τὸ χρῆμα θαύματος, εἰ μὴ μεμένηκεν εἰς τὸν ἅδην ὁ ἐκ θεοῦ λόγος. *Neither in any wiſe may we ſay, that the Godhead of the only begotten was brought from* (hades or) *the dennes vnder the earth: for that was not worthy of woondering, if the Sonne of God were not left in hades.* Exactly they teach, that the Deitie of Chriſt, or his diuine ſpirit could by no meanes be ſayd to deſcend to hades, or to returne from thence, but it muſt be verified of his humane ſoule, which reuealed it ſelfe, and the vertue of his death as well to the damned, as to the bleſſed.

[x] *Ibidem.*

[y] *Athanaſ. de ſalubri aduentu Chriſti.*

[z] *Ibid. de Incarnat. Chriſti.*

[a] *Ibidem.*

[b] *Cyrill. de fide ad Theodoſium.*

[c] Defenc pag. 167. li. 13.

[c] *Lauater ſaith Hades in Greeke is a generall word for the condition of the dead both in torments and in peace.*] Lauater ſaith of hades as he doth of Sheol, that [d] *Non ſolum locum Damnatorum, ſed Sepulchrum vel ſtatum mortuorum paſſim in Scripturis ſignificat, it ſignifieth not onely the place of the damned, but alſo the graue or ſtate of the dead.*

[d] *Lauater. homil. 133. in 31. cap. Ezechiel.*

And

And ſo doth Hades with the ſeptuagint, who alwaies render Sheôl by that word. Now the graue or ſtate of the dead (the one being an expoſition of the other) reacheth not to the Soules of the godly (which are not in their graues) but to their bodies; and hath in it corruption, ſilence, obliuion and priuation of all things in this life, from which the graue excludeth them, be they neuer ſo bleſſed. And ſo that reſt, which Lauatere nameth, is not the ioy of heauen; but reſt from the labours of this life, which our bodies attaine in the graue, ſpecially when the Soule enioyeth her eternall and happie reſt; which the wicked want, that are adiudged to the place of torments.

[e] *Tremellius ſaith: This Hebrew word Sheôl doth ſignifie any ſtation or ſtate of the dead in generall in very many places of Scripture, and hell it may ſometime ſignifie, but by a figure Synecdoche.* Tremellius hath been once afore alleadged and anſwered. He doth not ſay that Sheol ſignifieth Heauen or Paradiſe, but the Stations of the dead he maketh to be *Sepulchrum* or *infernum, the graue* for dead bodies, or *Hell* for the dead Soules; to both which Sheôl is a common name, and ſometimes importeth the one, ſometimes the other, and ſometimes both. When both are intended, the word hath his full force; when onely one, the figure Synecdoche is vſed as he thinketh. But what is this to your purpoſe? ſhew that euer Tremellius tranſlateth Sheôl by Heauen or Paradiſe, and then you ſay ſomewhat, though I be not bound to Tremellius authoritie, farder then he maketh faire and cleere proofe of his aſſertion. Otherwiſe this is a plaine conuiction of your falſehoode, if you pretend by miſtaking Tremellius words, that Sheol ſignifieth as well Heauen, as Hell and the graue; and when you be asked for an example of that ſignification in the Scriptures, you can produce no one place in the whole Bible, where Tremellius himſelfe hath ſo tranſlated Sheôl. Of Iunius I haue formerly ſpoken; he was very learned, but he tooke holde of Tertullians errour repugnant to all the Fathers, as I haue ſhewed before. He likewiſe miſtooke Chryſoſtom: for Chryſoſtom ſuppoſeth Abraham to be in hades before Chriſtes reſurrection, but not after. Irenæus ſayth the ſoules of Chriſtes Diſciples haue an inuiſible place defined them of God, but he expreſſeth neither name nor ſite thereof. What proofe make any of theſe, that heauen or paradiſe is called *infernus* or *hades*? or that there is a ſtate of the dead in one place common to good and bad, as you defend out of Fulgentius?

[e] Defenc. pag. 171. li. 15.

[f] *Therather this ſenſe of hades we are to acknowledge, becauſe it hath beene the ancient phraſe and common vſe of ſpeech before Chriſtianitie, which ſufficiently I ſhewed before out of Homer, Plato, and others.*] The heathen writers fitted their phraſes to their heathen errors; and therefore except you be diſpoſed to reuiue their prophane fanſies of Infernus and Hades, which they thought common to good and bad, you haue no reaſon to follow their phraſe either in Hades or Inferi. What hath heauen or paradiſe to do with Plutoes kingdome vnder earth, where the Pagan Poets and Philoſophers placed both torments for the wicked and pleaſant fields for the godly? And therefore your idle and fruitleſſe diſcourſe of almoſt three whole leaues tending onely to ſmooth vp the vnchriſtian follies and phraſes of Pagans, I omit as not woorth the anſwering; and as you referre them to the iudgement of the learned and wiſe Reader, ſo do I; not doubting but if he be learned or wiſe, he will not ſuffer you to expound the Scriptures by fabulous Poets, or erroneous Philoſophers, altogether ſtrangers to the Chriſtian religion; but will keepe you rather to the rules and directions of the holy Ghoſt, whoſe ſenſe is the ſafeſt and ſureſt way to meaſure matters of faith. Only I will touch two or three of your fooliſh ouerſights and bolde preſumptions, leſt my ſilence ſhould breed you confidence in your conceits.

[f] Defenc. pag. 171. li. 25.

[g] *The holy Apoſtles doe teach the heauenly trueth, with the very words and Grammar of the heathen men: whereunto that ſerueth which is written of them; we euery man heare them ſpeake in our owne tongues and languages, wherein we were borne.*] Why ſpeake you of Grammar, which is common to all profeſsions, and skip the ſignification and meaning of theſe words, which are proper to Chriſtians? who though they vſe many words

[g] Defenc. pag. 172. li. 22.

words abuſed by Pagans to ignorant and falſe apprehenſions, yet retaine they ſuch ſenſe of thoſe words, as the trueth of God preſcribeth, and not as Pagans and Idolaters imagined. And to whom did the Apoſtles ſpeake in this [h] place which you cite, to prophane and heathen men, or to Iewes, that were well acquainted with Moſes and the Prophets, though they were borne in diuers places of the world, and vnderſtood the languages of many other nations? the Scripture ſaith euen of this multitude then aſſembled to heare the Apoſtles ſpeake with diuers tongues; [i] *There were dwelling at Ieruſalem Iewes, men Religions,* (or fearing God) *of euerie nation vnder heauen.* Els to what end did Peter alleage to them the Prophets Ioel and Dauid, if they knew the writings of neither? but that whole Sermon of Peters prooueth, that they were familiarly conuerſant in the Scriptures; and therefore the Apoſtles ſpeaking ſtrange languages ſo tempered their wordes and ſenſe, as men trained vp in Moſes might wel vnderſtand their meaning. And when the Apoſtles ſpake or wrot in other tongues beſides the Hebrew, trow you they retained the ſame ſenſe and vnderſtanding in euery word, that the Pagans did, who knew nothing of Chriſt? how many words are there, which the writings of the Euangeliſts and Apoſtles turne from their generall and vſuall ſignification amongſt the heathen, to expreſſe things proper to Chriſtian religion? ſhall *Euangelium, fides, ſpiritus, eccleſia, epiſcopus, diaconus, preſbyter, martyr, diabolus*, and many ſuch import no more with Chriſtians then they did with Pagans? who euer was ſo blind, that euer read any thing? Hades then the apoſtles might & did vſe for a place vnder earth, where the wicked after this life were tormented; ſo far they agreed with the vſe of the word formerly receaued: but where vnbeleeuers thought the ſoules of the godly were likewiſe in the ſame place vnder the earth, tho gh in more reſt or in ſome pleaſures, ſuch as naturall men could deuice; the Apoſtles and Euangeliſts inſtructed no doubt by their Maſter, and by his example correcting that error, named the place, where the ſoules of the faithfull were receaued after death, [k] *Paradiſe*, and an [l] *heauenly habitation.* And where the Iewes vſed Sheol for all that was vnder the earth, were it the graue for dead bodies, or hell for wicked ſoules; the new Teſtament diſtinguiſhing *hades* from *death*, and making the one a conſequent to the other in the wicked, prooueth hades there to be taken onlie for the [m] *place of torment* after this life.

[h] Acts 2.

[i] Acts 2. v. 5.

[k] Luke 23.

[l] 2. Cor. 5.

[m] Luke 16.

[n] Defenc. pag. 172. li. 36. [o] Pag. 173. li. 7. [n] *I thought that thoſe few allegations which I brought out of Plato, Homer and Plutark for the Greeke, & of the Latins for the Latin would haue ſufficed to cauſe you not to deny ſo cleare and manifeſt a trueth.* [o] *That hades with them did ſignifie the world of ſoules without any limitation (in the very word it ſelfe) either of ſtate or place.*] Had the Pagans any *hades*, which they thought was in no place? or were the ſoules of good and bad in no ſtate? doe not the verie rules of Grammar expreſſed in euery Lexicon, require neceſſarily, that ἅιδης euerie where vſed by Greek writers in verſe and in proſe after εἰς, and ἐν, as εἰς ἅιδην and ἐν ἅιδῃ and ſuch like, ſhould be ſupplied with δόκον, δόμον, τόπον or ſome ſuch word importing a *place* or *houſe* before it can be excuſed from falſe Greek? how then are you ſo ignorant or impudent (chooſe which you will) as to ſay that hades is the world of ſoules without limitation of place or ſtate? haue you forgotten what Euſtathius ſaith of the very word it ſelfe? [p] ἐστὶ τόπος σκοτεινὸς, ὑπὸ γῆν: *Hades is a darke place vnder the earth.* And Phauorinus? [q] ἐστὶ χωρίον ἀφεγγές. *Hades is a Region without light.* Or what Lucian reporteth of all the people, who were Grecians, that perſuaded by *Homer, Heſiode* & the reſt of the Poets, tooke *Hades to be* [r] τόπον τινὰ ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς βαθὺν, μέγαν, καὶ ζοφερὸν, *a place vnder the earth, deepe, great, and dark?* If the word then of it ſelfe import a place vnder the earth, and that *deepe and darke*, what trueth is there in your words, or what force in your allegations; which prooue nothing againſt any thing that I ſaid; nor for your new made world of ſoules without limitation of place or ſtate?

[p] *Euſtath. in 1. Iliados.*

[q] *Phauori. in verbo ἅιδης.*

[r] *Lucia. de luctu.*

[s] Defenc. pag. 173. li. 15. [s] *The common Epithet of hades is hades pandocheus, hades receauing all both good and bad.*] And what then? was hades therefore either not vnder the earth, or not a place of darkeneſſe, becauſe all men good and bad after death by the Pagans opinion, went to

to hades? if hades withall your prophane writers (ſaue once in a ſpeciall conceit of Socrates) were *below* in the earth, and a dwelling in *darkeneſſe*; then doth the word it ſelfe beare in it a limitation *of place below* vnder the earth, not aboue in heauen, and a *ſtate in darkeneſſe*, not in light. Againſt this ſpeaketh not one of your authors, whom heere you huddle moſt idlely, not regarding what I admit or reiect: That which I ſay, they confeſſe with one conſent, as I haue [t] elſewhere ſhewed; & if thoſe teſtimonies were not ſufficient, you might haue ten times as many. But to make ſhort worke Clemens Alexandrinus ſhall let you ſee, how peeuiſhly you impugne my aſſertion. He alleageth out of Diphilus an auncient comicall Poet, as followeth; [u] καθ' ᾅδου δύο τρίβους νομίζομεν, μίαν δικαίων· ἑτέραν δ' ἀσεβῶν εἶναι ὁδόν; καὶ εἰ τὸν δύο καλύψει ἡ γῆ. *In hades we reſolue there are two waies, on for the iuſt, the other for the wicked. Howbeit the earth doth couer them both.* Your ſelfe is a witneſſe againſt your ſelfe, that *to this place* (Hades) [x] *come not the wicked onely, but the nobleſt and beſt alſo.* Now where this place was in their opinion to which all come after death, if you doubt, Homer telleth you, it was [y] εἰν ἀϊδαο δόμοις ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης. *In the houſe of hades vnder the dennes* (or darkeneſſe) *of the earth.* Theognis ſaith in like words, [z] ὑπὸ κεύθμασι γαίης εἰς ἀϊδαο δόμους. *They goe to the houſe of hades vnder the dennes* (or cloſets) *of the earth.* Mimnermus ſaith [a] κατὰ γῆς ἔρχεται εἰς ἀϊδῆν. *He goeth to hades vnder the earth.* Euripides. [b] κατὰ γᾶν χθόνιον πάρ ἄδαν. *Vnder the earth to hades there being.* Sophocles. [c] μυχοὺς κιχοῦσι τοὺς κάτω θεοῦ. *They come to the cloſets of the God below.* Ariſtophanes. [d] τάχ' ἂν ἀφίξομ' εἰς ἅδου κάτω. *I will goe with ſpeed to hades below.* So that your great Maſters of the Greeke tongue, if euer you ſaw them or read thē, exactly reſolue againſt you, that your *hades pandocheus*, whither all goe both good and bad, is vnder the earth, and ſo can no way be proportioned to heauen or paradiſe, which are farre aboue the ſtarres of heauen, and are habitations of light and bliſſe; where your hades of the bleſſed, in the opinion of Pagans and Chriſtians, was a place of darkeneſſe, though mixed with eaſe and comfort as they ſuppoſed. And touching the Latin Inferi, of which you ſeeme to make ſuch account by pretence of Ciceroes words, but without all cauſe; I replie with the words of Lactantius, whom the Chriſtians called their Cicero. [e] *Nihil terra inferius, & humilius, niſi mors & inferi. Nothing is lower and baſer then the earth, but death and inferi.* And becauſe Hen: Iac: is become of late ſo deuoute a Patrone of Ciceroes, that he may not ſuffer his Paganiſh errors to be reprooued; and is angrie that any man taketh his beedleſhip from him, let him read but the next chapter of Lactantius againſt Cicero by name, and he ſhall ſee what honour is to be yeelded to heathen Idolaters againſt the trueth.

[t] Concluſ. pa. 369.371.

[u] *Clemens Stromateon. li. 5. ex Diphilo.*

[x] Defenc. pag. 173. li. 19.

[y] *Homer. Odyſſea li. 24.*

[z] *Theognidis gnomæ.*

[a] *Mimnermus de vita quàd breuis ſit.*

[b] *Euripides in Alceſtide.*

[c] *Sophocles in Aiace Flagell.*

[d] *Ariſtoph. in Ranis.*

[e] *Lactant. de falſa religion. li. 2. ca. 2.*

[f] *Homer deſcribeth, Tartarus to be ſo much beneath hades as heauen is from the earth.*] What if Hades or hell be exceeding deepe; is that a proofe that the top thereof is no part of Hades, becauſe the bottome is farre beneath it? Are not the parts of heauen infinitely one aboue another, and yet all are heauen? *In my fathers houſe*, ſaith our Sauiour, *are many manſions*; and yet they all are but one houſe. Though then the Poet faine that Hades hath in it deepe pits; yet all is contained in the generall name of Hades, ſpecially ſince both Pagans and Chriſtians confeſſe, that men are puniſhed in Hades, and not vnder Hades. Iuſtine the Martyr alleageth out of Philemon. [g] ἔστι γὰρ ἅδῃ κρίσις. *There is iudgement in Hades.* Theodoretus ſaith of Plato: [h] πολλαχοῦ τοὺ ἐν ᾅδῃ κολαστήρια δείκνυσι. *Many times hee affirmeth places of puniſhment in Hades.* Cydonius ſaith generally. [i] εἶναι μὲν οὖν ἐν ᾅδῃ πάντων ἐντεῦθεν ἁμαρτανομένων; *that there is vengeance in Hades for offences heere committed; not onely the conſent of all wiſe men; but the equitie of Gods iuſtice approoueth this opinion.* The Goſpell calleth *Hades* [k] *a place of torments.* Your ſelfe all this while haue maintained Hades to be a place as well of reſt as of puniſhment; that is of both at leaſt. And would you now with a Poeticall fiction or compariſon ſtrike out all, that you and others haue ſaid, and appoint puniſhments not in, but vnder Hades? Poets haue their ſpeciall fanſies of Tartarus, and therein agree not one with another. Heſiode ſaith; [l] τόσσον ἔνερθ' ὑπὸ γῆς, ὅσσον οὐρανὸς ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης. *The dungeon of Tartarus is ſo farre vnder the earth, as heauen is aboue the earth.* Virgil ſaith,

[f] Defenc. pag. 173. li. 27.

Tartarus a part of hades with the Poets.

[g] *Iuſtinus de Monarchia Dei.*

[h] *Theodoret. ſermo. 11. de fine & iudicio.*

[i] *Cydonius de morte contemnenda.*

[k] Luke 16.

[l] *Heſiod. in Theogonia.*

[m] *Virgil. Æneid.6.* [m] *Tartarus ipſe bis patet in præceps tantum. Tartarus is twice as deepe, as heauen is high.* And though Homer were blind, yet he neuer intended to make Tartarus no part, but the loweſt parte of Hades. And therefore he placed it deepe vnder the higher hades, where dead bodies are, which Heſiode called the earth. For Hades is common as well to the bodies buried, as to the ſoules receiued vnder the earth. And therfore your citing Sophocles and Aeſchylus vſing Hades for the graue, where our bodies reſt, is an anſwere to that which you bring out of Homer, and an heaping vp of matter no way pertinent to your purpoſe. For thinke you that the graue hath no limitation of place? why then are you ſo copious in things not doubted, & wholy ſpeechleſſe in that which you ſhould prooue?

[o] Defenc. pag. 174. li. 3. With as little skill (you ſay) [n] *ἀιδόεος ἰφθ' ἄϊδι in the wordes of Orpheus are to bee conſtrued together and not ſeparately*, as I reade them; but why, can you tell? What ſhall become of the coniunction *ἰφθι*, betweene them, if the conſtruction muſt bee *aither aïdes* as you ſet it? the interpreter, a man well learned, doth render it thus in Latine. *O Rex cæli & inferni, O King of heauen and of hell.* And the coniunction *ἰφθι* is often copulatiue with the Poets, and ſtandeth for *καὶ*, as your Lexicons will teach you. Beſides Orpheus purpoſe is to confeſſe him, *whom diuels doe tremble at, and Angels doe feare*, as his wordes preſently following doe declare. And therefore his meaning was rather to celebrate the Lord of all, that is of heauen and hell; ſea & land; then of part.

[p] Defenc pag. 174 li. 13. & 15. [p] *You expreſſely collect and confeſſe (page 371.) that within Plutoes kingdome vnder the earth, which they call Hades, as well the places and pleaſures for the good, as the priſons and puniſhments for the bad, are in their cõceit prepared & ſetled.* That the Pagans ſo thought, I doe not denie, yet they neuer called Hades heauen, as you doe, but confeſſed heauen to be on hie ouer their heads; where the Gods immortall were as they ſuppoſed, not vnder the earth where hades was. And can you be ſo ſottiſh as to ſay I contradict my ſelfe, becauſe I vouch they limited hades to a place *euen vnder the earth*, and to darkneſſe in reſpect of the light of the Sunne, which we heere enioy? Againe (you confeſſe) [r] *Hades with them was the Ruler or place of ſoules, were they in reſt or paine.*

[r] Pag. 174. li. 18. Were you euer prentice to learne to lie, or haue you this facilitie by nature? You can not touch a place which you doe not falſifie. I ſaid, *with them* (ſpeaking of Infidels) [q] *Hades was the Ruler or place of ſoules, that were beneath vnder the earth, were they in reſt, or in paine.* How is this repugnant either to my ſelfe, or to the trueth? ([r] *You make a ſtrange anſwer, that Chriſtian Religion will aſſure, this place muſt needs bee hell. What that place where ſome good mens ſoules deceaſed are in reſt? Is this hell? Is it hell in Chriſtian Religion? who then will henceforth care for hell, if ſome ſoules haue reſt and pleaſures in hell?*

[q] Conclu. pag. 337. li. 9. [r] Defenc. pag. 174. li. 20. Know you not who rideth you, when you breake your ſpurres on a bench, and thinke you be on horſe-backe? That hades is beneath vnder the earth, as the Pagans confeſſed, and muſt needs be hell, (ſince Chriſtian religion acknowledgeth no place vnder the earth for ſoules deceaſed, beſides hell) I auouched: what then? what fault findeth your maſterſhip therewith? *are any there in reſt*, you aske? The Pagans ſo drempt; and therefore I ſay, *with them*, it was ſo; that is, they ſuppoſed it to be ſo; but Chriſtian Religion, I replied, aſſureth vs, there is no place vnder the earth for ſoules, but only hel. Where are now your quicke & thicke punctilioes & eaſie hell that you ſo plea withall? The Pagans were of that minde, if you liſt to be one of them, you may hope for reſt in hell: but Chriſtian religion, to which I appealed, aſſureth vs that it is a place of torment. Cannot your heauy head diſcerne, when I report and refute Pagans opinions, and when I propoſe points of Chriſtian religion?

[s] Defenc. pag. 174. li. 24. [s] *But you ſay alſo, that thoſe heathen Greeks did thinke this place of ſoules was vnder the earth. It is true they thought ſo indeed: and it was their error.* Then haue you all this while out-faced the trueth, when you deriued from them a world of ſoules *without limitation of place*; and your expoſition of the Creed according to their ſenſe muſt needs inferre, that Chriſtes ſoule after death deſcended vnder the earth, for there is hades by the maine conſent of the heathen Greekes, as you now confeſſe. And if you

place

place heauen or paradiſe (where the ſoules of the righteous now are) vnder the earth to vphold your Greeke conceits; you ſhall deſerue a garland in your new made hades, but I dare promiſe you no reſt in your heauen vnder earth, except you reſtore it to the place where God ſet it, that is aboue vs, and not beneath vs.

That Hades was the proper name of a perſon, and ſecondly of the place, [t] *this is not materiall, nor to any purpoſe:* [u] *yet it is queſtionleſſe vtterly vntrue.*] Is it vtterly vntrue, that the Pagan Poets (for of them I ſpeake) tooke Hades chiefly for the ruler of the dead, and in that reſpect called his kingdome vnder the earth, alſo *Hades?* I omit what Diodorus Siculus reporteth as well of antiquitie as of the Poets, that they tooke [x] τὸν ἅιδην *Hades* (the third ſonne of Saturnus) to be the inuentor of graues and funerals, which was the cauſe that he was thought to be the God of the dead, [y] *Antiquitie attributing to him the beginning and care of theſe things.* To goe beyond the ſurmiſes of the Grecians, who tooke their learning and antiquities from the Ægyptians, as appeareth by Orpheus & Homers iourneyes thither to increaſe their knowledge: the wiſe men amongſt the Chaldeans, called with them *Magi*, who were farre more ancient then the Ægyptians as Ariſtotle and others witneſſe, taught two chiefe authors of all things; [z] ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα καὶ κακὸν δαίμονα: καὶ τῷ μὲν ὄνομα εἶναι Ζεὺς καὶ Ὠρομάσδης, τῷ δὲ ἅιδης καὶ Ἀρειμάνιος, *A good God, and a bad ſpirit, & the good was called Zeus or Oromaſdes; the other was named Hades or Aremanios.* And to this giue teſtimonie Theopompus, Eudoxus, Hernippus, ancient writers among the Grecians, beſides Ariſtotle, who concurreth with them; and Plutarke, who ſaith, [a] δοκεῖ τοῦτο τοῖς πλείστοις καὶ σοφωτάτοις, *this is the opinion of the moſt and the wiſeſt.* Yea Zoroaſtres himſelfe was of that opinion, who liued ſome thouſands of yeeres before the battell of Troy, as Plutarke writeth, and is taken for Cham the ſonne of Noah by our Hiſtoriographers. Plinie maketh him elder then Moſes by many thouſands of yeeres. Shew me now as auncient teſtimonies, that the place was called Hades, as I ſhew you, that the perſon was ſo named, and I will yeeld. If you can not, prate not ſo preſumptuouſly, that *queſtionleſſe this is vtterly vntrue.*

[t] Pag. 175. li. 2.
[u] Pag. 174. li. 34.
[x] *Diodorus Siculus li. 5.*
[y] *Ibidem.*
[z] *Diogenes Laertius in Proœmio.*
[a] *Plutarch. de Iſide & Oſiride.*
Plinij naturall hiſt. li. 3. ca. 10.

To my aſſertion, *there is no one place in trueth common to all ſoules departed this life,* but ſome are in heauen, and ſome are in hell, you anſwer: [b] *yet neuertheleſſe As they are ſome where within the compaſſe of the created world, ſo are they in a common place.* This As doth ſo haunt you, that you can doe nothing without it. *As they are in the created world, ſo they are in one common place.* Then hell and heauen with you make but one place, and conſequently Chriſt ſitting at the right hand of God, is with all the elect angels in the ſame place with the diuell and the damned; and we liuing heere on earth ſince we are in the created world, are both in the ſame place with Chriſt, & alſo in the ſame place with the damned. Such new Coſmographie well becommeth your new Diuinitie; without ſuch miſshapen Aſſes you are not able to open your mouth. But if this be your beſt defence for your new found Hades, your Reader I truſt will be better aduiſed, before he will be in the ſame place or minde with you. The Scriptures teach vs to diſtinguiſh places according to their names giuen them by God himſelfe, as *heauen, earth* and *hell*; and not to make all one common place, or world of ſoules which you haue newly created.

[b] Defenc pag 175. li. 17. *The whole created world is hades with the defender.*

[c] *We ſtand not ſo much on this, that by hades muſt be vnderſtood any one place common to all the dead, but the ſtate and condition of death among the dead.*] All this while you haue beene prouing, that hades is an inuiſible place, and ſo doth Ambroſe expound it, *aides is a place not ſeene, which we call Hell*; now you can not tell how to bring heauen and hell (which are ſo farre diſtant aſunder) to be one common place, you would faine reduce them to one common ſtate or condition of death, when the Scriptures euery where make them oppoſite, aſcribing light and life to the one, and darkeneſſe and death to the other. But you haue found one common condition of death in both, which is to want their bodies.] What ſay you then to Elias, who was caried vp to heauen or to Paradiſe aliue, and neuer died? Are he and the reſt, who roſe from their graues with Chriſt, in the common condition of death? What ſay you to Core, Da-

[c] Pag. 175. li. 22.

than, Abiram, and their company, who deſcended aliue to hades; are they free from the condition of death in hades, becauſe they haue their bodies? Meere priuations are no conditions or ſtates. And therefore to want their bodies for a time either in heauen or in hell, maketh no common eſtate to both, no more than that they are all ſoules, and contained in ſome certaine limitation of place, which nothing touch their condition or ſtate: otherwiſe the damned in hell and the bleſſed in heauen ſhall alwayes haue one common ſtate and condition, becauſe they ſhall eternally be faſtned to their places, and ſhall haue their ſoules vnited to their bodies; and ſhall remember things paſt, and ſuch like; which yet do not performe one common eſtate or condition to both, ſince they ſhall haue ſo many contraries to make them differ, euen as now they haue; though degrees of ioy and paine ſhall then increaſe.

[d] Defene pag. 176. li. 5.

The Pagans [d] *eſteemed indeed a part of his dominion to be hell properly, but a part alſo to be the region of the happie.*] This is like the reſt of your trueths. Did the Pagans know or acknowledge none other heauen but hades? Did euer man ſo write or ſpeake, that had read but one leafe of proſe or Poetrie? neuer read you what Cicero citeth out of Ennius? [e] *Romulus in cælo cum Dijs agit æuum. Romulus enioyeth eternitie with the Gods in heauen.* And addeth of his owne: [f] *Quid totum propè cœlum, nonne humano genere completum eſt? The whole heauen is it not almoſt repleniſhed with mankind?* Homer and the reſt of the Greeke Poets were not ignorant hereof, nor ſilent herein. Of Hercules Homer ſayth; ἀυτὰρ ὅ γε μετ' ἀθανάτοῖσι θεοῖσι τέρπεται: *He doth ſolace himſelfe with the immortall Gods.* And what was *ouranos* with them, if hades were their heauen? Ariſtotle ſayth: [g] τὸ κόσμε τὸ ἀνώτατον, θεοῦ οἰκητήριον ὂν καὶ ὄνομα, *The higheſt place of the world, being the ſeat or habitation of God, is called heauen.* To this heauen the Poets admitted the ſons of their Gods, obſcurely lighting on that rule of true religion, the ſons of God ſhal inherit the kingdome of God: but the Philoſophers plainly affirme of iuſtice and pietie, [h] *ea vita via eſt in cœlum: ſuch a life is the way to heauen.* And for al the helpers, encreaſers, and preſeruers of their countrey, [i] *certum eſſe in cœlo ac definitum locum, vbi beati æuo ſempiterno fruantur; there is a ſet and certaine place in heauen where they ſhall enioy euerlaſting bleſſedneſſe.* The Greeke Poets then were not ignorant of heauen aboue, when they ſent moſt men departing this life to Hades beneath; but they had heard ſomewhat of that diuine ſentence, which adiudged mankind for ſinne to death both of body and Soule, and thereupon, as there manner is to multiply their owne fanſies and fables, they placed all mortall men in Hades below; and yet allowed the better ſort of men ſome eaſe and comfort; though they neuer brought them to heauen, except they thought them the ſonnes of ſome God. What is this to the true heauen; which is the glorious ſeate of God, and the euerlaſting habitation of his Angels and Saints? Why yoke you Gods trueth with Poeticall fables and humane fanſies, as if the one were not onely a meet paterne for the other, but the ſame place with the other? How commeth hades to be al one with the created world, and ſo not only men liuing are in hades, but Saints and Angels, yea Chriſt himſelfe is ſtill in hades, ſince neither he nor they are without the compaſſe of the created world? So large is your predicament of hades, that the whole world is ſcant wide enough for it.

[e] *Cicero Tuſcul. quæſt. li. 1.*
[f] *Ibidem.*
[g] *Ariſt. de mundo.*
[h] *Cicero in Somnio Scipionis.*
[i] *Ibidem.*

[k] Defenc. pag. 176. li. 23.

After this you reade vs a lecture of more than two leaues, how [k] *the Apoſtles taught the trueth of the Goſpell with the very words of the heathens*; and as you make rules for their ſpeech at your pleaſure, ſo you take paines to bring no authour, for all that you ſay, beſides your ſelfe. I haue heard ſo many of your trifling and wandering diſcourſes, that I am ſtarke wearie with reading them; and if it haue no better weight than your word, you may keepe your winde, and ſaue your labour. Who doubteth, but the Holy Ghoſt might and did correct as well the words as errours of the heathens, and reduced both their eares and hearts to the vnderſtanding and imbracing of the Goſpell? Wherefore ſuch words as Infidels abuſed and defiled with their wicked imaginations, the Apoſtles of Chriſt reſtrained and applied to expreſſe the trueth, thereby teaching the heathen to keepe their words and leaue their errours, and not framing

framing the Gospel to the prophane sense or vse of their speech. What conclude you hence for hades? That the Apostles retained the erroneous sense of that word, and made it worse than the Pagans did? For the heathen vsed that word for places vnder the earth, where soules after this life were kept; and you would haue the Apostles vse it for Heauen and Paradise, where the soules of the righteous are, as well as for hell where the damned are. Leaue therefore your idle vagaries; the Apostles vsed the word hades for the places vnder the earth, where soules were detained, as the heathen did: but in this they redressed the Pagans conceits, that they as naturall men dreamed of bodily pleasures in hades, which the Scriptures make *a place of torment with perpetuall fire*. Put this correction to the Poets opinion of hades, as touching the condition of soules thither adiudged, and I see no danger in the vse of hades for hell, since the Pagans by that word intended the places vnder earth, where the wicked after this life were punished.

[1] *A Philosopher will rarely and sometime perhaps note the aire by Tartarus; yet vsually and in a manner alwayes they ment hell by it. Yet Peter not Canonizing their dreames of hell, notwithstanding signifieth hell indeed by that worde of theirs according to the common vse thereeof.*] Though the Poets vse not *Tartarus*, as often as they doe *Hades*, for the receite of soules after death; yet it is *false*, which you say, *that in a manner alwayes they ment* (the dungeon of) *hell by it*; It is an vsuall phrase among the Poets for the place, where soules were bestowed after death, as Hades is. Pindarus expressing the inconstancie of mans life saith: [m] ταρτάρε πυθμένα πέζεις ἀφανῆς. *Thou must goe to the deepe of darke Tartarus by ineuitable necessity.* Moschus wisheth he might goe thither to heare *Bion* sing there. [n] εἰ δυναίμαν δὲ ὡς ὀρφεὺς καταβὰς πόκα τάρταρον. *O if I might goe downe to Tartarus, as did Orpheus, Vlysses, or Hercules.* Hesiode sheweth, how the destenies, as soone as any man was wounded or slaine, seased on him, and sent his soule [o] τάρταρον ἐς κρυόεντα, *to cold Tartarus.* Anacreon giuing a reason, why though he be old, he is loth to die, saith. [p] τάρταρον δεδοικὼς, *I sigh often, fearing Tartarus; for the chamber of Hades is grieuous.* So Theognis and others vse Tartarus for Hades without any distinction betwixt them. And where you say, Peter *signifieth hell indeed by that word*, you may meete with many that will tell you, Saint Peter there calleth the aire about & aboue the earth by that name, as well as the places vnder the earth; and that in respect of the light, which the reprobate Angels did before enioy in heauen, this world may iustly be called darkenesse. Zanchius saith. [q] *By this name Peter vnderstood not the place onely, which is vnder the earth, sed imprimis ipsum aerem but chiefly this aire; & the whole space beneath this moone. For in this regiõ are the diuels kept captiues as the Apostle teacheth, calling the diuell the Prince of this aire.* Saint Austin saith as much. [r] *Let vs not doubt but the sinfull Angels were cast into this aeriall mist about the earth, as into a prison, (according to the Apostles saith), kept to be punished in iudgement.* [s] Aretius, *Hiperius, Beza* and others are of the same mind. So that this signification of Tartarus was not taken from the heathen, as you presume, but is a comparison with their former state, when they were Angels of light, and adorned with brightnesse within and without, who now are throwen from their hight and plunged into outward and inward darkenesse.

[1] Defenc. pag. 177. li. 4.

[m] *Apud Plutar. de consolatione ad Apollonium.*

[n] *Moschus in Epitap. Bionis.*

[o] *Hesiod. in scuto Herculis*

[p] *Anacreontis Carmina.*

Tartarus taken for the aire ouer vs.

[q] *Zanchius de operibus Dei li. 4. ca. 4.*

[r] *Augustin. de Genesi ad literam li. 11. ca. 26*

[s] *In ca. 2. epist. 2. Petri.*

[t] *In Epistolam Iudæ.*

[1] *The very naturall Etymologie of the word according to the Grammar doth properly signifie* VNSEENE OR *not seene any more in this world: topos aides an vnseene place as Plato calleth it. Where note it cannot bee referred to the estate of Angels, but of them that had once a visible and ordinarie being and conuersation heere in this world.*] You hang this geere together with hookes. Hades you say is *properly, not seene any more in this world*; yet it is *tópos áides*, an *vnseene place, as Plato calleth it*. You haue gotten you three starting holes vnder the couert of Hades, *the place vnseene, the person not seene any more in this world, the state inuisible*: but you hide your selfe so vnhandsomely in them, that when you thinke your selfe most inuisible, all the world may see your open follie. Was the place of Hades euer seene in this world? I trust not. Then Hades is *topos aídes* a place, which neuer man liuing saw; for a man must bee dead before he can come to

[1] Defenc. pag. 178. li. 28.

that place. You graunt the Grammaticall Etymologie of the word *Hades* is to ſignifie a place vnſeene, as Plato calleth it. How come you then to applie this to the perſon or ſtate, *not ſeene any more in this world*, by which you would exclude Angels from being in hades? It is euident that the Poets made Hades a perſon, and ſupplie ἅιδης hadou very often with *domous* or ſuch like, as εἰς ἀΐδαο δόμους, *to the houſen of Hades*; and call him [x] ἀΐδης ὁ μελαγχαίτης θεός, *Hades the God with the blacke lockes of haire.* Was this ruler of the places below, which is the diuell, euer aliue with vs in this world? If he neuer had no viſible ſtate in this life, and yet is properly and originally called *Hades*, as I haue ſhewed before, then Hades is that, which *was neuer ſeene in this world*; and doth agree as well to Angels (for all your *noting*) as to diuels, if it import no more, but that which is vnſeene of vs. But who warranteth this interpretation beſides your ſelfe? Let *aïdes* ſtand for *vnſeene*; how prooue you, as you conceiue, that it inferreth a ſtate once ſeene in this world, and now by death vnſeene? I ſay, *vnſeene* applied to hades, *is neuer ſeene* of any man liuing, and not as you wreſt it, *now no longer ſeene*. And ſo your Etymologie maketh nothing for you. And what if hades deriued from *aïdes* ſignifie that place where *nothing can be ſeene* for lacke of light, doe you not finely ſtrip your Reader with an vnſeene ſleite, as you thinke; but indeed with a ſenſible deluding of the trueth? peruſe your maſters of the Greeke tongue, and tell mee whether they do not take hades for the place, where nothing can be ſeene by reaſon of darkeneſſe. Sophocles calleth it [y] μέλας δὲ ἅιδης, *blacke Hades*. Euripides calleth it [z] τὸν ἀνάλιον οἶκον; *the houſe without ſunne light*. Theognis calleth it [a] κυανέας τε πύλας *the blacke gates*. Homer ſaith, [b] αἶσης δ' ἔλαχεν ζόφον ἠερόεντα: *Hades had for his ſhare the darke miſt* (to dwell in). Plutarch ſayth of Hades, [c] ὁδε σκότιος, καὶ νυκτὸς ἀΐδνᾶς κοίρανος, *hee is darke, and maſter of the blacke night*. The great and learned Etymologiſt of the Greeke tongue, whom your Lexicons refuſe not in moſt words to follow, giueth this expoſition. [d] ἀΐδης, ἐν ᾧ οὐδὲν βλέπομεν. ἄϊδης γὰρ ὅτι ἡ σκοτεινοτόπια, *áides is that* (place) *wherein we ſee nothing. For Hades is an houſe of darkeneſſe.* The place then, wherein nothing *can bee ſeene for darkeneſſe*, is properly by the maſters of the Greeke tongue, and by the right Etymologie of the word, called *Hades*; and all your expoſitions and applications be forced and framed to your owne fanſies without any iuſt cauſe or reaſon, but onely to ſerue your owne humours.

x *Euripides in Alceſtide.*

y *Sopho. in Oedipo.*

z *Euripides in Alceſtide.*

a *Theognidis gnomæ.*

b *Homeri Iliad. 15.*

c *Plutarch. de oraculo apud Delphos.*

d *Etymologicon magnum in verbo* ἅιδης.

(The Apoſtles [e] *tooke the word Gehenna from the Hebrewes, and vſed it properly for hell. Therefore they need not alter hades for that purpoſe; for which they had another proper word.*] Chriſt ſpeaking to the Iewes vſed the word Gehenna for hell fire, which they beſt vnderſtood; and Saint Iames writing to the Iewes diſperſed ſaith, *The tongue is inflamed of Gehenna.* But the reſt of the Apoſtles, that inſtructed the Gentiles, neuer vſed that word, which the heathen at that time did not vnderſtand; but where occaſion ſo required, they retained the word hades, and applied it to the place of torment, and to the ruler thereof, which things were not ſtrange to the Gentiles. Since then the Euangeliſt and Apoſtles neuer ment to confirme or continue the erroneous fanſies of the Pagans, and yet vſed their words; it is euident they vnderſtood ſo much by theſe wordes, as was not repugnant to the Chriſtian faith. Now hades with the Pagans was a place vnder the earth, where the wicked after this life were puniſhed. This was agreeable to the trueth, and for that cauſe the Apoſtles retained that ſenſe and force of the word. That the ſoules of the iuſt were alſo kept vnder the earth in reſt and eaſe; this was the error of the heathen; though both Iewes and Chriſtians lighted afterwardes on that fanſie. This the Apoſtles doe not ratifie in vſing the word hades, for that it was not conſonant to the grounds of true religion, from which they neuer ment to depart by vſing any wordes accuſtomed among the heathen. And as the Gentiles, before they beleeued, vſed hades for the chiefe ruler of thoſe Infernall places, ſo doth Saint Iohn not refuſe to attribute that name to the diuell in his Reuelation. And ſo without your conceits or diſcourſes we haue ſhortly and plainely the cauſe and courſe why and how the Canonicall writers concurred with the Grecians in vſing the word hades, and yet corrected their error. Howbeit I thinke the Apoſtles had chiefe reſpect

to

• Defenc pag. 180. li. 30.

Gehenna not vſed in ſpeaking to the Gentiles.

to the Septuagint, who tranſlating the Hebrew into Greeke (then rife in many learned mens handes) and expreſſing there the ſenſe of Sheôl, vſed Hades, for the death of the bodie in the graue, and for the death of the ſoule in hell: after whoſe example the ſacred writers of the new Teſtament ſpeaking of the wicked, or ioyning death with hades, note what hades is beſides the death of the bodie, which they intend by *Thanatos*. And therefore though Hades in the old Teſtament import the places of death for bodie and ſoule, I meane the graue, and hell; yet throughout the new Teſtament that word being alwayes oppoſed to heauen, applied to the wicked, or connexed with other wordes that ſignifie the death of the bodie, it muſt of force be taken for the power and place that killeth the ſoules of all men approching it, except onely Chriſts, to whom all powers and principalities in heauen and earth and hell were and are ſubmitted and ſubiected.

[f] *Hitherto wee haue tried the nature and vſe of Hades, and haue found it to bee not properly hell, as you auouch; no, not when it is applied to ſoules of men deceaſed. And therefore alſo that it cannot be ſo vnderſtood in Acts 2.27. where it is applied to Chriſts ſoule after he was dead: which yet is the onely place you haue to pretend.*] Hitherto you haue prated, what pleaſed you, and proued nothing; and notwithſtanding your vaine euaſions meere *priuations*, inuincible *conditions*, and plaine viſible *contradictions*, Hades is found by the full conſent of Chriſtian and heathen writers to bee a place vnder the earth and in darkeneſſe; where the ſoules of the dead adiudged to that place were and are detained vnder the Dominion of the Diuell, though the Pagans in their wandering from their trueth, imagined him to be a God, and dreampt of earthly pleaſures there, to comfort their deiected ſpirits againſt the terror of death. And ſince Chriſts ſoule was *not left in hades* after death, as appeareth, *Acts* 2.31. what haue you, or any man liuing to ſay, why Chriſts deſcent to Hades, that is (as the Goſpell expoundeth this word) *to the* [g] *place of torment*, (of which it was impoſsible for him to be held, or to bee therewith touched,) ſhould not bee iuſtly grounded on this place? [*wee may ſimply take hades for the inuiſible ſtate or place of the deceaſed.*] If for the place, then for heauen, where you ſay Chriſtes ſoule was after death. And would Chriſt ſo greatly reioice that his ſoule ſhould not be left in heauen? [h] *Otherwiſe we may take it ſimply for deaths force and power, ſupplying alſo the ſame wordes* eis ton topon, *or* tên chôran hadou, *in that place where the power and ſtrength of death preuaileth and holdeth the deceaſed ſoules from their bodies.*] You haue ſo many ſenſes, that you haue neuer a good. Firſt you tooke hades *for a ſtate or place*, and then you ſupplied it, as indeed you muſt, with *topon* or *choran*, a place or region. And ſo your ſenſe went round like a wheele. Thou wilt not leaue my ſoule in *the place of place*, or ſtate which is not ſeene; that is not in heauen. Now you renew your ſtrength to take better hold; and ſaie, Thou wilt not leaue my ſoule *to the place of deaths power*. Where we muſt note, that heauen (for there was Chriſtes ſoule, as you grant) is by you appointed to be the place of deaths power, and ſo you haue brought vs the ſtrength and power of death and darkneſſe preuailing in heauen, and euen on Chriſtes ſoule. [k] *This is the world of the dead implying nothing elſe but an eſtate oppoſite to our viſible ſtate in this world.*] Are the places or ſtates of heauen and hell *nothing*, but an oppoſition to our viſible eſtate in this world? There are bodies both in heauen and in hell by the conſent of the beſt Diuines, new and old. How then is their ſtate oppoſite to our viſible ſtate? Moſes and Elias were ſeene talking with Chriſt in the mount. What place will you appoint for them ſince they were viſible? And if the world of the dead be nothing elſe but an eſtate oppoſite to our viſible eſtate, then Chriſt after his reſurrection relapſed often to hades, & to the world of the dead; for he was inuiſible to all men as long as he ſtaied on earth, but when and where he was pleaſed to ſhew himſelfe. And if that be true which you your ſelfe doe ſay, that [l] *in very deed hades hath properly but a priuatiue ſenſe, and not any thing poſitiue in it*, then your additions of place and region be repugnant to the nature of hades, except you can bring vs a place and region of meere priuations, in which is nothing poſitiue; and conſequently your varieties and expoſitions

[f] Defenc. pag. 181. li. 17.

[g] *Luce.16.*

[h] Defenc. pag. 181. li. 27.

[i] *Ibidem li. 31.*

How the defender wauereth about Hades.

[k] *Ibidem li. 35.*

[l] Defenc. pag. 17. 8li. 35.

tions

tions of hades be meere illuſions, and haue nothing in them but lies and mockeries. For hades is a place below in the earth, and darke by condition, as wherein nothing is ſeene, as both Chriſtians and Pagans affirme. Hades therefore is no meere priuation. If the ſoule of Chriſt then after death were in hades, it was not at the ſame time in heauen, for heauen is oppoſite throughout the Scriptures to hades; and your owne common and inuiſible place of both is a priuate and palpable errour of your owne.

[n] Defenc. pag. 182. li. 1. li. 10. [n] *Laſt of all we may take Hades heere by a proſopopaa conceauing it to be (as it were) ſome perſon of vnreſiſtable power taking away & withholding from hence all mens ſoules departed. This laſt way is not the vnlikelieſt.*] You haue created vs new places of meere priuations, which neuer were, now you take vpon you to create ſome new perſons of vnreſiſtable power; and all this you confeſſe is your *conceauing* and drawing Saint Lukes wordes whither you liſt. But what hath the Chriſtian faith to doe with theſe monſtrous and impious conceits of yours? For euen here, where you ſpeake of Chriſt, you conceaue as it were, ſome perſon of vnreſiſtable power, which you call hades, that did and doth take his and all mens ſoules from hence. Had hades any power ouer Chriſt, which he could not reſiſt? Will you beginne to play the Manichee in conceauing a power of euill vnreſiſtable to the Sonne of God? and why runne you hunting after ſtrange ſenſes and ſignifications of the word hades, when you haue the ſame Canonicall writer whoſe wordes you would interpret, expounding this very word in the Goſpel, which he likewiſe wrote, as well as he did the Acts of the Apoſtles? *The* [n] *place of torment*, where the rich man was puniſhed after death, Saint Luke in his Goſpell expreſly calleth ᾅδης, *hades*. Would you wiſh any better expoſitor of Saint Lukes wordes, then Saint Luke himſelfe, who telleth you that he calleth the place of torment for the wicked after this life by the name of Hades? Put his owne expoſition to his owne words, and you may ſoone ſee the trueth; if you haue not ſworne to reſiſt it. *Thou wilt not leaue my ſoule in hades, that is the place of torment* for the wicked. Againſt this expoſition, though it be Saint Lukes, you bend your wittes; and though you feare no ſhadowes, as you told vs euen now, hauing hades for your helper, yet you catch after ſhadowes, and cannot ſee the light of trueth, you beate your braines ſo much about figures and phraſes, which haue no warrant but in your ſlender conceit and ſlipperie tongue. Howbeit let vs heere them, ſince you reſt ſo aſſured of them.

[n] Luk. 16. verſ. 23.

[o] Defenc. pag. 182. li. 13. [o] *You obiect we muſt not make a figuratiue ſenſe but where manifeſt need is. Heere is no need of a figuratiue ſenſe: therefore heere ought to be no figure to be ſuppoſed. I anſwer: Firſt we graunt your concluſion. Whether of the two former waies we take hades, there is ſimply no figure at all therein.*] If you take hades for the place, where ſoules after this life are kept in darkneſſe and deſtruction vnder the earth, you make no figure indeed by the verdict of holy Scriptures; elſe, take it how you will, it is a figure, or a meere fiction of yours, which is woorſe then a figure. For ſince hades by your confeſſion is originally the *place*, where nothing is ſeene, if you take hades either for the *ſtate* of ſoules in that place, or for the *power*, or *perſon* of him who is ruler of that place, you do neither of theſe without a figure. As for the priuation of this life, which muſt vſually be precedent before a man can goe to that place, becauſe it is a place for the dead and not for the liuing, (ſome onely excepted, who deſcended to hades aliue); That is a paſſage to the place or ſtate of hades, it is not the place or ſtate of it ſelfe, ſince either of theſe is poſitiue and not meerely priuatiue, and expreſſeth the condition of ſoules receaued in that place, and not onely the want of this life. As for one common place or ſtate of all ſoules deceaſed, this is your vnwiſe fanſie, which hath no ground either in diuinity or humane learning, by reaſon you take the forſaking and lacking of this life, for a ſtate or place of men departed, in which no man ſtaieth; but is preſently caried by angels good or badde, to the places of receit, where they remaine in ioy or paine, according to the difference of their manſions, which are either heauen or hell.

[p] Defenc. pag. 182. li. 18. [p] *Then your owne ſenſe of hell in this place is cleane ouerthrowen by your ſelfe. For whenſoeuer Hades or Sheôl doe ſignifie hell, it is indeed by a figure Synecdoche, where the whole*

is

is ſet for a part, which I haue prooued at large before, and particularly by Tremellius a ſufficient man for his Hebrew skill.] Of Sheol Tremellius ſpeaketh, of Hades he ſaith nothing; and his rule concerneth the vſe of that word in the old Teſtament, where Sheol importeth both the graue and hell, he ſpeaketh not of the new Teſtament, where hades is diſtinguiſhed in manifeſt wordes from *Thanatos*, death; and is by Saint Iohn made conſequent after death. Since then hades in Saint Lukes wordes is a different thing from the death of Chriſtes fleſh, which was not left in corruption, and a place appointed for the ſoules adiudged to torments after this life, as appeareth by his Goſpell; I make no figure in theſe wordes, *Thou wilt not leaue my ſoule in hell*, for all your large brags and weake proofes. And yet when I ſpake of no figuratiue ſenſe, I thereby excluded all metaphoricall ſignifications of the word hades, and not Synecdoche which admitteth the ſenſe to be proper as well in a part as in the whole.

[q] *Thirdly it ſeemeth conuenient, and alſo likelie to take hades heere by a Proſopopœa after our third ſenſe before noted. Which kinde of figure ſuppoſeth as it were a perſon of that thing which otherwiſe the word properly ſignifieth.*] He that careth for no trueth, may new caſt the Scriptures into what ſenſe he will by emptie figures. To take the place for the perſons poſſeſsing it, is not vnuſuall in the Scriptures. And ſo S. Iohn ſaith, [r] *Hades* (ſhall be) *caſt into the lake of fire*, meaning the diuell and his angels, and not your emphaticall power of death. But this is nothing to Saint Lukes words, *thou wilt not leaue my ſoule in hades*, ſince it can haue no ſenſe, that Chriſtes ſoule ſhould not be left in the diuell. The reſt of the places, which heere you repeate, and apply them with *ſeeming* to your ſenſes, we ſhall haue occaſion after to rippe vp: there we ſhall ſpeake farder of them. In the meane ſpace you will prooue without figures, that in the words of Saint Luke expreſsing Dauids ſentence, [t] *there ought of neceſſitie to be vnderſtoode a figuratiue ſenſe.* [t] *For take them literally* (as I doe) *and they impugne the grounds of faith and charitie, which is ſufficient to cauſe a figuratiue ſenſe in the Scriptures.*] I marueil all this while, that hauing ſo ſound exceptions againſt the literall ſenſe, as you talke of, you ſpend ſo much time in trifles, and let the maine matters alone. This is woorth the hearing if you can performe what you promiſe: otherwiſe a mountaine doth hatch a mouſe, which the prouerbe telleth you will mooue laughter. But how doth the ſenſe, which I giue, impugne faith and charitie?

q Defenc. pag 182. li. 24.

r Reuel. 20.

t pag. 182. li. 38.

& pag. 183. li. 1.

[u] *Verily this your ſenſe implyeth by the way and conſequently, that a good and ſinneleſſe man (yea the beſt that euer was) woorthie of Paradiſe and the higheſt heauens, yet after death did goe to hell. And further that being in heauen, yet ſtaied not there (as you ſay) but immediately came out againe to goe to hell. Againe that an humane ſoule being in the depth of hell, yet ſhould feele no paines; and that being locally in hell, it ſhould come out thence alſo: What can be more againſt the generall rules of the Scriptures then theſe things?*] You haue laboured heard, and caught a herring. With much a doe you haue found at length, that Chriſt was a good man; he is more beholding to you now then afore, when you told vs, he was all *defiled, accurſed, and hatefull* to God for and with our ſinnes. Your leaſure did not ſerue you to thinke, that he was alſo the true and eternall Sonne of God; and therefore no force of death or hell could preuaile on his body or ſoule, farder then he was willing for the declaration of his humilitie, and manifeſtation of his power and glorie. Is it againſt your faith and charitie, that [x] *all knees of thoſe in heauen and earth, and hell, ſhould ſtoupe and bow* to the humane nature of the ſonne of God? Is your Creed ſo crazed, that you can not beleeue that Chriſt *riſing* [y] *ſpoiled Principalities and powers, and made an open ſhew of them; triumphing ouer them in his owne perſon?* Is grace ſo farre gone from you, that you may not endure to heare that Chriſt [z] *deſcended firſt into the lower parts of the earth, and then aſcended* (againe) *on hie, and ledde captiuitie captiue, and gaue gifts to men*, whereof deliuerance and freedome from all power and danger of hell and Satan were not the laſt nor leaſt? But he was a man you ſay, though a good man, and therefore you thinke he muſt be ſubiected to the ſame ſtraights, that other mortall and ſinnefull men are, to *feele paines in* hell, *and not to come out from thence.*] This, which you call faith, is infidelitie

u Defenc. pag. 183. li. 5.

x Phil. 2.

y Coloſſ. 2.

z Epheſ. 4.

fidelitie againſt the Sonne of God, whiles you ſeeke to tie him with the ſame chaines of darkneſſe and weakeneſſe, wherewith wicked and ſinnefull men are tied, that are adiudged to euerlaſting damnation. To be condemned to hell is for misbeleeuers and miſliuers; to deſtroy the power and ſtrength of hell was meete only for the manhood of the Sonne of God. That he felt no paines there, and returned thence, were the ſmalleſt parts of his glorious triumph ouer hell and Satan. *It was impoſſible*, as Peter teacheth, that the *paines of death* or hell ſhould take hold on him, and *his ſoule* could *not be left there*. As for comming out of heauen to goe to hell to ſubdue and deſtroy the ſame, what more inconuenience is in that, then in comming from heauen to the graue, there to take vp his body, when he reſtored it to life? that wicked men condemned to hell cannot come thence, nor find eaſe there, I find it teſtified in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus; that the Sonne of God in his humane ſoule could not goe thither without abiding there for euer, and ſuffering the paines of hell as well as others; I find no ſuch grounds in all the Scriptures. He ſaith of himſelfe,
[a] Reuel.1. [a] *I haue the keies of hell and of death*; that is all power and command ouer them. He had power then not onely to free himſelfe from your faithleſſe doubts and dangers
[b] 1.Cor.15. in hell, but to free all his elect from thence, and to [b] *ſubiect all things, and enemies* (and ſo the ſtrength and rage of hell and Satan) *vnder his feet*. If the trueth of God bind you to beleeue, that *an Angell comming downe from heauen, caſt the Diuell into the bottomleſſe pit*, and there bound him, and looſed him, as he was preſcribed; doth not your faith ſerue you to confeſſe, that *all power in heauen and in earth*, and much more in hell, was giuen vnto Chriſt; and that as well ouer rebellious Diuels, as obedient Angels, who adored him when he was brought into the world, and ſerued him the time that he was in the world, and are not ſtronger then his humane nature, but receaue power from him as being perſonally God and Man? theſe be the grounds not of faith, but of ignorance, which faile vnder your feete, and ſhew that you build on Sand, which hath no force, when it commeth to be ſifted.

From the grounds of faith, which are none, you come to the circumſtances of the place it ſelfe, and ſay, *they are all againſt me*; but I that hitherto haue tried you ſo falſe conceited in euery thing, will not truſt you to be true-tonged in this, whatſoeuer you
[c] Sermo.pag. 169.li.10. pretend. [c] *Theſe wordes* (of Dauid.) *thou wilt not leaue my ſoule in hades, nor ſuffer thine holy one to ſee corruption*; I ſaid, *contemned a ſpeciall prerogatiue verified in none, but in the true Meſſias and Sauiour of the world.* To this you replie, [[d] *I denie it, heere is no ſuch*
[d] Defenc.pag. 183.li.25. *prerogatiue mentioned.*] It is all one skill in you to denie trueths, and affirme falſehoodes: you cannot doe the one without the other. And heere your fanſies thrung ſo faſt one on another, that they thruſt ech other out of doores. [The maine ſcope of Saint Peters purpoſe in this place you doe not, or will not vnderſtand, and on that error you build the reſt of your reaſons, which are all erroneous like the roote whence
[e] Defenc.pag. 18.li.37. & 17. they come. Saint Peter, you ſay, [e] *intending onely in all this ſpeach to ſhew the Iewes, that this Ieſus whom they had ſlaine was not now dead, but riſen againe, plainely graunteth all this matter of Dauid, as well as of Chriſt.*] Heere are two monſtrous falſeſhoods, on which all the reſt of your running reaſons are ſetled. It had been to ſmall purpoſe for Peter to prooue to the Iewes, that Chriſt by them ſlaine was raiſed from the graue and reſtored to life, if there he had reſted, or *intended that onely* as you ſtifly auouch: what could he by this haue inferred more touching Chriſt, then any man might likewiſe of Lazarus, whom Chriſt raiſed from the graue? This therefore was not Peters ſcope, he had an higher and farder reach in that long Sermon of his, which he throughly expreſſeth
[f] Act.2. v.36. afterward, and that was: [f] *Therefore let all the houſe of Iſrael know for aſſuertie, that God hath made him both* LORD AND CHRIST, *this Ieſus* (I ſay) *whom ye haue crucified.* To conclude this, Peter doth not reaſon ſo weakely, as you imagine; Chriſts ſoule is ioined againe to his body, though they crucified him; *ergo*, Chriſt is the true Meſsias and Sauiour of the world. This were like one of your reaſons, which haue nor head nor taile. But Peter endued with the holy Ghoſt, reaſoned verie truely and ſufficiently, and in effect thus. The propheſie of Dauid which neuer was nor could be fulfilled

filled in any, no not in Dauid himselfe, but onely in the Messias, that his soule should not be left in hades, nor his flesh see corruption, is fulfilled in Christ, whom you crucified: he is risen Lord of all his enemies in his owne person, the sorrowes of death being losed before him; he is ascended vp to heauen, as Dauid likewise foretold of him, and there sitteth at the right hand of God, vntill all his enemies in the rest of his members be made his footstoole; and thence hath he shed forth this, which you now see and heare, euen the promise of the holy Ghost receaued of the Father for all his. Know ye therefore for a suertie, that God hath made him both Lord ouer all in heauen, earth, and hell; and Christ, euen the annointed Sauiour of all his elect. Against this illation neither all the miscreants in earth, nor all the Diuels in hell can open their mouths. Where first we may see, that Peter resteth more on the manner and power of Christs resurrection, then simply on this, that his soule was reunited to his body, from which by death it was seuered. Secondly, he bringeth the words of Dauid to shew, that either part of the Messias submitted to death for the time, was to returne againe to life with greater glory; the flesh free from all corruption, the soule superiour to all destruction. Thirdly, that these things neither were, nor could be verified in Dauid, since Dauid saw corruption, as his sepulchre prooued remaining to that day, and Dauid was not as then ascended to heauen, much lesse made Lord ouer all his enemies.

[g] *Heere is no such prerogatiue mentioned.*] If this were common to Christ with Dauid and others of the faithfull, how could Peter hence conclude, that this was not spoken of Dauid but onely of the Messias? Againe if this were no prerogatiue, what need was there, that Dauid should be a *Prophet* by speciall reuelation to know this much? and that which Dauid knew, was not onely this that Christ should rise to life againe, but the words are, that [h] *God would raise vp Christ* (after death) *to set him on his throne*; that is, to giue him an *euerlasting kingdome*, euen *all power in heauen and earth*, subiecting all his enemies vnder his feet. So that simply to rise from death was no prerogatiue, nor proper to Christ; but to rise Lord ouer all, death and hell not excepted, this was peculiar to Christ, and not common to him with Dauid; and therefore must needes be a speciall priuiledge to the manhood of Christ, which is expressed chiefly in these words, *Thou wilt not forsake my soule in hades*, but bring me thence conquerer of all mine enemies. g Defenc. pag. 183. li. 25. h Act. 2. v. 30.

[i] *You adde, no flesh* (dead) *was euer free from corruption but onely Christes, what then? ergo his soule was in hell?*] Why winch you, where no man toucheth you? doth any man say Christes soule was in hell, because his flesh saw no corruption, or rather that Dauids wordes are as plaine and peculiar to Christ in the one, that *Christes soule was not forsaken in hell*; as in the other, that *God would not suffer his flesh to see corruption?* and both being affirmed of Christ by way of speciall prerogatiue, why should not both be likewise performed in Christ? [k] *were not some being dead raised to life againe, before their flesh putrified?*] The promise of God to Christ, that his flesh should not see corruption, doth not onely assure a speedie resurrection, but an impossibilitie, that any corruption could preuaile against his flesh: since the returne of his flesh to dust, to which all others are iudged, would bee the dissolution of his person, for the time, which by no meanes might befall him, his Godhead being vnited vnto flesh, and not vnto dust. In these words therefore of Dauid, the soule and bodie of Christ were appointed to be superiour to all contrarie powers, that is the soule to hell, the flesh to the graue; and from both was Christ to rise as subduer of both, that he might sit on his heauenly Throne, as Lord ouer all, not by promise onely as before, but by proofe also, as appeared in his resurrection. And yet so many dayes, as Christ did, lyeth no man in his graue without some taint of corruption, which in Christ was vtterly none. i Defenc pag. 183. li. 35. k li. 38. *Christes flesh could not putrifie.*

[l] *It is a strange absurditie, still to abuse your Reader, calling this word hell, which indeede is nothing but death in effect. Againe to presume that we take it for Paradise, or heauen, or hell: when wee referre it alwayes to the generall state of the dead, and no farder immediately.*] Then when you expound the wordes of the Creede Christ descended to hades, your meaning l Defenc pag. 184. li 7.

fidelitie againſt the Sonne of God, whiles you ſeeke to tie him with the ſame chaines of darkneſſe and weakeneſſe, wherewith wicked and ſinnefull men are tied, that are adiudged to euerlaſting damnation. To be condemned to hell is for misbeleeuers and miſſliuers; to deſtroy the power and ſtrength of hell was meete only for the manhood of the Sonne of God. That he felt no paines there, and returned thence, were the ſmalleſt parts of his glorious triumph ouer hell and Satan. *It was impoſſible*, as Peter teacheth, that the *paines of death* or hell ſhould take hold on him, and *his ſoule* could *not be left there*. As for comming out of heauen to goe to hell to ſubdue and deſtroy the ſame, what more inconuenience is in that, then in comming from heauen to the graue, there to take vp his body, when he reſtored it to life? that wicked men condemned to hell cannot come thence, nor find eaſe there, I find it teſtified in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus; that the Sonne of God in his humane ſoule could not goe thither without abiding there for euer, and ſuffering the paines of hell as well as others; I find no ſuch grounds in all the Scriptures. He ſaith of himſelfe,
[a] Reuel.1. [a] *I haue the keies of hell and of death*; that is all power and command ouer them. He had power then not onely to free himſelfe from your faithleſſe doubts and dangers
[b] 1.Cor.15. in hell, but to free all his elect from thence, and to [b] *ſubiect all things, and enemies* (and ſo the ſtrength and rage of hell and Satan) *vnder his feet*. If the trueth of God bind you to beleeue, that *an Angell comming downe from heauen, caſt the Diuell into the bottomleſſe pit*, and there bound him, and looſed him, as he was preſcribed; doth not your faith ſerue you to confeſſe, that *all power in heauen and in earth*, and much more in hell, was giuen vnto Chriſt; and that as well ouer rebellious Diuels, as obedient Angels, who adored him when he was brought into the world, and ſerued him the time that he was in the world, and are not ſtronger then his humane nature, but receaue power from him as being perſonally God and Man? theſe be the grounds not of faith, but of ignorance, which faile vnder your feete, and ſhew that you build on Sand, which hath no force, when it commeth to be ſifted.

From the grounds of faith, which are none, you come to the circumſtances of the place it ſelfe, and ſay, *they are all againſt me*; but I that hitherto haue tried you ſo falſe conceited in euery thing, will not truſt you to be true-tonged in this, whatſoeuer you
[c] Sermo.pag. 169.li.10. pretend. [c] *Theſe wordes* (of Dauid.) *thou wilt not leaue my ſoule in hades, nor ſuffer thine holy one to ſee corruption*; I ſaid, *contemned a ſpeciall prerogatiue verified in none, but in the true Meſſias and Sauiour of the world.* To this you replie, [[d] *I denie it, heere is no ſuch*
[d] Defenc.pag. 183.li.25. *prerogatiue mentioned.*] It is all one skill in you to denie trueths, and affirme falſehoodes: you cannot doe the one without the other. And heere your fanſies thrung ſo faſt one on another, that they thruſt ech other out of doores. [The maine ſcope of Saint Peters purpoſe in this place you doe not, or will not vnderſtand, and on that error you build the reſt of your reaſons, which are all erroneous like the roote whence
[e] Defenc.pag. 18.li.37. & 17. they come. Saint Peter, you ſay, [e] *intending onely in all this ſpeach to ſhew the Iewes, that this Ieſus whom they had ſlaine was not now dead, but riſen againe, plainely graunteth all this matter of Dauid, as well as of Chriſt.*] Heere are two monſtrous falſeſhoods, on which all the reſt of your running reaſons are ſetled. It had been to ſmall purpoſe for Peter to prooue to the Iewes, that Chriſt by them ſlaine was raiſed from the graue and reſtored to life, if there he had reſted, or *intended that onely* as you ſtifly auouch: what could he by this haue inferred more touching Chriſt, then any man might likewiſe of Lazarus, whom Chriſt raiſed from the graue? This therefore was not Peters ſcope, he had an higher and farder reach in that long Sermon of his, which he throughly expreſſeth
[f] Act.2. v.36. afterward, and that was: [f] *Therefore let all the houſe of Iſrael know for a ſuertie, that God hath made him both* LORD AND CHRIST, *this Ieſus* (I ſay) *whom ye haue crucified.* To conclude this, Peter doth not reaſon ſo weakely, as you imagine; Chriſts ſoule is ioined againe to his body, though they crucified him; *ergo*, Chriſt is the true Meſsias and Sauiour of the world. This were like one of your reaſons, which haue nor head nor taile. But Peter endued with the holy Ghoſt, reaſoned verie truely and ſufficiently, and in effect thus. The propheſie of Dauid which neuer was nor could be fulfilled

filled in any, no not in Dauid himselfe, but onely in the Messias, that his soule should not be left in hades, nor his flesh see corruption, is fulfilled in Christ, whom you crucified: he is risen Lord of all his enemies in his owne person, the sorrowes of death being losed before him; he is ascended vp to heauen, as Dauid likewise foretold of him, and there sitteth at the right hand of God, vntill all his enemies in the rest of his members be made his footstoole; and thence hath he shed forth this, which you now see and heare, euen the promise of the holy Ghost receaued of the Father for all his. Know ye therefore for a suertie, that God hath made him both Lord ouer all in heauen, earth, and hell; and Christ, euen the annointed Sauiour of all his elect. Against this illation neither all the miscreants in earth, nor all the Diuels in hell can open their mouths. Where first we may see, that Peter resteth more on the manner and power of Christs resurrection, then simply on this, that his soule was reunited to his body, from which by death it was seuered. Secondly, he bringeth the words of Dauid to shew, that either part of the Messias submitted to death for the time, was to returne againe to life with greater glory; the flesh free from all corruption, the soule superiour to all destruction. Thirdly, that these things neither were, nor could be verified in Dauid, since Dauid saw corruption, as his sepulchre prooued remaining to that day, and Dauid was not as then ascended to heauen, much lesse made Lord ouer all his enemies.

[g] *Heere is no such prerogatiue mentioned.*] If this were common to Christ with Dauid and others of the faithfull, how could Peter hence conclude, that this was not spoken of Dauid but onely of the Messias? Againe if this were no prerogatiue, what need was there, that Dauid should be a *Prophet* by speciall reuelation to know this much? and that which Dauid knew, was not onely this that Christ should rise to life againe, but the words are, that [h] *God would raise vp Christ* (after death) *to set him on his throne*; that is, to giue him an *euerlasting kingdome*, euen *all power in heauen and earth*, subiecting all his enemies vnder his feet. So that simply to rise from death was no prerogatiue, nor proper to Christ; but to rise Lord ouer all, death and hell not excepted, this was peculiar to Christ, and not common to him with Dauid; and therefore must needes be a speciall priuiledge to the manhood of Christ, which is expressed chiefly in these words, *Thou wilt not forsake my soule in hades*, but bring me thence conquerer of all mine enemies.

g Defenc. pag. 183. li. 25.

h Act. 2. v. 30.

[i] *You adde, no flesh* (dead) *was euer free from corruption but onely Christes, what then? ergo his soule was in hell?*] Why winch you, where no man toucheth you? doth any man say Christes soule was in hell, because his flesh saw no corruption, or rather that Dauids wordes are as plaine and peculiar to Christ in the one, that *Christes soule was not forsaken in hell*; as in the other, that *God would not suffer his flesh to see corruption?* and both being affirmed of Christ by way of speciall prerogatiue, why should not both be likewise performed in Christ? [k] *were not some being dead raised to life againe, before their flesh putrified?*] The promise of God to Christ, that his flesh should not see corruption, doth not onely assure a speedie resurrection, but an impossibilitie, that any corruption could preuaile against his flesh: since the returne of his flesh to dust, to which all others are iudged, would bee the dissolution of his person, for the time, which by no meanes might befall him, his Godhead being vnited vnto flesh, and not vnto dust. In these words therefore of Dauid, the soule and bodie of Christ were appointed to be superiour to all contrarie powers, that is the soule to hell, the flesh to the graue; and from both was Christ to rise as subduer of both, that he might sit on his heauenly Throne, as Lord ouer all, not by promise onely as before, but by proofe also, as appeared in his resurrection. And yet so many dayes, as Christ did, lyeth no man in his graue without some taint of corruption, which in Christ was vtterly none.

i Defenc pag. 183. li. 35.

k li. 38. *Christes flesh could not putrifie.*

[l] *It is a strange absurditie, still to abuse your Reader, calling this word hell, which indeede is nothing but death in effect. Againe to presume that we take it for Paradise, or heauen, or hell: when wee referre it alwayes to the generall state of the dead, and no farder immediately.*] Then when you expound the wordes of the Creede Christ descended to hades, your meaning

l Defenc pag. 184. li 7.

meaning is nothing in effect, but that Christ died, which was before deliuered in plained and shorter wordes; and so your exposition is an idle and obscure repetition. Againe, hades in the new Testament is neuer taken for the death of the bodie, since it is annexed to bodily death, as a consequent after it: and so your acception of it is repugnant to the trueth of the Scriptures. And where you will at no time haue Hades taken for *Paradise, Heauen, or Hell*, as here you pretend; when you thereby note the place of soules deceased, meane you they are neither in Heauen, Paradise, nor Hell? are you not a wise man to talke so much of an inuisible place; and when you come to the point, you will haue it no place at all? but you *referre it alwayes to the generall state of the dead, and no farder immediately.*] An inuisible place you referre immediately to no place, and thus when you will be frantike or foolish, words shall loose their proper and plaine signification, and containe no more then pleaseth you. Shew vs a place, where soules deceased are besides Paradise, Heauen, and Hell; and wee will graunt, you may exclude these three by some pretence, when you spake of the place of hades: but if you cannot, then *topos aides*, a place vnseene, which you haue so much bowled at, will be a place in spite of your heart, and that immediately; and consequently will bee Paradise, Heauen, or Hell, whatsoeuer you presume or dreame to the contrarie.

[m] Defenc. pag. 184. li. 17. [m] *Christ had another inestimable cause to reioyce that he was raised to life againe, namely that he might fulfill his whole worke for our saluation, which before his resurrection and ascension he could not accomplish.*] When I told you, that Christ after death was to conquere Hell, and to free vs thence; you would needes defend, that Christ on the Crosse perfited our redemption, and wrought our saluation; and now you say, which I take to bee the truer, though you meane not to bee constant therein, that before his resurrection and ascension hee could not accomplish the worke of our saluation.

[a] Defenc. pag. 184 li. 27. *How Christ loosed the sorrowes of death.* [a] *The text saith, God raised him vp, loosing the sorrowes of death; because it was impossible for him to be holden fast of it. Will you conclude from hence: ergo there were present sorrowes in the place where Christ was? there is no strength in this reason.*] There is more strength in it, then either you will acknowledge, or can answere. The sorrowes of bodily death are all dissolued by the separating of the soule from the bodie. Then after death there are no sorrowes of bodily death. But God raised vp Christ, loosing the sorrowes of (Hades or) death. The sorrowes of death (by Peters wordes) were then loosed, when Christ was raised, because it was not possible for him to be held thereof. So that this pertaineth nothing to the sorrowes, which he felt dying; they ended all with death; but the sorrowes of an other death, euen of death in hell, were loosed when he was raised, because it was not possible for that kind of death to take hold on him. Your *two or three things*, wherewith you would shift of the Apostles wordes, doe you no good. That *God* [o] *loosed death from him*, are not the Apostles wordes; you make a gloze vpon your owne wordes, and not vpon the Apostles. Such libertie you take to change the text to serue your turne. The next is farder of from the reference of Peters words. God loosed the sorrowes of death (or Hades) at Christs rising, that is say you, because his death had beene most painefull, before his Soule was seuered from his body. So Peter talketh of Christs rising, and you wrest it to Christs dying on the Crosse. And here your hebraisme will not steede you. For God did not loose the sorrowfull death of Christ on the Crosse at his rising, but at his dying. And therefore you are wider of, then you were before. Thus then it followeth euen by the Text, that there were sorrowes in Hades, where Christ was, but they could not take hold of him. The sorrowes of Hades must needes be the sorrowes in Hades: otherwise if they were not in Hades, they were not the sorowes of Hades. As the ioyes of heauen are in heauen; so the sorrowes of Hades must be in Hades, where Christ was, and not where Christ was not.

[o] li 32.

[p] Defenc. pag. 185. li. 4. [p] *The very text implieth, that Christ was holden in this, which was loosed from him.*] Saint Austen saith you fitten. Snares may be broken and loosed, *ne teneant, non quia tenuerunt, not because they haue taken hold, but that they should not take hold.* [(κρατῆσαι)

you

you ſay *is to be holden faſt.*] Your Greekiſh conceits croſsing Saint Auſtins iudgement, taſte more of will then of skill. *Krateiſthai* hath many ſignifications, amongſt others it ſignifieth *to touch, to take, to hold*; and in the the new Teſtament it is ſpecially obſerued by thoſe, that are learned, that it ſignifieth, *prehendere* or *tenere, to take, or to hold.* The Maries that went to Chriſtes Sepulchre, meeting him as they came thence, [q] ἐκράτησαν αὐτοῦ τοὺ πόδας, *touched his feete, and worſhipped him.* When Simons mother in law was ſicke of a feuer, Chriſt [r] κρατήσας τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῆς, *taking her by the hand, lift her vp.* The rulers daughter of the Synagogue, Chriſt likewiſe, [s] ἐκράτησε τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῆς, *tooke her by the hand, and the maid aroſe.* Your Lexicons will tell you, that κρατεῖν ſtandeth often for ἅπτεσθαι *to touch.* Now if you may chooſe, what ſignification you will haue in euery word, you are no Reader, but an ouer ruler of the Scriptures. Howbeit we now ſee Saint Auſtin hath better warrant in the Scriptures for his *tenêre*, then you were ware of.

[q] Mat.28.v

[r] Mar.1.

[s] Matth.9.

Thou wilt not leaue my ſoule in Hades. [t] *I ſay he was now in the ſame, wherein he was not left nor forſaken.*] I ſay the ſame, and by your owne ſaying conuince you, that if S. Luke by Hades heere ſignifie hell, as he doth in his Goſpell; Chriſtes *ſoule was in hell* (by your owne illation), *in which it was not left nor forſaken.* [u] *But hee was in no ſorrowes at all now.*] Then is Saint Auſtins aſſertion confeſſed by your ſelfe, the ſorowes of death were looſed at Chriſtes riſing, not that they had taken hold on him, but that they ſhould not take any hold of him, or ſo much as touch him. [*If he were in them, I thinke he ſhould haue felt them.*] The Scripture ſaith his ſoule was not left εἰς ἅδου, in (the place of) Hades: it ſpeaketh not there of the ſorrowes of Hades, as if Chriſt were not forſaken in them. But God, as Peter ſaith, *looſed them, when he raiſed Chriſt*; that is, hee made Chriſt the ſubduer and diſſoluer of them at his reſurrection. [x] *You mightily vrge that it is Auſtins collection, from this text. I perceaue your argument is from Auſtin, and not from Peter, as you pretend.*] It is better to imitate Auſten and his collections, then to reſt on your idle braine, as you doe; and when you haue cleane miſtaken both the ſcope and wordes of the text, to range after butterflies. Howbeit if it had pleaſed you to looke better into the 169. and 170. Page of my Sermons, you ſhould haue found moe reaſons there then Auſtins collections. But your anſweres and diſproofes a man may ſoone perceaue come out of the bottome of your pocket, for there is neither trueth nor learning in them.

[t] Defenc.p. 185.li.10.

[u] li.12.

[x] li.27.

[y] *Auſten miſſed in his tranſlation of theſe wordes. Thus he readeth, ſolutis doloribus Inferni, quia impoſſibile erat teneri eum in illis: God raiſed vp Chriſt looſing the ſorrowes of hell, becauſe it was impoſſible he ſhould be held in them. But the text hath looſing the ſorowes of death, ſeeing it was impoſſible he ſhould be holden faſt, or ſtrongly holden of it. Seeing therefore he fayled in expreſſing the text, no maruaile if his collection from it were wide.*] He that neuer ſaw water but the Themes, will thinke there is none other Sea. You neuer looke neither to the diuerſe readings, nor ſignifications of wordes in the new Teſtament, and that maketh you ſo haſtely to pronounce, that [z] *Auſtins collection hath no ground nor reaſon in the text, but is wholly diſproued by it.* Auſten followed the auncient and receiued tranſlation of the Church in his time, and miſſed not ſo much, as you imagine. For that Text hath two readings, ſome bookes hauing *Thanáton* death, ſome hauing *Hadou*, which the old tranſlator calleth *infernum*, the places below, or *hell.* Peruſe the new Teſtament in Greeke of the larger volume printed by Robert Steuen at Paris *Anno* 1550. and ſee whether he put not *Hadou* ouer right this place in the margine, as ſtanding yet in many copies. The Greeke Bible printed at Frankford, *Anno* 1596. confeſſeth the like varietie of reading. Athanaſius vſeth ſometimes [a] τὰς ὠδῖνας ἔλυσε τοῦ ἅδου, *hee looſed the ſorrowes of Hades*; and ſometies [a] τὰς ὠδῖνας τοῦ θανάτου, *the ſorrowes of death.* So doth Epiphanius: Peter ſaith, *It was impoſſible (Chriſt) ſhould be held* ἐπ' αὐτῇ, τουτέστιν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἅδου, *of it, that is of hades.* And againſt the Arians. *It is ſayd by the Apoſtle, it was impoſſible that he ſhould be held* [c] ἐπὶ τοῦ ἅδου *of hades.* The Syriack tranſlation reuerenced for antiquitie and fidelitie, keepeth the word *Sheiul* twice in the foure and twentieth verſe of this Chapter, and ſaith. [d] *But God raiſed him vp and*

[z] Ibidem li. 33.

Many Greeke copies haue the ſorrowes of Hades.

[a] *Athanaſ. in paſſion. & crucem Domini.*

[b] *Epipha. in Anchorat.*

[c] *Idem hereſ. 69. contra. Arriomanitas.*

[d] *Syriaca tranſl. Act.2.v.24.*

and loosed the sorrowes dashiul (of Sheol which Saint Luke calleth hades) *because it was impossible he should be detained bashiul*, (in Sheol or hades). The Arabicke translator doth the like. He retaineth in the same verse the word [e] *hawwito* twice, saying as Iunius rendreth it, [e] *God raised him vp, and scattered the sorrowes of perdition, because it was not possible that he should be cõquered of perdition.* Where Iunius plainly yeeldeth, that this word in Arabicke answereth the Greeke word [f] *hadou*, not *thanátou* which appeareth also in the 6 verse of the same chap. *Thou wilt not leaue my soule phi hawwito in perdition* Which Saint Luke calleth hades: and in the 10 *Christ was not left in perdition.* So that Austen had some reason more then you knew, to follow the first translator concurring with many Greeke copies, that then were, and yet are extant, and with the Syricke and Arabicke translations, who followed the same copies with the Latin church. This text is cited in Ireneus: [g] *whom God raised, solutis doloribus inferorum, quia non erat possibile teneri eum ab eis, loosing the sorrowes of hell, because it was not possible for him to be held of them.* Cyprian thus expresseth it. [h] *Impossibile quippè erat sanctam illam animam teneri ab inferis. It was impossible for that sacred soule to be held of hell.* Fulgentius citeth it, [i] *Solutis inferni doloribus, the sorrowes of hell being loosed.* Bede taketh both for one in this place. [k] *Solutos per Dominum dicit dolores inferni, siue mortis. Peter saith the sorows of hell, or death were dissolued by Christ.* Since then both are found in many Greeke copies, and neither can be reiected as false; the name of death (if you retaine it) must be so expounded, as it may not impugne the force of hades: and death, hauing a double power, place, and subiect; as the death of the body heere on earth, and the death of the soule in hell hereafter; this later death and hell doe rightly match together, the sorrowes of which were losed by Christ, because it was impossible for him to be taken or touched by them.

[e] *Arabica trãs. Act. 4. v. 5.*

[f] *Iunij annotat. in eundem vers.*

[g] *Ireneus li. 3. cap. 12.*

[h] *Cyprianus de passione Christi.*

[i] *Fulgent. ad Trasimundum. li. 3.*

[k] *Bede retract. in Acta.*

Austen keepeth the sense of Peters words.

You quarrell also with the translation, which Austen followed, for saying, *in illis* in them; though that be the right intent of the text; and you sticke not to straine Peters words to what higth you list. So that you keepe the words, and alter the sense; and Austen keepeth the sense, though he vary somewhat from the words. For that was loosed, of which it was impossible Christ should be held, and euen therefore was it to be loosed, because he could not be held therein. But the sorrowes of death or hell were loosed. It was therefore impossible Christ should be held of them; I meane of the sorrowes of either. The sense then is rightly and aptly taken, though the plurall be put in steed of the singular; and Caluin himselfe in respect of the sense retaineth that change, though the words doe somewhat differ from the text. [l] *In this sense Peter saith, Christ rose, the sorowes of death being loosed, à quibus impossibile erat ipsum teneri, of which* (sorrowes) *it was impossible he should be held.* Now if you or any man els can find vs those sorrowes after Christs bodily death, we are readie to heare you, for they were loosed, when Christ was raised: but if you cannot, as in vaine you haue profered to doe, then must the words be expounded, that though the soule of Christ after death were in hades, euen in the place of torment, where it was not left nor forsaken; yet the sorowes thereof could not touch him, but he loosed and scattered them, when he was raised to immortality, and heauenly power and glory.

[l] *Caluin. instit. li. 2. ca. 16. § 11.*

[m] Defenc. pag 186. li. 11. [m] *Austen giues vs good leaue to refuse his collection and opinion heere, so that we bring better reason. Thus he saith, hæc expositio verborum Petri cui displicet: this exposition of Peters words he that liketh not &c.* He that will trust your reasons or reports, shalbe sure to haue his faith well fraighted with fables. Doth Austen say any such thing of Peters words *Acts* 2. as heere you write? or is [n] *he now here resolute and perswaded indeed,* that Christs soule after death descended to hell? what make you of these words in this verie Epistle, where you account him so wauering and vnresolued? [o] *The prophesie cannot be contradicted, which said, Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell: (which least any man should dare otherwise to interpret, Peter himselfe in the Acts of the Apostles so expoundeth) nor the same Peters words, where he affirmeth, that Christ loosed the sorrowes of hell, in which it was impossible he should be held. Who then but an Infidel will denie Christ to haue been apud inferos, in hell?* If this be not proofe sufficient, that Saint Austen was throughly

[n] li. 8.

[o] *Aug. ad Euod. epist. 99.*

perswaded

perſuaded of this point, heare him againe in the ſame Epiſtle. [p] *Quamobrem teneamus firmiſſimè, quod fides habet fundatiſſima authoritate firmata, quia Chriſtus mortuus eſt ſecundum Scripturas, & quia ſepultus eſt, & quia reſurrexit tertia die ſecundum Scripturas & cetera quæ de illo teſtatiſſima veritate conſcripta ſunt. In quibus etiam hoc eſt, quod apud inferos fuit, ſolutis eorum doloribus, quibus eum erat impoſſibile teneri. Wherefore let vs moſt firmely hold that, which our faith hath being confirmed by moſt grounded authority, as that Chriſt died according to the Scriptures, and was buried, and roſe the third day according to the Scriptures, and the reſt of thoſe things, which are written of him in trueth moſt cleerely teſtified. Amongſt which this is alſo one point, that he was in hell, and looſed the ſorrowes thereof, of which it was impoſſible he ſhould be held.* This is ſuch a reſolution, that if you were ſoberly minded, and not phantaſtically conceited, as well in doctrine as in Diſcipline, you would beware how you croſſed the faith of the whole Church without more pregnant and euident matter, then you haue any; and not thinke it enough to ſhift with Poeticall fanſies, metaphoricall ſenſes, and palpable contrarieties, and falſities, ſuch as few men would fall into beſides your ſelfe. And as for the expoſition of Peters wordes, which Auſten leaueth indifferent, if it diſlike any man; that concerneth the place of Peters firſt Epiſtle the third Chapter, beginning at the 18. verſe, *How Chriſt in ſpirit went, and preached vnto the ſpirits in priſon, who were diſobedient in the daies of Noe:* Which was the queſtion propoſed to him by Euodius, to whom he wrote his 99. Epiſtle. And of that he ſaith. [q] *Conſider yet, leaſt happely all that which Peter ſpeaketh of ſpirits cloſed in priſon, which beleeued not in the daies of Noe, omnino ad inferos non pertineat, ſed ad illa potius tempora, quorum formam ad hæc tempora tranſtulit: pertaine not at all to hell, but to thoſe times, which Peter compareth with theſe times.* And after large diſcourſing how that compariſon might ſtand, he concludeth with your words. *This expoſition of Peters words, if it diſlike any, or doe not ſatisfie, quærat ea ſecundum Inferos intelligere, let him ſeeke (in Gods Name) how to fit the things* (there written) *to them in hell.* So that his expoſition ſubiected to other mens liking, did not concerne hell at all, nor Chriſts preaching there, but the preaching of repentance in the daies of Noah by the ſpirit of Chriſt; and if any man liked not that expoſition of Peters words, he might ſeeke how to make Peters words agree with things done in hell, if he could tell how to performe it.

[p] *Ibidem.*

[q] *Ibidem epiſtola 99.*

[r] *Moe circumſtances of this text* (Acts 2.) *do make affirmatiuely for vs: firſt Peter plainly graunteth all this matter of Dauid, as wel as of Chriſt.*] But that I am well acquainted with your pertinacie, I ſhould muze at this inſolencie. Peter doth exactly proue, that this propheſie was neuer verified in Dauid, becauſe Dauids fleſh ſaw corruption, as was euident by his [s] *Sepulchre remaining* with them *to that day.* Since then it was not true of Dauids perſon, that he ſaw no corruption; he ſpake this as a [t] *Prophet, knowing that God had ſworne to raiſe vp Chriſt concerning the fleſh, to ſet him vpon his throne.* You may doe well to leaue this outfacing Scriptures and Fathers, it may ſeeme a ſhift for a time, but it will end with your ſhame. [[u] *By the whole text it is euident Peter had no reaſon nor purpoſe to ſpeake to the Iewes of Chriſtes ſoule being in hell.*] If you may be iudge, Peter ſhall ſay nothing, but what hitteth your hand right. It is more then plain by the whole purport of Peters ſpeech, that he ment to prooue Chriſt to be raiſed vp as Lord of all his enemies, and Sauiour of all that obey him. To riſe ſimply from death, was not ſufficient to ſhew the eternitie and ſoueraignte of Chriſts kingdome; but he muſt be raiſed as the only Lord, that ſhould ſit on Dauids throne, and haue all things in heauen, earth, and hell, ſubiected vnto him. From our enemies if hee could not deliuer vs, he could be no Sauiour of ours: he muſt therefore tread them all vnder his feete, when he roſe from death, before we could hope to be freed from them by his force. And to this end Peter expreſly maketh mention, that *God ſcattered the ſorrowes of death and hell* before him, when he raiſed him vp, that all the faithfull might be aſſured, as Chriſt conquered and deſtroied the diuell in his owne perſon, when he roſe from the graue, ſo he could and would doe the like for all his members by freeing them from the power of Hades, and conforming them to his death and

[r] Defenc. pag. 186. li. 16.

[s] Acts 2. v. 29.

[t] Ibid. ver. 30.

[u] Defenc pag. 186. li. 24.

How Chriſt muſt riſe from the dead.

The Iewes were promised their Messias should conquer hell.

resurrection. This God had promised to his people by his Prophet, saying: [z] *I will redeeme them from the hand of hell, I will deliuer them from death. O death, I will be thy death. O hell, I will be thy destruction. Repentance is hid from mine eies.* This Dauid foretold the Messias should performe, in that his soule should *not be forsaken* (that is, left destitute of power or honour) *no not in hell. Of this deliuerance from their enemies, and from the handes of all that hated them,* [y] *spake the Prophets, that were from the beginning of the worlde. This was the oath, that God sware to Abraham, that they being deliuered out of the handes of their enimies, should serue him without feare,* of sinne, death, or hell. This the Iewes beleeued, and expected in the Messias; and therefore neither were they, (I meane the elect among them) so [x] *ignorant, vnbeleeuing,* and *stubborne,* as you pretend, three thousand being conuerted with this one Sermon: neither was this so strange and *vncouth* a thing, as you imagine, being so often promised and prophesied vnto them: Neither did Peter *intend* onely Christes resurrection, as you suppose, his chiefe scope being to shew them the strength and height of Christs heauenly kingdome.

[z] Ose. 13.

[y] Luc. 1.

[x] Defenc. pag. 186. li. 33.

[a] Defenc pag. 186. li. 35.

And where you flourish, that this was [a] *not subiect to sense, and without all example of the like in the whole law, and namely no figure foreshewing any such thing:* these be obiections meeter for perfidious Iewes, then for those that would seeme to be beleeuers. How many points of faith are not subiect to sense? Christes sitting at the right hande of God in glorie, will you not beleeue, because *it is not subiect to sense, and without an example of the like, and no figure foreshadowing any such matter?* Of Christes ascending to heauen, and his returne to iudge the quicke and the dead, haue you any examples or figures in the whole law? and yet it is no such hard matter to proportion our deliuerance from hell and Satan to the bondage of Israell in Egypt, and the ouerwhelming of Pharoh and all his host in the bottom of the redde sea. The like might be said of Sampsons death, who being weake and bound slew all his enemies; of Dauid, and Goliah, of Daniell in the Lyons denne without harme, of Ionas lying in the Whales bellie, and such like, which though in all things they match not Christs conquest ouer Satan, and the destruction of him and his kingdome, as no figures can do, yet are they resemblances of that which you so much dissemble. Howbeit, as I said, of Christes birth, buriall, descending to Hades, rising, ascending, sitting in heauen, and comming to iudge, the law did not yeeld any expresse and visible figures, as it did of his death and sacrifice.

[b] Defenc. pag. 187. li. 9.

[b] *We haue seene that Hades hath no such meaning in the Acts; which yet is the only place whereon you build. This were sufficient to end this argument: but yet it shall be good to trie whether any where hades properly signifieth hell. Verily it doth so signifie no where at all in the Scriptures. Yet I graunt it is and ought to be translated hell in two places, Matth. 16. v. 18. Luk. 16. v. 23. not that the word it selfe doth necessarily signifie hell, but because the circumstances heere doe require that meaning as the fittest and best for these particular purposes.*] We haue seene you beate your braines about Hades to make it any thing rather then tha tindeed it is both by the generall opinion of all Pagan Poets, and by the constant assertion of all the Greeke Fathers. We haue also seene you turne & winde your selfe, you know not whither; sometimes to haue it *the place* for soules departed this world, sometimes the *state* of such soules; sometimes the *power* of death, and sometimes the *priuation* of this life; and so to crosse and controle your owne conceits, that you could not tell where to set foote without falling. Now as he that is blinde, maketh no difference betwixt day and night, no more doth your wilfull, yet witlesse imagination perceaue any distance betwixt trueth and falshood. And hauing held your owne so well, that no shifting or shuffling can make you ashamed, you will now proceed to a farder triall of other texts of Scriptures, to see whether you can outface them with your fansies and figures, as you haue done them that be already ouerpast. I make no doubt, but if you may sit sole Iudge in your owne cause, you will quickly pronounce for your selfe; but if you must prooue as well as pronounce, you will make as many errors in your proceedings, as there be holes in a sieue. Howbeit you *grant*, that in

How hades is vsed in the new Testament.

two

two places of the new Teſtament *Hades is and ought to be tranſlated hell, not for that the word of it ſelf doth ſo neceſſarily ſignifie*, but *becauſe the circumſtances require that meaning.* Which is as much as if you ſaid, there are two places in the new Teſtament, where hades is & muſt be taken for hel; neither can you with all your ſleights & ſhifts auoid the ſame; the circumſtances of the text ſo euidently demonſtrate, the Euangeliſts tooke hades for hell. This by your leaue is ſome preiudice to your cauſe, and a bridle to your boldneſſe, that the holy Ghoſt doth twice in the Goſpels by your owne confeſsion vſe hades for hell: and why he doth not vſe it in that ſenſe in other places, there is no impediment, but your proud will and waſte wordes. Saint Luke is ſo cleere, as no exception can be taken to it, that [c] *Hades is the place of torment* after this life; and not one common place for all in paine and reſt, with nothing but a ditch betwixt them. So likewiſe Chriſt promiſed, [d] *the gates of hades ſhould not preuaile* againſt his Church; where if you defend, that the godly ſhall not haue their ſoules ſeparated from their bodies by death, and yet hell may preuaile againſt their ſoules, you maintaine two as manifeſt lies, as a man may vtter. Spite of your hart therefore, Hades muſt ſignifie hell in the 16. of Saint Matthewes Goſpell; and ſo it doth in all other places of the new Teſtament, though the circumſtances of ech place be not ſo pregnant as theſe are. And though in the old Teſtament Zuinglius & Mollerus obſerue, *The gates of Sheol, and Hades* with the Septuagint, may ſignifie the danger of death approching, when it is referred to the godly, yet Hades in the new Teſtament neuer ſignifieth the death of the body, but it is a thing diſtinguiſhed from it, and conſequent to it, as Saint Iohn in plaine words doth witneſſe. *his name, that ſate on the pale horſe, was Death, and Hades followed after him* (or cloſe to him.)

[c] Luke. 16.

[d] Matth. 16.

[e] *The worthie* Maſter Bucer noteth well ſaying; *Diues non ſimpliciter ſcribitur eſſe in hade, ſed in gehenna quia in tormentis & flammis. The rich is not ſaid to be ſimply in hades, but alſo in hell: becauſe he is ſaid to be in fierie torments.*] Maſter Bucere I honor for his learning and Religion, yet not ſo, that all his words are Goſpell, or that I receaue him afore or againſt all the Fathers. And by his leaue in this place his wordes are out of ſquare. He ſaith, *The Rich man is not ſimply written to be in Hades*; but if mine eyes were matches, when I read Saint Lukes Goſpell laſt, it cannot be more ſimply written then it is there. [f] καὶ ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ, *And in Hades, lifting vp his eyes.* Now what place Hades is, the Euangeliſt expreſſeth, when he ſaith; *being in torments.* Had Hades beene vſed alone without explication, men might and would haue queſtioned this, as they doe other places, where Hades is vſed alone. But Luke noting afterward, what manner of place Hades is, euen a *place of Torment*, he prooueth exactly that Hades alone without any addition ioyned to it is vſed for hell in the new Teſtament. [g] [Will you *conclude from this, as you doe about Abyſſus? In the Reuelation and in Luke Abyſſus is vſed to ſignifie Hell. Therefore it ſignifieth Hell in the Romanes, or therefore euery where properly it ſignifieth Hell.*] If Abyſſus be the bottomleſſe pit properly, and hell be ſo called both in the Goſpell and in the Reuelation; and no reaſon can be giuen, why either the graue, or the Sea ſhould properly be called bottomleſſe; then ſince figures are not to be brought into the Scriptures but vpon neceſsitie, you muſt ſhew vs more neceſsitie, then hitherto you haue done, why hell may not be vnderſtood in that place, or elſe we muſt cleaue to the naturall ſenſe of the word, and leaue your figures, till you can better faſten them. That Abyſſus may metaphorically be applied to other things, I neuer denied; but in Saint Pauls words to the Romans you muſt ſhew vs a pit, that properly is bottomleſſe and oppoſite to heauen; and to which Chriſt deſcended, before you can exclude hell as not ment by the Apoſtle in that place. But of this I haue ſpoken before, whither I referre you for fuller anſwere [h] [*death ſometimes is the 2 death, ergo, it is ſo Acts 2. 24.*] The ſorrowes of the firſt death end with this life, and in the graue there is neither ſorrow nor ſenſe. But the ſorrowes of that death, which Peter ment, were looſed at Chriſts riſing to life. Thoſe were therefore the ſorrowes of another death, which muſt be the ſecond death, which were looſed and ſcattered with Chriſts reſurrection. Againe the text hath there a double rea-

[e] Defenc. pag. 188. li. 3.

[f] Luke. 16.

[g] *Pag. ibid. 8.*

Abyſſus in the new Teſtament is hell.

[h] Ibid. li. 11.

ding; *death* or *hades*. Then that death must be vnderstood, which is in hades, and not the sorrowes and paines, which are in this life; since hades by your owne confession is a state opposite to the world. Thirdly, the loosing of the sorrows of that death which Peter there intended, prooueth Christ to be Lord of all. But a simple rising vnto life againe prooueth no such thing. That therefore was neither pertinent nor sufficient for Peters purpose.

[1] Defenc. pag. 188. li. 16.

[1] *Next let vs consider, and thou Capernaum; which art lift vp to heauen, shalt be brought downe to hades, to destruction. I say hades heere is not hell; but the destruction of Capernaum the city. Christ threatneth the city it selfe with destruction, and razing out from the face of the earth, which he meaneth by hades. The inhabitants the wicked people thereof he threatneth with damnation in hell.*] A graue and wise construction. Christ threatneth the stones and timber of the city with hades for not hearing his word, and regarding his miracles. In the 20 verse of this very chapter, where it is said, [k] *Christ began to vpbraid the cities* (whereof Capernaum was one) *because they repented not*; of whom spake Christ of the men, or of the wals of those cities? it may be you will find out repentance for stones; but our Sauiour nameth the place for the persons, which is as vsuall in the Scriptures, as any thing may be. [l] *Ierusalem, Ierusalem, which killest the Prophets, and stonest those, that be sent vnto thee.* Christ speaketh not there of the houses, but of the Inhabitants. So doth he heere; for neither were the stones of this city capable of repentance, nor exalted vp to heauen, nor intelligent of Christs words or works, nor punishable at the day of iudgement; all which things Christ heere ascribeth to Capernaum. Then if the stones of Capernaum were not exalted to heauen, they were not threatned by Christ, to be depressed downe to hades. And so hades heere was not threatned to the place, but to the persons. Now the persons by your owne confession, and by the righteous iudgement of Christ, were threatned with *damnation in hell*. Hades then in these words of Christ doth exactly signifie hell, and implieth as much as followeth in the next verse; *It shalbe easier for the land of Sodom in the day of iudgement, then for thee*; Which is likewise spoken to the city, though ment of the vnbeleeuers there. Now if we make the former words interrogatiue, as some Greek copies haue them, and the Latin translator putteth them, *And thou Capernaum wilt thou be exalted to heauen?* You must giue *will* to stones, as well as sense, before these wordes can agree to the city it selfe. The Gospell of Saint Matthew translated into the Hebrew tongue long before Saint Ieroms time, (if it were not written in Hebrew by the Euangelist himselfe, as Ierom thinketh,) thus expresseth the words of our Sauiour. [m] *And thou Capernaum, wilt thou be exalted to heauen? adh Gehinnom têredi, thou shalt descend to Gehenna.* And if that which you haue said all this while, haue any trueth in it, that hades is the priuation of this life or power of death; had the stones of Capernaum euer any life, that they might be depriued of it, and come vnder the power of death?

[k] Matth. 11. vers. 20.

[l] Matth. 23. vers 37.

[m] *Hiero. de scriptor. Eccles. in Matthæo.*

[n] *Matth. Euangel. hebraicum.*

[o] Defenc pag 188. li. 30.

[o] *It is not so often applied to other things; notwithstanding we may find it applied to other things, as where Plato (which you stumble at) sayth in hades were birds, beasts, trees, flowers fruits. I deny not but they had toyish cõceits, but wise mẽ may see how their meaning was these vnreasonable creatures being once brought to destruction, they yeelded hades to them also.*] Is it not enough to draw the Scriptures to Platoes fabulous conceits, but you must grosly falsifie Plato to fit your new made hades? Where Plato saith, there were [p] *trees flowers, fruits, and beasts* in hades, doth he not there also say, there were [p] *men that lued long, and without sickenesse, and temples, in which the Gods dwell familiarly, and that* [p] *to see these things, is the sight of the blessed?* Was this ment of destruction, as you expound your hades; or was it a Pagans imagination of an earthly heauen farre aboue vs, in which he described all things heere found with vs, but in greater perfection and excellencie, then here on earth? thus wrest you not only the words of our Sauiour from their right sense, but you force other writers directly against their words and meaning that you may seeme in them to haue some shew for your licentious exposition of the Scriptures; as heere you plainely peruert Plato, to make a preface to your mistaking

[p] *Plato in Phedone ad finem.*

The Defender abuseth Plato and Plutarch to haue a Sheol for all things.

destruction

deſtruction in ſteede of perfection. The like wrong you offer to Plutarke, whoſe name you abuſe without either word or ſyllable ſounding towards your intent, as if you ment to ouerthrow the whole world to enlarge your hades.

q *Thus it ſeemeth Moſes alſo vſeth Sheol, when he ſaith men, women, children and cattell aliue, yea houſes and riches went to Sheol.*] If Moſes had ſayd ſo, calling that vaſt and deepe gulfe of the earth, into which the tents and ſtuffe of Corah and his companie fell, Sheol; yet vnleſſe you can prooue, that the citie of Capernaum was in like ſort ſwallowed vp (houſen and implements aſwell as men) in the ſame deepe gulfe of the earth, Moſes Sheol maketh nothing for the ruine and deſtruction of cities, where the buildings thereof fall to the ground, and lie on the ground, as in decayes they doe. But though you were both with Plato and Plutarke, thinking it no ſinne to father your fanſies on them, you may not doe the like with Moſes without more blame then you will willingly beare. Moſes hath no ſuch wordes, that *houſes and riches* went to Sheol, but they were ſwallowed vp in the cleft of the earth, as well as the reſt; yet nothing went to Sheol, ſaue what was *liuing*, becauſe the Scripture ſaith, they deſcended aliue to Sheol. Now if you can proue tents and houſhold-ſtuffe to be aliue, you may chance to ſay ſomewhat, though not much, for your deſtroying Hades; but if that be falſe and abſurd, then haue you no words in Moſes to proue that riches went to Sheol or Hades. The words of Moſes are plaine enough, and exclude as well your cattell, as your cofers from Hades. r *If the earth open her mouth, and ſwallow them; and all that they haue, and they deſcend aliue to Sheol, you ſhall know that theſe men haue prouoked the Lord.* Themſelues deſcended aliue to Sheol, the reſt was ſwallowed vp by the earth. s *For the ground brake vnder them, and the earth opened her mouth, and ſwallowed them, and their houſen,* (or families) *and euery man that belonged to Corah, and all* (their) *ſubſtance.* t *And they deſcended, and all* (the men) *that pertained to them, aliue to Sheol.* Who pertained to them, the Scripture expreſſeth before, namely their *wiues, their children, and their families.* All their goods were ſwallowed vp in the gulfe of the earth, but of the men that were liuing and belonging to them, and not of their cattell, the Scripture ſaith; *they deſcended aliue to Sheol.*

That they had any cattell at this time ſaue for ſacrifices, it cannot be prooued: they did eate no fleſh of beaſts, nor u *bread*; x *garments* they changed not, on *foote* they trauelled, ſeruants they had to do their y *workes* and to beare their burdens: and yet were it granted, they had ſome cattell for carriage; they kept them not in their tents, which were ſwallowed vp in the cleft of the earth. Theſe are Moſes wordes to the people; z *Depart, I pray you from the tents of theſe wicked men, and touch nothing of theirs, leaſt you periſh in all their ſinnes.* For their tents, with all that was in them, fell into the earth, and the perſons deſcended aliue to Sheol. Now that they deſcended aliue to hell, not only the auncient Fathers, b *Cyprian*, c *Ierom*, d *Baſil*, e *Auſtin*, f *Epiphanius* and others teach, but our new writers therein agree with them; as namely Pellican in *Numerorum ca.* 16. *verſ.* 32. Aretius in his problemes *de inferno loc.* 162. Bullingere in 28. *cap. Mat. de morte æterna.* Gualtere. *homil.* 89. *in Eſaiam. & homilia* 158. *in Lucam.* Lauatere in *ca.* 15. *Prouerb. verſ.* 24. So that you muſt ſeeke farder for your Sheol and Hades of vnreaſonable beaſts; ſince *to deſcend aliue to Sheol*, is the terrible iudgement of God againſt ſeditious rebels, and not againſt ſheepe or oxen.

g *After this maner alſo thoſe ſheepe in Sheol (which you turne to the worſt) may be vnderſtoode.*] If you can prooue there be ſheepe in Sheol, we will giue eare to it; but if you tell vs nothing beſides your *ſeeming and ſaying*, you ſhew your ſelfe to be like a ſheepe out of Sheol. And here the Reader may ſee, how certaine a leader he ſhall haue of you: for in the halfe of this one ſide you deliuer ſix or ſeuen expoſitions & reſolutions with no better warrant, then * *It ſeemeth, & this may be*; *and* yet with theſe you patch vp your predicament of Hades to containe all things, euen *ſtones, cattell, and ſheepe.* But hath this any ſeeming worth the ſpeaking of, that becauſe Dauid ſaith of the wicked, *like ſheepe they lie in Sheol*; you ſhould conclude, ergo there be ſheep in Sheol? you need not feare my turning of this to the worſt, I cannot well turne it to worſe, then it is. The wiſe man ſaith,

q Defenc pag. 189. li. 5.

The defender proueth Moſes and Dauid to haue a Sheol for ſheepe and cattell.

r Nnmb. 16. verſ. 30.

s verſ. 31.

t verſ. 32.

u verſ. 33.

x Deut. 29. v. 5. y 6. z 11

a Numb 16. verſ. 26.

b *Cyprianus in reſurrect. Chriſti.*

c *Hiero. in 4. ca. ad Epheſ.*

d *Baſil. homil. quòd Deus non eſt author malorum.*

e *Auguſt. in Pſal. 54.*

f *Epiphanius in Anchorato.*

g Defenc. pag. 189. li. 13.

* Pag. 189.

[b] Eccleſiaſt. 4. ſaith, [b] *be not like a Lion in thine owne houſe.* Doth that inferre euery man to haue Lions in his houſe? [i] Pſal. 28. [i] *Thy children,* ſaith the Pſalmiſt, *ſhalbe like oliue plants round about thy table.* Hath euery good man therefore Oliue plants about his table? The wicked be in Sheol like ſheepe; that is, either [k] Matth. 22. [k] *bound hand and foote, and caſt into vtter darkeneſſe,* as ſheepe are bound by all foure, when they are prepared for the ſlaughter; or voide of reaſon and vnable to helpe themſelues like ſheepe. That the word Sheol ſtandeth next to ſheepe in the Hebrew, and the verbe commeth after, *Like ſheepe in Sheol ſhall they be put*; is the occaſion, but no iuſtification of your error; ſince the verbe (*they ſhall be laid* or put) hath no ſenſe at all, except you repeate Sheol with the prepoſition after it, and ſay; *they ſhalbe laid in Sheol like ſheepe.* So that vnleſſe you will bee more then like a ſheepe, you muſt leaue this kind of collecting.

The defenders moſt abſurd proofes for his Sheol of all things.

Your quoting of the Prophet Abacuk, and of the Prouerbes to ſhew that all things are in Hades, becauſe neither Hades nor death can bee ſatisfied, is much like your ſheepe in Sheol. Doe proud men couet chaulke and chibols, becauſe in the ſame verſe it is ſaid, they can be no more ſatisfied, then death and Sheol? I winne not; but rather as death and Sheol cannot be ſatisfied with bodies, and ſoules of men, which are things by them deſired and receiued, no more can the proud oppreſſour be ſatisfied [l] Abac. 2. v. 5. with the ſpoiles of many countries, but ſeeketh [l] *to gather vnto him all nations, and to heape vnto him all people,* euen as death and Sheol doe. The place of the Prouerbes, [m] Prou. 30. v. 16. which you bring, ioyneth with *Sheol* [m] *a barren wombe*; *and the earth, which cannot bee ſatisfied with water.* And thence you can no more conclude, that all kind of creatures are in Sheol, then that they are in a womans wombe, which is barren. And but that I ſee men looſe their wits, aſwell as their ſenſes in Hades, I ſhould much maruaile, what were become of yours all this while, that ſpeake not onely ſo impertinently and vntowardly, but ſo abſurdly and ridiculouſly, that men will ſtoppe their eares for very ſhame, if you will not ſtoppe your mouth.

[n] Defenc. pag. 189. li. 25. [n] *Yet we muſt comeneerer. You alleage two friuilous proofes of ſheols ſignifying hell: viz. when it hath oppoſition to heauen, and ſituation as the loweſt. For the ſituation of hell it is a ſecret, which Gods word hath not reuealed at all. Neither ought we to determine, as you very raſhly doe, if hell be any where, there can be no doubt, but it muſt be in the lower parts of the earth.*] You, that haue ranged ſo farre both from the trueth, and from the matter in queſtion, had need at length come ſomewhat neerer. The proofes produced by me, that Sheol, when it is oppoſed to heauen, or deſcribed to be in the loweſt parts of the earth, importeth hell, are not ſo friuolous as your follie maketh them, they are grounded on better and ſurer rules of holy Scriptures, then are your toyes of birds, and beaſtes in Hades. And firſt touching the place of hell below in the earth, which you labour to croſſe as much as you can; though I before haue ſhewed the conſtant opinion of old and new writers, yet can I be content to reaſon it farder with you, becauſe you and your friends are deuiſing new hels and heauens, euen as you are hammering of a new [p] Luk 16. v. 28. Hades. That hell is [p] *a place of torment,* the Goſpel is euident. Being a place, it muſt be either in heauen aboue vs, or in earth beneath vs, except you will coyne vs a new Creede and ſay, God is creator of heauen, & earth, and of hell alſo, which is neither in heauen nor in earth. But you may not controle the Creede, except you will alſo correct the Scriptures. For that diuiſion of the created world into heauen and earth is witneſſed in infinite [q] places of holy Scripture to be moſt ſufficient. Hell then, ſince it is ſomewhere, muſt be within the earth vnder vs, except you will make it a part of heauen ouer vs; and then muſt men aſcend to hell, as they doe to heauen, and no longer deſcend. But the Scriptures are plaine, that hell is beneath vs, if they make mention at all of any hell, which perhaps you will call in queſtion, as well as you doe the reſt. Thoſe, whom the Apoſtle calleth [r] *καταχθονίων*, which ſtoupe to the power of Chriſts kingdome, and confeſſe him to be their Lord; who are they, but reprobate and condemned men and Angels? and where is the place of the puniſhment, but vnder the earth, ſince dead bodies can neither yeeld ſubiection, nor make confeſsion vnto Chriſt? you ſelfe graunt, [s] *Abyſſus* in the Scripture doth ſignifie a *vaſt and deepe gulfe*

[q] Gene. 2. v. 1. 4. & 14 v. 19. 22. [q] Pſal. 115. 121 124. [q] Eſa. 37. Iere. 32. [r] Philip. 2. [s] Defenc. pag. 189. li. 11. 12

in

in the earth; and Abyſſus is a place, whither the Diuels feare [t] *to be ſent*, & where they are [u] *chained* and bound, when pleaſeth God. Now euidently by the Scriptures from this Abyſſus to the earth is an [x] *aſcent* no deſcent. And therefore the dungeon for diuels, which is hell, is vnder vs that are in earth, not aboue vs. The very name of Gehenna, vſed by our Sauior for hell, & confeſſed by you to be the moſt proper name of hell, doth it not conuince hell to be *Gehennam ignis, a vale of fire?* and where are there vales, but in earth? hell is called *Ge-hinnon* ſaith Peter Martyr, [y] *becauſe a vale being a low and deepe place doth reſemble hell, quod infra terram eſſe creditur, which is beleeued to be vnder the earth. The pit & lake* alſo, which are words vſed by the holy Ghoſt to expreſſe hell, as (*[z] the pit of perdition, and [a] lake burning with fire and brimſtone*) doe confirme the ſame, ſince there are no *pits* nor *lakes*, but in the earth. By Moſes God ſaith, [b] *A fire is kindled in my wrath, and ſhall burne to the lower Sheol, and inflame the foundations of the Mountaines*. A man would thinke theſe wordes were plaine enough to prooue the lower Sheol to bee vnder the foundations of the hils, and that there burneth the fire of Gods wrath, with which the wicked are puniſhed after this life. Of the [c] *lower earth* I haue ſpoken before, and prooued it to be equiualent with hell in the iudgement of the beſt Hebraicians and Diuines of our times. And if the lower earth be hell; then is hell without queſtion in the lower parts of the earth. Bullinger ſaith. [d] *As touching the place of puniſhment, where the ſoules and bodies of the wicked are tormented; the Scripture ſimply pronounceth, ſaying; the wicked deſcend to hell: vnde conſtat inferos eſſe infra nos in terris conſtitutos, whereby it is certaine, that hell is beneath vs, that abide heere on earth. We muſt throughly maintaine againſt ſcoffing Epicures*, ſaith Gualtere, *that there is a certaine place prepared for the wicked, into which their ſoules ſtraight after death, and their bodies after the reſurrection are receiued. Of which* (place) *Moſes ſpeaketh when he writeth, that Core, Dathan and Abiram were ſwallowed vp with the gaping of the earth, and deſcended aliue with all theirs to hell.* But hauing treated thereof in ſundrie places before, I will end with a verſe of Sibyllaes propheſie (alleaged and allowed for a Chriſtian trueth by [f] *Lactantius*, [g] *Auſtin, and* [h] *Proſper*) where ſpeaking of the laſt iudgement, and the ſignes and conſequents of that day, ſhe ſaith. ταρταρίον δὲ χάος τότε δείξει γαῖα χανοῦσα. *The earth gaping*, (or cleauing in ſunder) *ſhall then ſhew* (or lay open) *the very Tartarean Chaos* (or dungeon) *of hell.*

[i] *You know the Apoſtle mentioneth the Aire, and that on high, as being the place of diuels. Notwithſtanding farre be it from me to affirme, that hell certainely is not beneath. Yet your pretended Scriptures are meerely forced to prooue it.*] Your are lighted iuſt on Maſter Broughtons argument, whoſe folly hath filled many ſheetes afore, and now all his Religion, learning and reaſons are emptied in the fourth part of one poore printed ſheete of the leſſer ſize of paper. Onely in this he ſhewed ſome witte, that he foreſaw of ſuch braineſicke ſtuffe, the leaſt would be the beſt. But doe you vnderſtand (for he is not worthy an anſwere, who can frame himſelfe to nothing but to rage and riddles) that, which the Pſalmiſt ſaith of the elect Angels; *God ſhall giue his* [k] *Angels charge ouer thee, to keepe thee in all thy waies?* or which the Apoſtle ſaith, [l] *They are all miniſtring ſpirits ſent foorth for their ſakes, which ſhall be heires of Saluation?* Doth this prooue there are no Angels in heauen? I troe not. Their office is here to attend and defend the faithfull, and yet heauen is the place of their habitation, whither they repaire with vnſpeakeable celeritie, when their ſpeciall ſeruice is finiſhed. So the diuels haue hell appointed for the place of their condemnation, and thither they cary, and there they torment the wicked, as alſo they are commaunded to the deepe, and chained there at Gods becke; notwithſtanding ſome of them are by Gods wiſedome and patience permitted to wander in the ayre, and compaſſe the earth, to tempt the wicked, to trie the godly, to ſhew their power vpon the creatures, and bewray their malice againſt the Church of God. Wherefore the ayre and earth are the places of their *ſeeing* and *aſſaulting* vs, but hell is their home, to be remanded thither vpon any the leaſt occaſion, when pleaſeth God. The griefe, terror, and torment of their inward confuſion, obſcuration, malediction, and condemnation they alwaies beare about

[t] Luke 8.
[u] Reuel.20.
[x] Reuel.9 v.2. 11.v.7.17. v.8.
[y] *Petri Martyris loci communes Claſ.3.ca. 16. numero 12.*
[z] Pſal.55.
[a] Reuel.20.
[b] Deut.32.
[c] *Supra pa.556. 561.562.*
[d] *Bullinger.in Mat.cap.28. de morte æterna.*
[e] *Gualterus in homil.158.in Lucam.*
[f] *Lactant.de diuino præmio li.7.ca.20.*
[g] *Auguſt.de ciuitate Dei li.18. ca.23.*
[h] *Proſper de promiſſ. & predicat. Dei part.2.promiſſ. 28.*
[i] Defenc.pag. 189.li.31.
[k] Pſal.91.
[l] Heb.1.

bout them, and within them; being no way freed or eased of that, whereſoeuer they goe; but they are often ſpared from the place of torment, which is the deepe, that they feare and ſhun, and yet know they muſt all thither at laſt to be terribly and eternally plagued and puniſhed there for all their hatefull impieties and villanies. They therefore (during the time of our warfare & conflict with them,) *gouerne the* [m] *darkenes of this world*, and [n] *Rule in the Ayre*, yet not all, nor onely there; they haue their chiefe, their powers and principalities, and their kingdome is not diuided againſt it ſelfe: yet the ſtrength and terror of their kingdome is in hell, which they neither *doe*, *will*, nor *can forſake*, how fearefull ſoeuer the place be to themſelues, as well for the preſent paines there, as for remembrance it ſhall be in the ende of the world their perpetuall priſon, when their torments ſhall be exceedingly increaſed, and they not ſuffered to ſtart from thence.

[m] Ephes. 6. & [n] 2.

The Scriptures which I brought you ſay *are meerely forced to proone Hell to be beneath.*] And why? becauſe Sheol in the Scriptures by your conceite doth no where ſignifie hell? that [o] *Sheol is a vaſt and deepe gulfe in the earth, the bottome whereof we know not*, your ſelfe admit. Then if the wicked dead or aliue deſcend to this vaſt deepe and vnknowen gulfe in the earth, whither go they I pray you; to the graue, or to hell? To goe aliue to the graue were ſomewhat ſtrange, and yet the graue is no deepe nor vnknowen gulfe: but to deſcend aliue or dead to the bottom of the earth were more ſtranger, if hell be not ment by that gulfe in the earth. And if no more be ment by deſcending aliue to Sheol, then to fall aliue into a cleft of the earth & there to die: the terrible iudgement of God executed on Core and his companie for their rebellion, in the ſight of all Iſraell, is vtterly eluded, ſince to fall into a deepe well or Cole-pit, and there to die, is as great a puniſhment as they ſuffered, and is a deſcending aliue to Sheol, as theirs was. And where is *the fire of Gods wrath*, [p] *inflaming the foundations of the hils, and burning to the bottome of Sheol?* is that alſo in your gulfe of the earth; and not in hell, which Moſes ſaith is the lower Sheol? And how can dead men, whoſe carkaſſes either lie on the earth [q] vnburied, as the King of Babylon did, or are layed in their graues, deſcend *to* [r] *Sheol beneath*, or *to* [s] *the lower earth*; if neither of theſe import hell, but a vaſt and deepe gulfe in the earth, whither dead bodies neuer come? this for the Situation of Sheol; what ſay you now to the oppoſition of Sheol, to heauen?

[o] Pag. 190. li. 5.

[p] Deuter. 32.

[q] Eſa. 14. v. 19.

[r] Verſ. 9.

[s] Ezech. 32. verſ. 24.

[t] *Euery oppoſition betweene Shammaijm the heauens or skies and Sheol doth not ſignifie the oppoſition betweene heauen and hell. Shammaijm thus placed ſignifieth the skies, not the very place of Gods heauenly glory in the preſence of God, which in Engliſh we call heauen.*] When Sheol is oppoſed in the Scriptures to Shammaijm, the ground of the oppoſition is either the heigth of the one, and the depth of the other; or the glory and felicitie in the one, and deſtruction and miſerie in the other. In thoſe three places, *Iob* 11. *verſ.* 8. *Pſal.* 139. *verſ.* 8. *Amos* 9. *verſ.* 2. the *perfection, preſence, and power* of God are expreſſed to be higher then Shammaijm, and deeper then Sheol. Now doth your religion ſerue you to reſtraine any of theſe three to the skies and the graue, and not to make them ſuperior to the higheſt heauen, and deeper then the loweſt Sheol? Shammaijm, you ſay, is the skie, as well as the heauen of the bleſſed. Shammaijm is the ayre alſo, where birds flie; as well as the skies. Doe you therefore thinke it a meete compariſon for the preſence or power of God, to ſay that, if you clime to the top of an high ſteeple, which ſtandeth in the ayre, the hand of God can reach you there? as though it were enough for the perfection, preſence, and power of God to reach to the skies, and you were skant reſolued, whether you ſhould graunt it to ſtretch any farder. But though you cauill with Hades, quarrell not with God. His *perfection, preſence*, and *power* are infinite aboue the higheſt heauen, and beneath the deepeſt Sheol; yea theſe compariſons do not match him, but leade vs to thoſe places, where the moſt wonderfull workes of God are, to which no man liuing can aſcend or deſcend; much leſſe can we ſearch or attaine to the heigth or depth of him or his perfection, preſence, or power. And this is ſo plainely compriſed in thoſe places, that none but an irreligious

[t] Defenc. pag. 189. li. 37.

Why the heauens are compared with hell in the Scriptures.

irreligious and impious conceiter will doubt thereof. [u] *Canſt thou by ſearching finde out God, or trace the Almightie to his perfection?* ſaith the booke of Iob. *the heauens are high* (where his glory dwelleth) *what canſt thou doe? it is deeper then Sheol, how canſt thou know it?* Shall it ſuffice in this place to ſay, the cloudes are high, the ſtarres are higher, all which we ſee with our eyes, and can obſerue their courſe: or muſt we caſt our thoughts on the higheſt heauen, wherein we neither ſee nor know any thing, but what God reuealeth by his word, and which is the chiefeſt place of his perfection? So Dauid. [x] *Whither ſhall I flie from thy preſence? If I aſcend into heauen, thou art there: if I get downe to Sheol below, thou art there alſo. If I take the wings of the morning and dwell in the fardeſt parts of the Sea* (there) *thy right hand ſhall hold me.* Aſcending to the higheſt, deſcending to the loweſt, and going to the fardeſt, we paſſe through all places. If God be then in the higheſt, in the loweſt, and in the midſt; whither can we flee from him, who is euery where? all places being here contained, the higheſt heauens are not omitted. The Prophet Amos hath the like both purpoſe and partition, where God aſſureth Iſrael, they cannot decline his hand, whither ſoeuer they could or would goe; whether [y] to heauen on high, to Sheol below, to the bredth of the mountaines, or to the depth of the Sea. If out of his diuiſion you exclude hell or heauen, as places whither Gods hand can not reach, doe you not with your impertinent Sophiſtrie broch vs a manifeſt hereſie? wherefore Shammaijm here is any or euery part of heauen, euen as the earth is diuided by bredth and depth, into the hils, the Seas, and Sheol vnderneath, which is here conuinced to be in the earth, becauſe God ſaith; *though they digge into Sheol*; teaching vs that the loweſt Sheol is in the earth, which onely can be digged, and not either in water or aire, which can not be digged.

[u] Iob.11.

[x] Pſal.139.

[y] Amos 9.

As for the 14 of Eſay, from which Chriſt deriued his threatning to Capernaum as reſembling the pride and deſeruing the puniſhment of the king of Babel; the words there are ſo direct for Shammaijm to be the higheſt heauen, euen the place of Gods throne, that you thought beſt to skippe it ouer with a falſe tranſlation, and not to trouble your ſelfe any farder. The pride of the King of Babylon, is there thus expreſſed. [z] *Thou ſaidſt in thine heart, I will aſcend to heauen, and will exalt my Throne aboue the ſtarres of God.* [a] *I will aſcend aboue the higth of the clouds, and wilbe like the moſt higheſt.* [b] *But thou ſhalt be drawen downe to Sheol; euen to the ſides* (or loweſt parts) *of the pit.* Shammaijm compriſing three regions at leaſt; the clouds, the ſtarres, the place of Gods throne; the king of Babylon in his proud ambition ſaid, he would *aſcend aboue the higth of the clouds, aboue the ſtarres of God*, and would *exalt his throne like to the moſt higheſt*. I hope *Shammaijm* here, to which the king of Babylon would aſcend, was neither the *clouds* nor the *ſtarres* (they both are by name excluded:) and conſequently not the skies, as you falſly tranſlate the Prophets words; but it was the reſemblance of Gods throne, and the place of his glory, to which that proud tyrant aſpired. Neither ment he there to be one of Gods Saints, as you would childiſhly chalenge your opponent, but what place of glory others get at Gods hands by obedience and humility he would in his arrogant heart aſſume vnto himſelfe with rebellion and emulation of Gods greatneſſe; euen as Adam and Eue neuer ment to be Saints, when they accepted the Diuels offer, [c] *ye ſhalbe as Gods*, but deſired no longer to be ſubiect to God, and ſought to get a ſimilitude, if not an equality with God. So did the King of Babel affect to be *like the moſt higheſt*; though he were fardeſt from it of all others. For the Prophet doth not in theſe words expreſſe, what the king of Babylon was indeed, but what his arrogant ſpirit conceaued in thinking there was no God greater then himſelfe. This monſtrous pride of his being the higth of all impiety and blaſphemie, what reward in your conſcience was it worthy to haue? a plaine *no being* any longer amongſt the liuing? which you ſay Daniel affirmeth of [d] *the Meſſias*; or a iudgement proportionable to his wickedneſſe, that is to be caſt downe to the bottom of hell, for exalting himſelfe to the top of heauen?

[z] Eſa.14.v.13.

[a] 14.

[b] 15.

[c] Geneſ.3.

[d] Pag.189. li.22.

Your ſpinning of cobwebbes about [e] *an inglorious deſtruction*, is no way ſufficient for this offence, except you meane deſtruction of body and ſoule in hell, with the ſight

[e] Pag.190. li.21.

ſight and ſhame of his folly : and ſo if you ioine the vtter and eternall deſtruction of his perſon and his pride, you agniſe Sheol to be hell, as I doe ; and haue not the witte to ſee, that when a man is taken hence to that terrible and intolerable vengeance, all worldlie things firſt faile him, and the remembrance of his former plenty and glory augmenteth the griefe of his preſent penurie and miſery. Els how auoide you contradiction as well to the trueth, as to your ſelfe in your two ſignifications of Sheol? Sheol oppoſed to Shammaijm, you ſay [f] *ſignifieth not hell the place of torments, but a vaſt and deepe gulfe onely, or pit in the earth, the bottome whereof we know not.*] If you derive *this vaſt and deepe gulfe in the earth*, from the warrant of holy Scripture, I muſt aske you ; firſt, how many of theſe gulfes the ſcripture admitteth to be in the earth? & next, what vſe there is of them ? The Scripture mentioneth the lower Sheol indeed, ſo called in reſpect of the higher, which is the graue, common to the bodies of good and bad. Other Sheols in the earth the Scripture knoweth none. Now for whom is this lower gulfe in the earth prouided ? for men ? or for oxen and ſheepe ? which you were placing there euen now by warrant pretended from Moſes and the Pſalmiſt, but that you fouly miſtooke the words of both. When God openeth the earth to ſwallow vp men, and all that belongeth to them, as he did to the rebels in the wilderneſſe, he hath roome enough in the earth to couer and cloſe that, which doth not deſcend to Sheol, without your vaſt and deepe gulfe. If you confeſſe thus vaſt and deepe gulfe in the earth, to ſerue for wicked men after death, then come you neerer to the Scriptures, but as neere to hell. For Dauid ſaying vnto God ; [h] *Thou haſt deliuered my ſoule from the lower Sheol* ; declareth the lower Sheol to be a receptacle for the ſoules of ſuch, as God doth not ſhew mercy vnto. Salomō ſaith of ſuch as haunted harlots, [i] *Her gueſts are in the depth of Sheôl.* Moſes telleth you, [k] *The fire of Gods wrath burneth to the lower Sheôl.* In the lower Sheol then are the ſoules of the wicked, and fire there burning for them. If your vaſt and deepe gulfe in the earth be all one with this, we know the place to be hell and the vſe thereof the puniſhment of the wicked. If it differ from this, you muſt tell vs by the word of God, wherefore it ſerueth. For that a vaſt and deepe gulfe in the earth ſhould be nothing els, but an aboliſhing of [l] *any viſible creatures hence* or that this ſhould be the moſt proper *ſenſe of Sheol*, and your vaſt and deepe gulfe a reſemblance thereof, this hath neither top nor toe. If Sheol be properly nothing but a priuation, how can it be a vaſt and deepe gulfe in the earth, or what proportion or ſimilitude hath the one with the other ? Theſe are therefore nothing but your fictions imagined of your owne braine to delude the Scriptures, and to auoide the lower Sheol indeed, which is the place of torment for the damned.

[f] Pag. 190. li. 4. & 5.

[h] Pſal. 86.

[i] Prouerb. 9.

[k] Deut. 32.

[l] Pag. 190. li. 9.

How Capernaum was exalted to heauen, whether in her owne proud conceit after the example of the king of Babylon, of whom Eſaie ſpeaketh ; or whether Chriſt ment, that by reaſon of his often preaching and working miracles amongſt them, the kingdome of God was in the midſt of them, but not receaued nor regarded by them, which ſome thinke to be the meaning of this place : I ſtand indifferent, ſo long as we keepe Sheol oppoſite to heauen, I meane not to the clouds, nor to the skies, as you would ſhift the matter, but to the place aboue, where the way of life is, and the brightneſſe of Gods glorie, that thereby we may conceaue in the lower ſheol darkneſſe and death for euer, euen as in the higher ſheol, both are for the time. [m] *The way of life*, ſaith Salomon, *is on high* ; (neither in the clouds nor ſtarres, but in the ſeat of the bleſſed, euen in heauen) *to him that declineth Sheol below*. Where ſpeaking of eternall life, (ſince bodily life is heere on earth) he warneth vs, that eternall death is in ſheol below. The reſt of your ſtuffe is not woorth the ſticking at. For what if God by Ieremie threatned Babylon, that though [n] *her walles were thicke, and her gates high*, the one ſhould be *broken, and the other burned* : and though *ſhe ſhould mount vp to heauen* by raiſing her *walles* neuer ſo high, yet *her deſtroyers ſhould come from God* : Doth this being ſpoken of the walles and gates, which ſhould be razed, proone that her walles and gates ſhould deſcend to Sheol ? Where hath the prophet any ſuch words of the walles, gates, or buildings of Babylon ? And for you to expound Sheol by what you

[m] Prouerb. 15.

[n] Ier. 51. v. 58.

list, is a larger commission, then I know any you haue. I haue no doubt, but walles and gates cannot reach vnto the clouds, much lesse to the starres, and therefore heauen applied to them standeth for that which riseth on high in the aire; but that the pride of the king of Babel, lifted it selfe aboue the clouds and starres; I haue prooued by the plaine report of the Prophet, against which no exception can be taken.

[o] *Next let vs view the Corinthians. O death where is thy victorie, ô hades, ô destruction, or ô power of death, where is thy sting? Heere it is referred to the destruction of the whole and intire persons of men taken away by death out of this world.*] What is now become of your world of soules, which you so often vrged as properly signified by hades? What is become of your *vast and deepe gulfe in the earth*; which sheol and hades did import, as yon told vs but euen now? Nay, what is become of your destruction of stones, and their *descending to Hades*. which you said was threatned to Capernaum? Are all these out of date, and in euerie new place must you be forced to frame vs a new Hades? You will rest somewhere at last, if it be possible for your vnquiet head to haue or like any rest. Well now then hades *is the* [p] *destruction of the whole person of man taken out of this world by death*. And why should not hades heere be taken for hell? [*The whole scope and drift of the Apostle heere, is to speake of the resurrection of the bodie*, and *you graunt* it.] What then? The Saints receauing their bodies endued with immortalitie, may they not reioice in their deliuerance from corruption, and insult, as hauing then the full victorie, ouer hell and death? [q] *Our full deliuerance from hell and from Satan is obtained in this life, as it is written, we being deliuered from our enemies, and from the handes of all that hate vs.*] We are so deliuered from their *hands* or power, (which is all one) that we shall not need to feare them; but we are not yet actually freed from their snares, since we daily must pray, *not to be ledde* (or left) *into temptation*; neither are all our enemies yet fully destroied; since as the Apostle saith; [r] *the last enemie, that shall be destroied, is death*. If all Christes enemies were put vnder his and our feete, he should no longer raigne as Redeemer and Sauiour of his Church; [s] *for he must raigne till he hath put all his enemies vnder his feete*, and then shall [t] *deliuer vp the kingdome to God*, euen *the Father*, which is not before the end. And yet were all things granted which you intend, it helpeth you not one whit: for may not the saints giue thankes for all euen then, when all is fully finished, though part be before perfourmed? And may they not iustly reioice against all the power of Satan, I meane sinne, hell, and death, when the last enemie is in sight conquered, though they be formerly freed from sinne, and fully deliuered from the danger and feare of hell?

[u] *Your speech is very bad and scandalous, where you say the bodies of the Saints lying in their graues, are in the diuels walke.* [x] *For then the graues, where bodies lie senseless, are a part of hell properly taken.*] You told vs euen now, that *the aire on high was the place of diuels*, & thinke you much that vpon occasion I should say the graues vnder the earth are within Satans walke? The booke of Iob saith, [y] *Satan compasseth the earth, and walketh in it*. And Peter confirmeth the same, saying, *He* [z] *walketh about, seeking whom he may deuoure*. So that the diuels walke (for all your saying) is farre larger then hell. And if our Lord and master most truely said of the woman, which was *crooked*, and could not lift vp herselfe in any wise, that [a] *Satan had bound that daughter of Abraham, lo, eighteene yeeres*; may not the dead bodies of Abrahams children be in Satans walk, as well as their liuing bodies be in Satans *bands*? And you, that be so curious in other mens speeches, doe you looke to your owne? Doe not you defend, that the soules of the blessed in heauen may be said [b] *to be in inferno, and* [c] *vnder the power of death*, whereof the *Diuell hath the rule* by the Apostles doctrine? [d] *we being heere truely iustified by Gods grace are fully freed, and deliuered from all the power of our enemies.*] Are we so fully freed, that we can neither sinne, nor die? or are sinne and death no parts of Satans power? When I speake of a *full conquest ouer hell and death, in both parts of man*, soule and bodie, which is not performed before the bodie rise to glorie; you turne it, as if I professed our redemption from hell to be imperfect till the last day. And when I mention with Saint Paul the redemption of our bodies from corruption, which shall not be

o Defenc. pag. 191. li. 13.
p li 19.
q li. 24.
r 1. Cor. 15. vers. 26.
s vers. 25.
t vers. 24.
u Defenc. pag. 191. li. 31.
x Pag. 189. li. 31.
y Iob. 1.
z 1. Peter. 5.
a Luke 13.
b Pag. 168.
c 166.
d Pag. 191. li. 28.

before the resurrection; you would inferre thereupon, if you could tell how, that the
[c] Pag 192. li.1. bodies of the Saints [c] *remaine subiect to the power of hell, to the curse of the law, and to the claime of Satan.* Thus you runne on, like a riotous spaniel, chalenging vpon euery foote, but finding nothing. With like wit and trueth you inferre vpon my wordes, where I say *the death of the body* was inflicted on mankind as part of the wages of sinne,
[f] Pag. 192. li.3. that therefore [f] *the godly must pay a part of their owne redemption and satisfaction for sinne; and then Christ was not our onely and absolute redeemer.* But which way doth this follow, can you tell? punishment for sinne is in our persons neither redemption, nor satisfaction for sinne; in Christs person it was both. Know you not the difference betwixt Christs person and ours?

[g] li.9. [g] *But I say pa.216. that the bodies of the dead Saints are in the possession of hell, and in the handfast of hell.*] In wresting and wrangling is all your grace. Where some auncient
[h] Serm. pag. 216. writers seeme to say, that Christ deliuered [h] *some of the Saints out of the present possession of hell; all the defence* (I said) that could any way be made out of the Scriptures to excuse this, was to take hell improperly for the sting and wound of bodily death, which Satan the ruler of hell procured to man by sinne. For sinne, death, and corruption
[i] Wisdom.1.2. are the workes of the Diuell, which Christ came to dissolue. [i] *God made not death*, as the wise man obserueth, *but created man without corruption; and through the enuie of the Diuell came death into the world.* This then being one of the wounds, which Satan through sinne gaue vnto our first father and all his ofspring, this is not perfectly cured, but with the resurrection of our bodies to eternall life, though the poyson of this wound bee in the meane time allayed, and the danger secured. And thus, whiles I seeke to mitigate other mens wordes, and to extenuate the name and power of hell, vnderstanding thereby nothing but the dissolution of mans life, and corruption of mans bodie, which Satan occasioned by sinne; you make the Reader beleeue, I take the name of hell properly for the power and right, that hell hath ouer the bodies of the wicked, and teach, that the Saints are not deliuered from hell, till their bodies rise from death, which when you list you can find to bee refuted elswhere by me; and therefore to be no part of my meaning heere.

How death is *an enemie, which must be destroyed*, aswell as sinne and hell, we neede not your commentarie; except it were stoared with better Diuinitie. It hindreth the
[k] Pag.192. li.22. Saints, you graunt, [k] *from enioying their appointed felicitie, yet as a peaceable and quiet stop.* Ascribe you this peace and quietnesse to their bodies voide of life and sense, or to their soules staied from the full fruition of eternall glorie by that meanes? And troe you, the soules of the Saints be well and quietly content to lacke their appointed felicitie? not at all to desire it, or not earnestly to pray for it; were plainly to loath it, and not obediently to expect it. Wherefore they exceedingly affect, and instantly pray for the destruction of this enemie, that keepeth their bodies in dishonour and corruption, and hindereth their spirits from enioying that glorie, which shalbe reuealed in the last time; which appeareth by their vehement prayer in the Reuelation;
[l] Reuelat.6. [l] *how long, O Lord, holy and true, doest thou not iudge, and auenge our blood on them, that dwell on the earth?* Where they in heauen seeke not reuenge on them, for whom they prayed in earth, but they expresse their continuall and ardent desire for that day, when they shall be wholy conformed to Christ their head. And when they are willed to rest for a season, they gladly submit themselues to the will and wisedome of God; but meane while they hate death, as an hinderer of that blisse and ioy, which they so much loue and long for; and shall no doubt reioyce exceedingly, when this last enemie is swallowed vp in victorie, as the rest were before. But let death be an enemie which way you will, how doth this conclude, that Hades here (1.*Corinth.*15.) in no sort signifieth hell?

The Saints in heauen most earnestly desire their bodies.

[m] Defenc.pag. 192.li.28. [m] *The very text seemeth thus to expound it selfe, saying, where is thy sting O Hades? the sting of death is sinne. Where the later seemeth a direct exposition of the former, noting these two wordes, (Hades and death) as Synonymas for one thing, being applied to men.*] When you talke of the text of holy Scripture, you should not leaue the wordes, that are extant

tant in all our printed copies, retained and alleaged by the best and most of the Greeke Fathers, as likewise of our new writers; and cleaue to the single conceite of some one man taking vpon him to correct all the printed copies, that euer he saw, and of his owne authoritie to alter the Originall. I doe not therefore by your, and his leaue admit this for Saint Pauls text; since it is his priuate change of the wordes in the Greeke against all the copies, that are either manu-scripts or printed at this day. His owne confession is this. [n] *Contrario ordine legunt hunc locum, non modo Graci omnes codices, quos inspeximus sed etiam Syrus & Arabs interpretes. Not onely all the Greeke copies, that we haue seene, but the Syriack & Arabuck Interpreters read this place in a contrarie order*; that is, they put these words (*ô Hades where is thy victorie?*) in the last place, which you set in the first; and the other words (*ô death where is thy sting?*) they set first, which you will haue to be last. Thus then stand the Apostles wordes, cleane contrarie to that which you bring. πῦ σε θάνατε, τὸ κέντρον, πῦ σε ἅδη, τὸ νῖκος; *O death where is thy sting? O Hades wher is thy victorie?* And in this order doe [o] *Luther*, [p] *Erasmus*, [p] *Zuinglius*, [p] *Peter Martyr*, [p] *Caluine*, [p] *Bullingere*, [p] *Gualtere*, [p] *Aretius*, [p] *Hemmingius*, [p] *Hyperius*, [p] *Osiander*, [p] *Marlorate*, and I know not how many more, both keepe and cite that text in Latin, *vbi tuus, mors, aculeus? vbi tua, Inferne, victoria? Where is thy sting, O death? where is thy victorie, O hell?* And touching the Greeke copies and Fathers, that are auncient, and obserue the same order of the wordes for the Apostles text, we haue [q] *Origen*, [r] *Athanasius*, [r] *Nazianzene*, [t] *Nyssene*, [u] *Epiphanius*, [x] *Chrysostome*, [x] *Oecumenius*; and though the translatours of [x] *Theodoret* and [x] *Theophylact* retaine the wordes of the old Latin Bible in this place for the text, yet there is no likelihood that these two in their own tongue varied from the rest, specially *Theophylact*, who in his commenting on this place maketh an exact difference betwixt *death* and *Hades*, for that *Hades containeth soules, and dead bodies*, where the Latin in both places hath death, and no more.

[n] *Beze annot at. in 1 Corinth. 15. vers. 55.*

[o] *In 13. ca Osea*
[p] *In 1. Cor. 15.*

[q] *Origin. li. 5. in ca. 5. ad Roma.*
[r] *Athanas. de incar. verbi Dei & in pass. & crucem Domini & contra omnes qui negant seruat. sumtisse primitias ex natura nostra.*
[t] *Nazianz. de sancto paschate.*
[t] *Nyssenus de 40 Martyribus oratione 2.*
[u] *Epiphanius hæres. 66. contra Manichæos.*
[o] *In 1 Corin. 15.*
[y] *Tertull. de resurrectione carnis.*
[z] *Cyprianus ad Quirinum li. 3. ca. 53.*
[a] *Ambros. in 1. Corinth. 15.*
[a] *Irenæus li. 5. ca. 13.*
[c] *Idem. li. 3. ca. 38.*
[d] *Hiero. in Osea ca. 13.*
[e] *Eusebius de demonstrat. Euang. li 4. ca 12.*
[f] *Ibidem li. 10. ca. 1.*

The Latin Fathers, you will say, doe all follow the old Latin translator, and he placeth the word, *sting*, last as you do.] There is no one place in the new Testament, that hath receiued more varietie of translating and ordering then this. [y] Tertullian citeth it thrice in one booke after this sort. *Vbi est, mors, aculeus tuus? vbi est, mors, contentio tua? Where is thy sting, ô death? Where is thy strife, ô death?* reading νεῖκος for νῖκος, *strife for victorie*. [z] Cyprian citeth it in the same order and words, as Tertullian doth. [a] Ambrose returneth neerer to the Greeke, and saith; *vbi est, mors, stimulus tuus? vbi est, mors, victoria tua? ô death, where is thy sting? ô death, where is thy victorie?* euen as the interpreter of [b] *Irenæus* doth, though he inuert that order in an [c] other place, and follow the Septuagint, which [d] *Ierom*, and other of the Latin Fathers also doe. And least you should thinke, as you doe, that the old translator, who very scrupulously keepeth the word *Infernum* for Hades throughout the Bible, did heere translate it by death, you shall see that Eusebius lighted on a Greeke copie, where the word *Thanatos*, *death*, was twice repeated, and the parts changed as they stand in the Latine. [e] πῦ σε θάνατε, τὸ νῖκος; πῦ σε θάνατε, τὸ κέντρον; *ô death where is thy victorie? ô death where is thy sting?* Elsewhere the same Author keepeth the word, death, twice; but altereth the order. [f] πῦ σε θάνατε, τὸ κέντρον; πῦ σε θάνατε τὸ νῖκος; *ô death, where is thy sting? ô death where is thy victorie?* In this diuersitie of reading and relating the Apostles wordes, it is eche mans duetie not to runne which way he will, though perhaps he may bring some one president for his purpose, but to hold that for the true and Authenticke text, to which most copies and writers agree. And therefore since your exposition of hades & death to be Synonymas, dependeth vpon your priuate changing the order of the apostles words, I see no need to make any answere to it, specially when as the Latin translator might, and no doubt did light on such a copie, as Eusebius did, which had the word, *Thanatos, death*, twice in that place. Otherwise it could not be that he, who was ouer diligent in all other places, would be so negligent in this. A farder answere to the frame of your wordes, as you haue placed them, if any man for his satisfaction would receiue; the name of death, which compriseth both temporall

rall and eternall death, and by sinne gat the victorie of our first parents, (but that the elect by Christ haue againe recouered the victorie ouer all sorts of death) giueth answeare enough. For sinne, which the Apostle heere calleth *the sting of death*, did not onely sting Adam and his ofspring with the death of the body, but also with the death of the soule: (the wages of sinne being death in all parts of man, and in all places of his abode); and therefore sinne of his owne nature and force, till it be pardoned by Christ, is the sting no lesse of hell, as in all the wicked; then of bodily death, as in all the Saints. And heere by the way the Reader may obserue, that for aduantage you are content to make bodily death in the Saints the *sting of sinne*, which I trust is as much, as the punishment of sinne, since it stingeth vnto death.

[g] Defens pag. 193.li. 2. [g] *The graue of the wicked is not to be named or reckned hell properly.*] Whom doth the Apostle make to speake in that place; the godly, who haue the victorie ouer *sinne, hell, and death*; or the wicked, ouer whom those three get the conquest, since the wicked doe not rise from death to life, as the Saints doe; but their bodies rising out of one pit, fall into a farre worse, which is the bottomlesse pit of eternall death & damnation?

[h] Defens. pag. 193 li.7. [h] *Hades is aduersary to the resurrection. But hell heere would not be aduersary to the resurrection. Therefore hades heere is not hell, no not to the wicked.*] Doth the Apostle dispute heere of the resurrection of the wicked to death euerlasting, or of the Saints to celestiall blisse and glory? though it be true, that the bodies of the reprobate shall rise vp from the earth where they rested; and be cast with their soules into euerlasting fire; yet the Apostle heere debateth and prooueth the raising vp of Christs members *to beare the image of the heauenly Adam, and to haue death swallowed vp in victory.* Looke on the Apostles reasons and comparisons in this whole chapter, and if any one of them naturall or theologicall, agree to the resurrection of the wicked, then let the Reader thinke you haue some vnderstanding of this place, which now is vtterly none.

[i] 1.Cor 15. verse. 7. [k] verse.22. [l] verse.23. [m] 41. [n] 42. [o] 43. [p] 54. [q] 55. [r] 57. [i] *If Christ be not risen, your faith is in vaine* (saith Paul) *and you are yet in your sinnes.* [k] *As in Adam all died, so in Christ all shalbe quickened:* [l] *euery one in his order. Christs as the first fruits, then those that are Christs, at his comming.* [m] *There is one glory of the Sunne, another of the Moone, and another of the Starres.* [n] *So also* (shalbe) *the resurrection of the dead. The body is sowen in corruption,* [o] *dishonor, and weakenesse, it shall rise in incorruption, in glory, in power.* [p] *When this corruptible hath put on incorruption, and this mortall hath put on immortalitie, then shalbe performed that, which is written, Death is swallowed vp in victory,* (and the Saints shall haue iust cause to say) [q] *ô death, where is thy sting? ô hades* (hell) *where is thy victory?* [r] *Thanks be to God, which hath giuen vs victory through our Lord Iesus Christ.* How farre are these things from all communion of the wicked? though hell at that day shalbe *increased and aduanced*, (as you call it) with the bodies of all the wicked, yet may the godly Saints (of whom the Apostle speaketh) most iustly reioice against hell and death, as being now swallowed vp in victory, that is, vtterly defeated of all force to kill the body any more, or to stay the soule any longer by meanes of death from her crowne of glory. For the victory which God will giue vs through Christ our Lord against hell and death, is not yet full, till our soules and bodies be brought to eternall blisse. And were it possible (which is not) that the soules of the Saints could for euer enioie the rest and blisse, which now they haue without their bodies; euen in this want of one halfe, Satan should still haue some victory ouer them, that is, ouer their bodies, though not ouer their soules. Wherefore the victory is then full, when both parts of man are freed from all things, that hinder their heauenly inheritance. And this the best interpreters confesse. Peter Martyr, [s] *Interim videas ordine quodam nostros inimicos recenseri: infernum siue gehennam, mortem, peccatum & legem. In the meane while thou maist see our enemies* (heere) *numbred in order: hell or gehenna, death, sinne, and the Law. Christ hath gotten the victory ouer all these, and the fruit of the victory redoundeth to vs.* Bullinger, [t] *The Apostle declareth, that the victory ouer sinne, death and hell is gotten by the might and merits, not of the saints, but of Christ, to whom the saints must yeeld all glory, praise, and thanks. And this explanation hath very excellent degrees. First is hell, to wit, the euerlasting punishment, whereby the dead are condem-*

[s] Peter Martyr in 1.Corint. 15. [t] Bullingerus in 1. Corint. 15.

ned

ned to the ſecond death: the ſecond is ſinne, which is the force of death and hell. For by ſinne came death. The third is the law, the ſtrength of ſinne. The Law being then taken away, the force of ſinne decaieth; ſinne being aboliſhed, the power of death ceaſeth; death being diſarmed, hell is ouerthrowen. Hyperius, [a] *If death ſhall then haue no more rule, it followeth that neither hell ſhall preuaile againſt the godly. For this muſt be vnderſtood of them, ſince the wicked ſhall not be deliuered from the power of hell. In theſe words, ô death where is thy ſting? ô hell where is thy victory? either God, as conquerer; or the ſaints, as giuing the praiſe of the conqueſt to God,* in a ſort *reproch death and hell, with the loſſe of their power and ſtrength. And very aptly is death put firſt, and then hell. For men die before they be caſt into hell, in which the wicked taſt the ſecond or eternall death.* Moe might be brought; but with wiſe men there can be no queſtion, that the Saints at the laſt day being then fully freed from all their enemies, may giue thanks to God for the victory purchaſed by Chriſt againſt them all, hell and Satan not excepted.

[a] Hyperius in 1. Corinth. 15.

[x] *Alſo we are to note that the Apoſtle heere plainely alludeth to that of Hoſeah. O Sheol, ô kingdome of death, I wilbe thy deſtruction, not ô hell. The Prophet ſpeaketh thus to comfort Iſrael in their captiuity againſt their continuall deſtruction, and raizings out of this world.*] You will ſoone breſt other men, that will beard the Apoſtle in this matter ſo boldly as you doe. Indeed you and ſome others thinke it a glory to take part with the Iewes contradicting all that the Euangeliſts & Apoſtles alleage out of the law and the Prophets touching Chriſt and his kingdome; and you vouchſafe to yeeld to the holy Ghoſt ſpeaking in them, no more skill or vnderſtanding of the old Teſtament, but to allude to it, and as it were to play with it, when the true literall ſenſe of moſt places, as you thinke, is farre from that, which they intend. But this Iudaizing, whiles you would ſeeme, more then others, to ſmatch of a little Hebrew, I for my part deteſt; and profeſſe to the world, I take that euery where to be the true and direct meaning of Moſes and the Prophets, which Chriſt and his Apoſtles collect from their words. And therefore Ierom ſaith of this very place, as I ſay of all others. [y] *That which the Apoſtle referreth to the reſurrection of the Lord, nos aliter interpretari nec poſſumus, nec audemus, we neither can, nor dare interprete otherwiſe.* Yea ſo well learned you are in the circumſtances of the Prophets ſpeach, that you pronounce, [z] *The Prophet ſpeaketh this to comfort Iſrael in their captiuity, ſhewing that now the Lord would ſtay his iudgment that way and death ſhould now deſtroy them no more*;] Whereas Iſrael was then in no captiuity, as appeareth by the 16 verſe of the ſame chapter; *Samaria ſhalbe deſolate:* And God had no meaning to tell the people, he would *now ſtay his hand*, and they *ſhould be deſtroied no more*, becauſe in the two next verſes he threatneth, *They ſhould be* [a] *ſpoiled, dried, and* [b] *deſolate, they ſhould fall by the ſword, their infants ſhould be daſhed in pieces, and their women with child ſhould be ript.* Wherefore except you will haue the holy Ghoſt to ſpeake contradictions, as your manner is, you muſt acknowledge, that amidſt the fearefull troubles, deſtructions, and deſolations then and afore denounced by the Prophet againſt the whole kingdome of Iſrael, God doth comfort his elect amongſt them, that whatſoeuer became of their bodies in this affliction approching, he had his time, when he would vtterly deſtroy the power of all their enemies, not onely freeing them by death from tyrants and perſecutors, but ſauing them from death and hell by his annointed Meſsias, who ſhould be *a death to death, and a deſtruction to hell.* And as this was the greateſt comfort and onely hope, that Gods children in their miſeries could expect or deſire; ſo the Apoſtle keepeth right the Prophets meaning, and ſheweth the time, when all this ſhalbe performed; that is, when all teares ſhalbe wiped from the eies of Gods elect; and all their enemies *ſinne, death, and hell* troden vnder their feete. In this comfort and promiſe, as hell was the chiefeſt enemy, ſo, of all others, that muſt be conteined within the limits of Gods aſſurance, and their deliuerance. In vaine are all other promiſes of grace, whiles that enemy ſtandeth vnuanquiſhed. And therefore as we moſt needed, ſo God moſt promiſed, and Chriſt moſt performed the deſtruction of hell aboue and afore the death of the body, which you ſo much talke of, and

[y] Hiero. in 13. ca. Oſee.

[z] Pag. 193. li. 19.

[a] verſ. 15.

[b] verſ. 16.

from which you giue to the reprobate a resurrection, as well as to the godly, which is but a cold comfort to him, that duely considereth it.

[c] Defenc. pag. 193. li. 31.

[c] *Next we come to the Reuelation. First I haue the keyes of Hades (that is of destruction or of the kingdome of death) and of death. Or we may take them as two words for one and the same thing. That is both of them for death. What shew of reason haue you to bring in here Christs power ouer the damned soules in hell? because there is mention else where of the key of hell; therefore the key of Hades here is the same. What colour of reason is there in this?* | Euen so much as you can not resist. For if it be certaine, which the Scripture confirmeth, that Christ hath the keyes of both, that is as well of hell as of death; and gate them both by submitting himselfe to death; And Hades in the new Testament is taken for hell, as hitherto we haue seene; and euen with Saint Iohn the writer of this Reuelation it is a different thing from death; what can Hades be here but hell? That Christ by his obedience vnto death had all power *in heauen, and earth, and hell* giuen him, the Apostle is very plaine. [d] *Christ became obedient to the death, euen the death of the Crosse. Wherefore* (or for which cause) *God highly exalted him, and gaue him a Name aboue euery name, that at the name of Iesus euery knee of those in heauen, on earth, and vnder the earth should bow, and euery tongue confesse, that Iesus is the Lord.* As he himselfe also witnessed, when he said, after his resurrection, [e] *all power in heauen and earth* (that is, in all places and ouer all things created) *is giuen vnto me.* Since then without question Christ had the keyes as well of death and hell, as of heauen; and so that sense of his words is most true; let vs see which of our expositions hath best reason. When Iohn for feare *fell as dead at Christs feete*, would Christ to comfort Iohn in that plight, say no more but that *he* [f] *himselfe was once dead, and now aliue, and had power to die no more*, as you expound Christs words? how could this strengthen or restore Iohn, that was euen dead for feare? or did Christ rather encourage Iohn not to feare without cause, seeing he himselfe not onely was risen from the dead, but had all power ouer *death* and *hell*, that is the keyes of both to dispose of ech mans *life* and *Soule* at his pleasure? when therefore Christ, that had all power of life and death, Saluation and damnation *laid his right hand* on Iohn to protect him, and bad him not feare, but write the things, which he saw; had not Iohn iust cause to cast away all feare, and cheerefully to obey the voice of him, that was so able and ready to rescue him from all feare and danger whatsoeuer?

How Hades is vsed in the Reuelation.

[d] Philip. 2.

[e] Matth. 28.

[f] Pag. 193. li. 36.

Christs power ouer death, you will say, was enough to preserue Iohns life, and therefore mention of the key of hell was superfluous.] Iohn was to see, and write the things, that were, and after should be *in heauen, earth and hell*, as is euident in his Reuelations: yea the opening and shutting of the bottomelesse pit, the chaining of Satan there, the comming of the Locusts and the beast from thence, and the lake of fire and brimstone euerlastingly burning there, and who should be throwen into it, were to be reuealed vnto him. Lest therefore the sight of these things should amaze Iohn, or the reporting of them should want credit with vs, Christ did professe, which is most true, that he had the keyes, that is all power euen ouer these secret and fearefull places; so that Iohn should neither shrinke at the vision, nor we distrust the Relation of them. And though my reason of mentioning here the keyes of hell be such, as you shall neuer counteruaile; yet doe I not runne proudly and peremptorily, as you doe, in mine owne conceits; I haue the iudgement of the best Interpreters, old and new, that haue intermedled with the opening of these reuelations. Andreas ArchBishop of the same Cæsaria, that Saint Basil was, and within 600. yeeres after Christ, though you skornfully reiect him, as you doe that venerable writer Bede; expounding these words of Christ, [g] *I haue the keyes of death and of Hades:* saith; ἤτοι τῶ ψυχικῶ καὶ σωματικῶ θανάτω, *that is of the death of the Body, and of the Soule.* Primasius expoundeth them thus. [h] *I haue the keyes of death and hell, id est, Diaboli, & totius corporis eius, that is ouer the diuell, and all his body,* (or societie.) The exposition of the Apocalyps extant in Saint Austens works; thus. [i] *I haue the keyes of death and Hell; because he that beleeueth, and is baptised,*

[g] *Andreas Cæsarien. in ca. 1. Apocalyp.*

[h] *Primas. in 1. Apocalyp.*

[i] *In Apocalyp. homil. 2 inter opera August. Tom. 9.*

baptised, is deliuered from death and from hell. Haymo thus. [k] *By the name of the keyes is shewed* (Christs) *eternall power; by death the diuell is vnderstood, by whose enuy death came into the world. And by hell, his members that shall come to the torments of hell.* Lyra. [l] *I haue the keyes of death and of hell; that is power to deliuer thence the iust, which Christ did in his Resurrection; and to inclose there the wicked, which he shall chiefly doe in the last iudgement.* Of our new writers, Bullingere. [m] *Christ then hath the keyes of death and hell, because whom he will, he deliuereth from the perpetuall damnation of death; and whom he will, he suffereth iustly to remaine in that perill of damnation. Christ hath the supreme gouernment of the house or kingdome of God; to quicken whom he will, and to draw them from hell and damnation; and whom he will damne, with his iust iudgement to destroy. For he hath most full power ouer death and hell. He conquered and disabled both, as it is Osee.* 13. *and* 1. *Corinth.* 15. Aretius. [n] *He that resembled the Sonne of Man in the Apocalyps, said; I haue the keyes of hell, and death, hoc est in damnatos, damnandos, & damnatorum loca; that is ouer those that are damned; or shall be damned; and ouer the places of the damned.* Chytreus. [o] *Christ deliuereth his Church from the captiuitie of death and hell, & casteth the wicked into the Dungeon of hell and of eternall death. For he hath the keyes, that is most full power ouer death and hell.* Sebastian Meyer whom Marlorate followeth. [p] *I haue the keyes of death and hell, that is power to pardon sinnes, which being abolished, both death and hell are deprined of their strength.* Osiander. [q] *I haue the keyes of death and hell, that is, it is in my hand to kill, and quicken; to damne and saue.* These men had both learning and reason to say, as they did; neither will any pick them ouer the pearch, as you doe Andreas Cæsariensis and Bede, but he that hath neither.

[k] Haymo in 1. Apoc.

[l] Lyra in 1. Apoc.

[m] Bulling. in Apocalyp. concione. 6.

[n] Aretij problemata de clauibus Ecclesiæ, locus. 61.

[o] Chytreus in 1. ca. Apoc.

[p] Meyer in ca. 1. Apoc.

[q] Osiander in 1. ca Apoc.

[r] *Againe one sitteth on a pale horse, whose name was death and Hades (destruction, the world of the dead, or the kingdome of death) followed after him. This in no wise can be hell: because the Text addeth, power was giuen them to slay with the sword; and with famine, and with death, and with wild beasts. Hell slayeth none in that sort, these are not the weapons of hell.*] You lacke three Gennets to set your three poppets on horseback. If by these three, *destruction, the world of the dead, the kingdome of death,* you meane in [s] effect nothing but death, as you vse to expound your selfe, that is expressed before, and Saint Iohn saith, *Hades followed after him.* Doth any thing follow after it selfe? Againe, will you bring your world of the dead, that is, all the Soules in heauen and hell, to ride on horse-backe, and that in the shew and shape of one person? you would make good dumb shewes, you haue such pretie fansies, to make death goe first alone, and his kingdome to come after him. But though you play with Saint Iohns visions, you haue no warrant to mistake Saint Iohns words, and to muster your owne errors vnder his colours. Saint Iohn doth not say, that power was giuen to death and Hades to *kill with the sword, with famine, and with death,* as you dreame; but Saint Iohn hauing represented the *sword,* or *warre by the red horse verse* 4. and famine by the *blacke horse, verse* 5. and all sorts of diseases and pestilences by the *pale horse, verse* 8. he saith, power was giuen to them, that is, to the riders on these three horses to kill the fourth of the earth with *warre, hunger,* and *sickenesse.* And because these three come not one after another, but when God is greatly prouoked with the haynous sinnes, and impenitent harts of men; therefore *Hades, hell,* is said to *come after* the third, in respect that the rebellions of men against God are ripe for hell, when no plagues can conuert them from their wicked waies. This the auncient Expositor in Austens works obserueth. *Hell followeth after.* [t] *Id est, expectat deuorationem multarum animarum: that is, it expecteth to deuoure many soules* (slaine with these plagues.) Bede saith. [u] *It may simply be vnderstoode, that such as are spiritually dead, eternall punishment doth there follow.* Lyra saith the meaning is, [x] *post cursum vitæ præsentis statim captus est ad pœnam gehennæ. After the course of this present life,* (the wicked) *is straight way caried to the torments of Gehenna.* Bullingere saith. [y] *If thou vnderstand this wholy of the place of the damned, they are surely throwen headlong to hell, as many as being here consumed with diseases, die without faith and repentance. Rightly therefore doth hell follow after death.* Marlorate. [z] *And Hades followeth after (death;) This seemeth to be added to terrifie hypocrites, that they may certainly know Gehenna is prepared*

[r] Defene pag. 194. li. 3.

[s] Pag 181. li. 38.

[t] Pag. 192. li. 38. *Hades followeth after death.*

[t] Homil. 6. in Apoc.

[u] Beda in 6. ca. Apoc.

[x] Lyra in 6. ca. Apoc.

[y] Bulling. homil. 31. in ca. 6. Apoc.

[z] Marlorat. in ca. 6. Apoc.

[a] Oſiand. in ca. 6. Apoc.

pared for them, except they repent in time. Oſiander. [a] *Hades followed after death, that is, the Images of ſome Infernall puniſhments followed. It was permitted to death to take men away not onely by the ſword, and famine, but by the peſtilence, and veremous beaſts, and to deliuer a great part of them to be tormented in hell. For hell followeth the death, not of the godly, but of the wicked; which repent not their contempt, and perſuing of the Goſpell. Theſe after their corporall death deſcend directly to hell.*

Full wiſely you adde, where I ſay, God ſometimes vſeth the diuell to ſlay the bodies of wicked men, whoſe ſoules are preſently caried to hell; that [b] *this is not the torments of hell in the place of the damned*; as if *hell* had not *gates* preuailing here on earth againſt the wicked, and ſnares here laid to catch them, that ſhall be damned; and the diuell did not walke about deuouring the ſoules of the reprobate, and in many of them, both ſoules and bodies. Wherefore if this be your beſt skill in points of Diuinitie, you may goe to your old occupation, which is filling your paper with phraſes, when you lacke matter: The Scriptures need not your ſound of wordes, without any ſenſe, to declare their meaning. Shew firſt ſubſtantially, where the Scriptures vſe theſe idle variations of yours, and then we will after argue how well they fitte the circumſtances of ech place; otherwiſe it is madneſſe to admit your imaginations for the meaning of the holy Ghoſt. As you now confeſſe you neuer eſteemed your old obiection (though you earneſtly vrged it) of the [c] *fourth part of the world not going to hell at once*, becauſe it is no new thing in the Scriptures to take a certaine number for an vncertaine: ſo when you haue throughly reuiſed all theſe idle and trifling coniectures now made againſt the vſe of the word Hades for hell, you may as iuſtly calſeire all as one.

[b] Pag. 194. li. 13.

[c] Pag. 194. li. 24.

[d] *The laſt place is death and Hades (that is the dominion or power of death) were caſt into hell. I ſaid it was abſurd to ſay hell was caſt into hell: You anſwer, it is more abſurd to ſay, the world of ſoules was caſt into hell. Where you doe but dallie with words. For I vſe not that terme, the world of ſoules.*] Then yet at laſt you be wearie of one of your witleſſe phraſes; you may as well recall the reſt, as this. Howbeit your head was ſo buſied with this reuocation, that you remembred not Saint Iohns words, which you tooke vpon you to alleage, and on which you grounded the force of your fond obiection. [e] [*It ſoundeth ſenſeleſſe in your eares,* (you proclaime) *in any ſort to ſay, that hell ſhall be caſt into hell.*] But it is more ſenſeleſſe & truethleſſe in mine, that you plainly falſifie S. Iohns wordes, and then refute your owne follie. Saint Iohn hath no ſuch words, that *death and hades were caſt into hell*; though you cite them in S. Iohns name, and quote *Reuel.* 20. *verſ.* 14. for them; his wordes are, [f] *Death and Hades were caſt into the lake of fire.* Where if we take death and hades for thoſe, that are the Rulers and gouernours of death and Hades, as the Scriptures often by the name of the place intend the perſons; then is there no abſurditie, but an euident veritie in this, that *the diuell and his Angels ſhall be caſt into perpetuall fire*, or into the lake of fire. And ſo you ſport your ſelfe all this while with your owne falſitie and vanitie. And yet haue you not auoided that, which you would ſo faine decline, that it is more abſurd to ſay, *Your world of ſoules waſt caſt into hell*; for then the ſoules of all Gods Saints muſt be caſt into hell fire; which blaſphemie how your backe will beare, I doe not know. But you renounce that expoſition of Hades, and ſay *You vſe not that terme.* Then bluſh at your former preſumption, and later oblituion, that hauing told vs, this was *the true and authentike and familiar ſenſe of hades*, you now deny that euer you vſed that terme. Looke in your woorthie Treatiſe, pag. 97. and tell me whether theſe wordes be there or no. [g] *The maſters of the Greeke tongue doe vſe hades in proper ſenſe onely in generall for the ſtate of the dead, the world of the dead,* THE WORLD OF SOVLES *departed, indifferently and indefinitely meaning aſwell thoſe in eternall ioyes, as thoſe in paines.* And ouer right theſe wordes in the Margine you ſay; [h] *The true and authentike and familiar ſenſe of Hades.* I leaue you now to your owne deuotion, whether you will recant, or continue this proper, true, and authentike expoſition, that *Hades*, (*meaning indifferently and indefinitely as well thoſe in eternall ioyes, as thoſe in paines*) was caſt into hell.

[d] Defenc. pag. 194. li. 24.

[e] Pag. 195. li. 3.

The Defender miſcitеth Saint Iohns words, & on that errour grounded all his reaſons.

[f] Reuel 20. verſ. 14.

[g] Treat. pag. 97. li. 6.

[h] *In Margine Ibidem.*

'They

[i] *There is no abſurditie to ſay, that at the laſt day the power, kingdome and dominion of death ſhall be caſt into hell, that is eternally aboliſhed.*] We aske for trueth and ſenſe, and you giue vs emptie wordes and phraſes. You toſſe theſe termes, as Souldiers do pikes, and then you ſay, there is no abſurditie in them. You haue beene ſquaring & rounding of Hades, ſometimes *for the vnſeene place of ſoules*, ſometimes for the *meere priuation* of this life, ſometimes for *the world of the dead in generall*, which compriſeth the ſoules & bodies of all that be dead, be they good or bad; ſomtimes alſo for the *power, dominion, and kingdome* of death, which you enlarge aſwel to heauen, where the Saints are; as to hell, where the damned are; Now which of all theſe ſhall be caſt into hell? not the place: for then not onely hell ſhall be caſt into hell, which you ſay ſoundeth ſenſeleſſe in your eares, but heauen alſo, which is moſt ſenſeleſſe in mine: not the world of the dead; for ſo ſhould the bodies and ſoules of all the Saints be throwen into hell fire, which I truſt you dare not endure. Perhaps your meere priuations ſhall be euerlaſtingly puniſhed in hell, the danger is not great for them, ſince *nothing* can be no where, nor feele no paine, and ſo not in hell. But after many deuices and aduices, you ſay, *the power and dominion* of death ſhall be caſt into hell. That ſhall vtterly ceaſe at the reſurrection, when all ſoules are ioyned to their bodies againe. How then ſhall that, which wholy and finally ceaſeth, be caſt into hell? You meane it ſhall bee [k] *eternally aboliſhed.* This is an erection of a new hell; and no part of the old. Happy were the damned, both men and ſpirits, if they might be caſt into this new hell of yours, that is vtterly and *eternally be aboliſhed.* But theſe be mockeries in themſelues, and falſities againſt the Chriſtian faith. That which is caſt into the lake of fire, ſhall there euerlaſtingly burne, and not conſume, but dure in perpetuall torment. Shall your dominion of bodily death euerlaſtingly burne in hell? And ſhall it alſo feele the force of that fire? You muſt then make Hades a perſon; for beſides perſons nothing ſhalbe caſt into hell fire. And if it be a perſon, it muſt be a diuell, or a man; except you will find out a place for it amongſt your ſheepe and cattell, that you ſent aliue to Hell. But ſuch childiſh and peeuiſh deuices are not worth the refuting. The Reader may ſee, what it is for men to forſake the learned and ſound expoſitions and aſſertions of auncient Fathers, and betake themſelues to their freſh and new fanſies, of which thy cannot tell what to make, nor how to ſpeake.

[l] *Though you meane the containing to be put for the contained, hell for the diuels of hell, as one Andreas and Bede likewiſe vnderſtand it; yet neither you, nor they (it ſeemeth) doe conſider, that this place aſſigneth them to hell, at the laſt day, who yet then are not in hell.* [m] *But the Diuels are in hell alreadie. Therefore the diuels cannot be vnderſtood heere by Hades.*] Can a man be ſo ſottiſh, vnleſſe hee were beſides himſelfe, as not to find, that all this while he refuteth his owne falſifications of Saint Iohns wordes, and not any poſition of mine, nor of theſe two learned writers, whom he diſdaineth as not conſidering where the diuels are before the day of iudgement? They doe not ſay the diuels ſhall then be caſt into hell; this is your coltiſh conceit, from which you will not depart; but into *the lake of fire prepared* (as our Sauiour pronounceth,) *for the diuell and his Angels.* And how come you now in your heate ſo haſtily to determine, where hell is, which not long ſince you called raſhneſſe in me? you told vs ere while, [n] *The Apoſtle mentioneth the aire on high, as being the place of Diuels.* Put to this that, which heere you ſay; *the Diuels are in hell alreadie*; you meane the place of hell, or elſe you ſay nothing againſt Andreas and Bede, whom you would confute, as not conſidering where the Diuels are. Doe not you then determine, that hell is in *the aire on high*, and ſo not onely condemne your ſelfe of raſhneſſe by your owne verdict, but gaineſay the Scriptures, who teſtifie that the diuels deſired Chriſt [o] *not to commaund them into the deepe?* Yea by this reſolution of yours the face of the earth, where wee liue, is hell; ſince the diuels are heere alſo, and [p] *compaſſe the earth and walke therein.* So that if we let you alone, in ſteed of one hell you will make vs three; the *aire*, the *earth*, the *deepe*, ſince in all theſe three it cannot bee denied but the Diuels are. And yet for all your tripping ſo light on the toe, the diuels may and ſhalbe at the laſt day caſt into hell, that

i Defenc. pag 194. li 38.

k Pag. 195. li. 1.

l Defenc. pag. 195. li. 4.

m li. 7.

n Pag. 189. li. 31.

The defender maketh three hels in ſtead of one.

o Luke 8.

p Iob 1.

is affixed to the place and torments there, from which they ſhall not ſtirre, as now they doe, whiles the iuſtice of God doth ſuffer them to vphold and encreale their kingdome here on earth. And where you vouch of your hades, that it ſhall at the laſt day of iudgement be throwen into hell, that is eternally be aboliſhed; as you conceaue and derive your Hades, that day ſhall enlarge it more then euer before, and ſo continue it for euer. For all viſible creatures in heauen and earth (ſaue men) ſhall after that day haue no more any being at all; yea the firſt *heauen*, *and the firſt earth* (ſhall) *paſſe away*, *and there* (ſhall be) *no more any ſea*; which will greatly enrich your generall Hades, that containeth the [q] *deſtruction of vnreaſonable things*; *and the periſhing of viſible creatures from hence, as the proper Etymologie thereof admitteth.* Nay if the [r] *very naturall Etymologie of the word according to Grammar* doe *properly ſignifie*, NOT SEENE ANY MORE IN THIS WORLD, as you affirme it doth; then all, both good and bad, be they in heauen or hell, ſhall after the day of iudgement be properly and euerlaſtingly in Hades. For they ſhall neuer be ſeene any more in this world, whoſe [r] *figure paſſeth away* without returning, and giueth place for euer to the world to come. And this your Hades, which you would caſt into hell there to bee for euer aboliſhed, ſhall by the *naturall Etymologie*, *and proper ſignification* thereof, confeſſed and vrged by your ſelfe, not only continue in hell and in heauen, but compriſe them both, ſeeing the Citizens of either ſhall *not be ſeene any more in this world.*

[q] Pag. 188. li. 25. 29.

[r] Pag 178. li 28.

[r] 1. Cor. 7.

[s] Defenc. pag. 195. li. 16. [s] *Laſtly heere is ſhewed the moſt generall and vniuerſall rendring vp of all the dead whatſoeuer to iudgement. But hell plainly hath not all the dead. Therefore death and Hades doe not heere properly ſignifie the diuell and Hell.*] When you ſay, *heere is ſhewed the vniuerſall rendring vp of all the dead whatſoeuer to iudgement*, If you meane this of death & hades, that they rendred vp all the dead, that came to iudgement; you vouch a manifeſt vntrueth repugnant to the very wordes of Saint Iohn going next before, for thus his wordes ſtand. [t] *And the ſea gaue vp her dead, which were in her, and death and Hades deliuered vp the dead, which were in them.* So that all the dead were not rendred to iudgement by death and Hades, the Sea had part by Saint Iohns owne ſpeech; and therefore death and Hades heere doe not ſignifie the Dominion of death, which reacheth to the ſea, aſwell as to the earth. Againe Saint Iohn in the twelfth verſe, [x] *ſaw the dead both great and ſmall ſtand before God.* And in the thirteenth he addeth, the [y] *Sea alſo gaue vp her dead, and death and hell deliuered vp the dead which were in them.* Hee ſaw then ſome dead ſtand before God, which neither the Sea, nor hades deliuered. And ſince Paul telleth vs, that the [z] *dead in Chriſt ſhall riſe firſt*; *and God will bring them, which ſleepe in Ieſus*, *with him* (to iudgement); what hindreth, but the dead in the twelfth of Saint Iohn may be the elect, and the reſt be deliuered vp from the deepe of the Sea, and of Hades, as is mentioned in the thirteenth verſe? If you like not this, ſhew vs a reaſon, why the earth is here ouerskipt, in which are the moſt of the dead bodies both of good & bad, (vnleſſe it were becauſe no doubt was of the earth in refunding her dead) and we will make you a playner explication of theſe parts, which now ſeeme ſomewhat doubtfull. Howbeit death and Hades cannot ſtand for one and the ſelfe ſame thing, as you would haue them, ſince the holy Ghoſt applieth the plurall number to them, and maketh them places (not phraſes) to containe the dead in them; by ſaying, *death and Hades gaue vp the dead, which were in them.* Words haue no dead in them, but places haue; which becauſe S. Iohn maketh to bee plurall, death and Hades cannot here be taken for one thing.

[t] Reuel. 20. v. 13.

[x] Reuel. 20. v. 12. & 13.

[y] 1 Theſſ. 4. v. 16.

[z] v. 16.

Neither were thoſe writers, whom you reiect, ſo inconſiderate as not eaſily to wipe away the force of your faint reaſons. Bede vpon theſe words, the *Sea, death, and hell, gaue vp their dead*, ſaith, [a] *Iohn ſignifieth the bodies ſhalbe gathered from the earth, and their ſoules from their* (ſeuerall) *places. The good vnder the name of death, which ſuffered onelie the diſſolution of their bodies, and no* (farder) *puniſhment: the euill he deſigneth by the name of hell.* Andreas Cæſarienſis taketh the Sea for the earth, as Bede doth; either becauſe they thought the earth ſhould then be *plaine* like the ſea, as Sibylla propheſied, [b] *Equantur campis montes, hills and vales ſhall then be all euen*; or becauſe heauen and earth were

[a] *Beda in cap. 20. Apocalyp.*

[b] *Auguſt. de Ciuitate Dei. lib. 18. cap. 23. vide Lactant. de diuino præmio li. 7. cap. 16.*

were before said *to be* [c] *fled away from* his *face, that sate on the throne*, and *their place no more to be found*; or for that at the mutation of the world the earth shall melt, and burne all ouer like a sea of fire: and of the rest he saith. [d] *Death is the separation of the soule from the body. Hades is a place to vs vnseene, that is, darke and vnknowen, which receaueth the* (dead) *soules departing hence. And those soules are dead which cary with them dead works. For the soules of the iust, as the wise man saith, are in the hands of God, and no torment shall touch them.* (Dead) soules I read with the interpreter, and not our soules, as the Printer in Greeke hath mistaken the word ψυχων for νεκρων, not onely because the interpreter had first the copie before him, and tooke more care to render it right then the Printer, but also for that the Author in the very next words declareth, what he ment by dead soules before: of which there is no mention precedent, if that word be not kept, where the translator putteth it. Saint Austen taketh the sea for this world, and shewing how those that liue on earth may be called dead euen by warrant of holy Scripture, and this life be counted no better then a death; addeth, [e] *Nec frustra fortasse non satis fuit vt diceret mors, aut infernus, sed vtrumq; dictum est. Neither happily without cause was it not enough to say death or hell, but both are named, death for the good, who might suffer onely death, and not also hell: and hell for the wicked; which are punished in hell.* And of the next words, *death and hell were cast into the lake of fire*, he saith. [f] *His nominibus significans Diabolum, quoniam mortis est author, & infernarum pœnarum; vniuersamq; simul Dæmonum societatem. By these names Saint Iohn signifieth the diuell, because he is the Author* (or first occasioner) *of death and hell-paines, withall the whole multitude of diuels.* Primasius as he was S. Austens scholar, so doth he writing vpon the reuelation retaine S. Austens sense and [g] sentences, as they are alleaged next before. Aretas writing on the same words, [h] *S. Iohn*, saith he, *meaneth those that haue done things worthy of this punishment*, πλεῖστας τῶν τῷ δευτέρῳ θανάτῳ ὄμιλον, *making vp the people of the second death.* [*Death and hades gaue vp their dead.*] *By death* saith Haymo [i] *we may simply vnderstand the death of the flesh, by hell the places of darkenesse.* [*Death and hades*] *that is, all the members of the Diuell with their head* [*were cast into the lake of fire*] *that is, into the deepe damnation of hell. And rightly are all the reprobate figured by hell, either because abiding there they make but one house with hell, in which they abide; or els for that imitating the works of the Diuell, they are neuer satisfied with euill, as hell neuer saith, it sufficeth.* The new writers doe not dissent, if it were worth the time to repeat manie of them. Bullinger. [k] *Death and hell were cast into the lake of fire. Hades (hell) heere doth signifie not the place of punishment, but those that are or were in hell: whose soules were hitherto deteined in hell, or such as are appointed for hell. Death also signifieth those, that are dead in sinne, and which from a spirituall and temporall death, directly passe to eternall death. Aretas and Primasius are of the same opinion with vs.* Chytreus. [l] *Death shall restore all the bodies slaine by him; and hell shall refund the soules of the wicked to be ioined to their bodies.* [m] *Hades in Greeke is deriued from* ἀ & εἶδεω, *that is, not to see, or a place lacking light, which in the 22 of Matthew is called vtter darkenesse, where the wicked deprined of the sight, light, comfort, and life of God not onely suffer perpetuall night* (or darknesse) *but great and vnspeakeable paines and torments of soule and body. The Latines call it infernus, because the place of the damned is thought to be somewhere in the earth beneath vs, as it is said in the 16 of Numbers, they descended aliue to hell, and the earth couered them.*

[c] Reuel. 20. verse 11.

[d] Andreas Cæsarien. in 20. cap. Apoc.

[e] August. de ciuitate Dei lib. 20. ca. 15.

[f] Ibidem.

[g] Primas. in 20. cap. Apocalyp.

[h] Aretas in Apocalyps. cap. 65.

[i] Haymo in Apocalyp. c. 20.

[k] Bullinger. homil. 90. in Apoc.

[l] Chytreus in 20. ca. Apo. de extremo Iudicio.

[m] Ibidem numero 7. de pœnis Impiorum.

Why hades doth signifie hell in the new Testament.

Thus haue we for your pleasure runne ouer all the places of the new Testament, where hades is vsed; and for ought we see, or you say, find the plaine and perpetuall vse of hades to signifie hell; and not any such *priuations, destructions, conditions, and dominions* of bodily death, as you dreame of. And as for the circumstances of the places, they all concurre exactly and directly with this signification of hades, which I obserue; notwithstanding your Cabbinet of conceits, that hades shall designe you know not what, where, nor when. The reasons of my obseruations are manifest. For where throughout the old Testament with the Septuagint hades doth alwaies import the pit for dead bodies or soules: that is, the graue common to good and bad, or hell peculiar to the soules of the reprobate, with the consequents of either; and the writers of

of the new purpoſely diſtinguiſh θάνατον & *death* from *hades*, and mention death expreſſely, that is, by name or by deſcription, in euery of thoſe places, where hades is found in the new Teſtament, ſaue in Chriſts threatning of Capernaum, in which it is oppoſed to heauen, as fardeſt diſtant from it, and moſt repugnant to it: It is a plaine & true rule in mine opinion, that the Euangeliſts and Apoſtles euery where by Hades intended hell, and none of your wandring, or ſtragling fanſies. Beſides the Greeke Fathers with one conſent vſe Hades after the direction of the Canonicall writers, for a place of darkneſſe vnder the earth, prouided to receaue and detaine the Soules of men. And in this ſenſe neither the Scriptures nor the Fathers departed much from the auncient and true vſe of the word amongſt heathen and prophane Authors; ſauing that the Pagans made it common to the Soules of iuſt and vniuſt, which the Scriptures neuer doe, and the Fathers vtterly refuſe after Chriſts Reſurrection, whatſoeuer they doe before. Since then Hades by the manifeſt expoſition of Saint Luke in his Goſpell, is the place of torment, where the wicked after death are puniſhed; and the ſame Euangeliſt expreſſeth Dauids meaning to be this, that Chriſts Soule after death was not left or forſaken in Hades; what cauſe or reaſon hath any man to denie that Chriſt dying deſcended to hell; there to ſpoyle powers and principalities, and thence to leade Captiuitie Captiue, that as he aſcended to the higheſt heauens, there to ſit ſuperiour to all the Elect Angels, ſo he firſt deſcended to the bottomleſſe deepe, there to ſubiect the Reprobate Angels vnto his humane nature, and to diſſolue the power and ſorrowes of hell, of which it was impoſsible he ſhould be held.

[a] Defenc. pag. 195. li. 36.

[a] *Here we muſt conſider a maine obiection of yours, euen thoſe words of our common Creed, he deſcended into hell; originally it is he deſcended into Hades, and in truth this is all you haue to alleadge for your opinion: but I anſwere two waies: firſt admitting, then denying the Authoritie of theſe words in our common Creede.*] You haue ſeene by this time what I haue to alleadge; for that which I defend may be ſafely conceiued of the Creed. The words themſelues, *he deſcended to Hades*, haue euident warrant in the holy Scriptures, and Peter exactly concludeth out of Dauids words, that *Chriſts* [b] *Soule was not left in Hades.* What Hades is with S. Luke the writer of the Acts, we likewiſe haue ſeene. It is euen the place, where the wicked are tormented after death. Put theſe together, and tell me what they want of Chriſtes deſcending into hell before he roſe from the dead. The words in Engliſh, *he deſcended into hell*; are confirmed by the publike authoritie of this Realme, as well in the Booke of common praier, as in the Articles of Religion agreed on by the Conuocation, and ratified by Act of Parliament. So that all your euaſions & cluſions of the *priuation*, *condition*, and *dominion* of death to be ment thereby are vtterly reiected and condemned by generall and full conſent of Prince, Paſtours & people within this Realme; and Chriſts deſcent to hell after death hath beene conſtantly and continually profeſſed and beleeued in the Church of England euer ſince the Goſpell was here eſtabliſhed. What you haue ſaid againſt it, I leaue to the Readers wiſe and indifferent iudgement, who wil eaſily tell you, you muſt bring better ſtuffe then either phraſes or fanſies before the common Creede may be thus reiected and deſpiſed.

[b] Acts. 2. v. 31.

[c] Defenc. pag. 196.

[c] *You enioyne vs three Rules to be exactly and preciſely kept in the expounding of theſe words; Namely, 1. diſtinction of Matter. 2. conſequence of order. 3. proprietie of words. Might not thoſe godly men (thinke you) miſſe in ſome ſuch circumſtances, although the Scripture cannot?*] The firſt compilers of the Creede meaning *ſhortly*, *orderly*, and *plainly* to deliuer the ſumme of the Chriſtian faith, as touching the three perſons in Trinitie, and the chiefeſt bleſsings which God beſtoweth on his Church in this life and the next by Ieſus Chriſt our Lord, might not with any diſcretion in ſo briefe and compendious a ſumme of Chriſtian Religon propoſed to the ſimple and vulgar ſort of all ages and ſexes, vſe either any needleſſe *repetition*, *diſordered confuſion*, *or obſcure inuolution* of things requiſite to our Saluation. To theſe Rules agree all that haue expounded the Creede in the Church of Chriſt to this very day, ſaue your ſelfe, and ſuch as haue opened you the gap to theſe innouations. And theſe Rules allowed do cleane caſt your expoſition out of doores. For where it is moſt plainly ſaid that Chriſt *died*,

and

and was *buried*; which words no plow-man, woman, nor child of reaſonable yeeres can miſtake; you after Chriſts buriall come in with a darke and figuratiue phraſe of *deſcending to Hades*, which in effect you confeſſe is no more but what was ſaid before in knowen and open ſpeech, that Chriſt *died*. And this obſcure and ſtrange circumlocution of death you will haue to be an Article of your faith, as if euery Chriſtian creature were bound vpon danger of his ſaluation to vnderſtand what *Sheol* or *Hades* doth ſignifie in the Greeke and Hebrew Tongues; which is a poſition meete for ſuch a Diuine as you are. Your expoſition therefore is repugnant to all three Rules. For it is a ſuperfluous, vnorderly, & enigmaticall iteration of that which was before expreſſed in due place with as plaine and eaſie wordes, as any might be ſpoken by the tongue of man. Now with what Arguments you or any man liuing (Hu. Bro. not excepted,) can proone that Hebrew or Greeke phraſes are Articles of Religion, and muſt be conceaued and beleeued of all men before they can be ſaued, as yet I doe not vnderſtand. And this is the miſerie of your cauſe, that not onely you haue no word in Latine, Engliſh, nor in any tongue elſe anſwerable to your Sheol or Hades, but when you come to lay open your owne phraſes, the expoſition is more ridiculous then the Tranſlation. For by Chriſts deſcending to Hades, which you call the *power, dominion and kingdome* of death, you meane no more, but that Chriſts Soule ſeuered from his Body went to heauen to the reſt of the bleſſed Soules there. And here I report me to him that will vouchſafe to read your 196. & 197. pages, whether you haue any thing there but ſtore of phraſes, extending, intending, enlarging, amplifying the *name, power, and dominion* of death; which when all is done and ſaid, amounteth to this much, that Chriſtes ſoule ſeuered by death from his body ſubmitted it ſelfe to the baſe and low condition of the dead, by taking the paines to goe to heauen to the reſt of the Saints there. This is all in effect that your *Periphraſis and Emphaſis moriendi* doe containe; and the great *fall or whole caſting downe* of Chriſtes perſon, which you ſo Rhetorically ſet out with termes of the broadeſt and longeſt ſize, hath nothing in it, but only this, that his ſoule after death which diſſolued his perſon, aſcended to the ſocietie of the bleſſed ſoules in heauen. The reſt is your emphaticall and paraphraſticall vanitie ſwelling with wordes, and ſhrinking in ſenſe; which needeth none other refutation but ſober obſeruation, that when two ſides are ſpent, nothing is ſaid; but you are where you began. For would you not varie ſo many phraſes as you doe, tending all to expreſſe one thing; but ſeeke a little to ſhew vs what matter is contained in them, you ſhould ſoone ſee what labour you haue loſt in this Carrecke of words, which you haue newly brought vs home.

[q] *Your meere and ſimple death*, which you ſay *is nothing els but the going aſunder of the ſoule from the body*, hath of neceſsitie thus much in it. *It is the ſeparation of the ſoule from the body, which is the cauſe of life in the body*, It is the *diſſolution of the perſon*, which conſiſteth of body and ſoule: It is the *priuation of life* which endeth with the departing of the ſoule: It is the *continuing of death*, ſince poſsibly there is no regreſſe from the priuation to the habite without the mightie hand of God working aboue nature. For the ſoule departing neuer returneth, till God commaund, by whoſe word heauen and earth were made. What now after death becommeth of both parts of man, is no hard matter to conceaue. Salomon ſaith, [r] *Duſt* (meaning fleſh, firſt made of duſt) *returneth to earth as it was, and the ſpirit, to God that gaue it*; by him to be diſpoſed and adiudged to ioy or paine, as pleaſeth him. The body then goeth to corruption, the ſoule receaueth iudgement, where it ſhall remaine in hell or heauen, till the bodie be reſtored againe, which ſhall be at the laſt day. *Deſcending to hades after death* cannot be verified of the whole perſon of man, but in reſpect of the parts. Referred to the body, it is as much as buried and laide in the place, where it ſhall putrifie and returne to duſt. Applied to the ſoule, it muſt ſignifie the place to which the ſoule is caried, which I ſay muſt be vnder earth, ſince heauen is neuer called by that name, nor expreſſed by that word, either in the Scriptures, or in any other ſacred or prophane writers. The power and dominion of death, which you ſo much ſpeake of, is

[q] Defenc. pag. 196. li. 34.

What things the death of the bodie doth import.

[r] Eccleſiaſt. 12.

nothing else but Gods ordinance, that from death there is no returne to life till hee appoint. If then there be no dominion nor kingdome of death preuailing or ruling in heauen, where the soules of the Saints are without their bodies, then Christ in ascending to heauen descended not to Hades. Againe with what trueth can you
f Pag. 196. li. 33. auouch Christes soule came vnder the full f *power and dominion of death*, since death had no power ouer the bodie or soule of Christ longer or farder then he himselfe would permit; and his soule free from all bands and paines of death, destroied the dominion and kingdome of death, to which it was alwaies superiour and neuer subiect, but onely that he might shew himselfe with greater power to be conquerer of death rather in rising from the dead, then in declining the force of death, as if he were not able after death and in death, to dissolue the dominion and power of death? Wherefore your exaggerating the *power and dominion* of death OVER THE SOVLE of Christ, and that IN HEAVEN; whither you graunt Christes soule went after death, is not onely a vaine and idle flourish, but a poisoned and pestilent doctrine, if you take not heed to it; since no power of death, but Christes will to shew himselfe Lord of life and death, either seuered his soule from his bodie, or bestowed his soule in any place after death, or detained him in the condition of death; but he was free to die when he would, and rise from death when he would, which euerteth all power and dominion of death ouer him, how much soeuer in wastefull wordes you auouch the contrarie.

Touching the proprietie of wordes, that you say is as true as the rest. For Hades
g Defenc. pag. 197. li. 28. hath no such g *native and proper sense*, as you talke of, but exactly and directly (when it is referred to a place and not to a person) signifieth a *place of darknesse* where nothing can be seene, as with one consent Heathen and Christian writers acknowledge. And the word *descending* after death, which you must applie to the soule ascending to
h li. 35. heauen, you childishly change into the h *fall of the person from life to death*, or inconstantly varie you know not how, to Christes submission
i Pag. 198. li. 1. & 4. i *when he died*, or his abasement by k *lying held and subdued* so long time in death. Where againe you incurre the same sands, that you did before in affirming Christ *was held and subdued of death* for the time, which is plainly false doctrine, since he would abide that time in death, least any should thinke him not truely dead, but was neuer vnder the power and dominion of death. And as for l *lying held in death*, that phrase is strangely referred to the
l Ibid. li. 4. soule of Christ, which ascended to the third heauen with more honour and ioy, then it receaued in this life heere on earth. What Ruffine saith, is not much to be regarded; if we beleeue S. m Ierom, neither was Ruffines faith sound, nor his authoritie
m *In Apologia aduersus Ruffinum.* any thing in the Church, and yet were he woorth the respecting, he maketh more against you then for you. For first these wordes are not vsed as an exposition of Christs
n *Ruffinus in Symbolum Apost.* descent to Hades, but Ruffine saith, n *Diuina natura in mortem per carnem descendit, non vt lege mortalium detineretur a Morte, sed vt per se resurrecturus ianuas mortis aperiret. The diuine nature* (of Christ) *descended to death by* (his) *flesh, not to be held of death after the law of mortall men, but that rising of himselfe hee might open the gates of death.* Where he saith, *the diuine nature descended to death*, he speaketh not of the soule, but of the godhead of Christ: which words by your leaue require a sober interpretation; and yet in respect of the diuine glory, the phrase of *descending vnto death* signifieth Christes submission to die, not his descent after death. And withall he refelleth two of your fansies, first that Christ was *was not held of death*, which you say he was: Secondly, that he *followed not heerein the law of mans nature*, which you say he did. And that Christes soule descended to hell by Ruffines opinion, his wordes are plaine enough in many places. He applieth that to Christ, which Dauid saith; *Thou hast brought my soule out of hell*; and alleaging the place of Peter, *In his spirit* (Christ preached) *to them which were in prison:* heerein saith he it is declared, *quid operis egerit in Inferno, What Christ did in hell.* So that the lesse hold you take of Ruffine, the better
o Defenc. pag. 198. li. 8. for you and your cause; he will doe more harme then good.

p *If any thinke this to be somewhat figuratiue, yet is it verely so familiar and easie to all*

people

people, as that other word in the Creede is, he ſitteth at the right hand of God, yea it is farre eaſier.] When you can diue deepe into your owne fanſies, you thinke them as familiar to all others, as to your ſelfe. If this were ſo eaſie and readie with the ſimpler ſort, as you make it, me thinkes it ſhould not ſo much trouble you to expreſſe it rightly. But you varie ſo often, and ſay nothing in the end, that your hearers can hardly ſound the bottome of your Hades. That God hath no handes as we haue, this euery meane Chriſtian doth or ſhould know. Since then this ſimilitude is taken from men, and with them it is not ſtrange to put thoſe on their right hand, whom they will honour and aduance, it is eaſie for the ſimple to learne that Chriſtes ſitting at the right hand of God is as much as his ſitting in glorie and Maieſty with God; which though they cannot preſently perceiue how great it is, yet may they readily cõceaue what the meaning thereof is. In your deſcending to Hades it is nothing ſo. Your inconſtancy and varietie in expounding that phraſe is a proofe what difficultie there is in it; and your predicament of twelue parts at the end of your booke is a labornth long enough for ſimple Chriſtians to looſe themſelues therein. Though therefore your deuices be familiar to your ſelfe, who night and day dreame thereof, yet that maketh them no whit the eaſier to the ſimple; who can quickely apprehend that Chriſt was content to die for their ſinnes, and to be buried for the more certaine triall of death, and to haue his ſoule beſtowed where pleaſed himſelfe, till his reſurrection, when he raiſed himſelfe from death as the vanquiſher and commaunder of death, and of the whole power and Dominion of Satan, death and hell: but that Chriſtes ſoule after death *deſcended to Hades*, that is to the generall indefinite condition and Dominion of death without any mention of the place, where it abode; this is more like one of Ariſtotles Metaphyſicall abſtracts, then any part of the Chriſtian faith.

What is meant by ſitting at Gods right hand.

[d] *Heerein all the later, famous and godly reſtoarers of religion in a manner doe ioyne with vs; as Maſter Bucer, P. Martyr, Bullingere, Oleuian. &c. yea maſter Caluine liked this alſo well enough, though yet he ſeemeth to leane more to an other ſenſe.*] If you meane, thoſe learned men were of opiniõ, that *deſcending to Sheol* (which the Septuagint cal hades) referred to the bodies or liues of good or bad, did in the old Teſtament ſignifie their *going to the graue*, I am of the ſame opinion with them, I haue not once nor twice profeſſed as much: but if any of them did thinke, as none of them doe, that Sheol in the Hebrew tongue, or in the Scriptures importeth not hell, but onely the graue, I muſt haue leaue to diſſent from ſuch as be of that mind. Howbeit neither Peter Martyr, nor Bullingere, nor Bucer, nor Oleuian, nor Caluine are of that mind, notwithſtanding they diuerſely expound this Article. What Caluine thinketh of Chriſtes ſuffering hell paines, is not to this purpoſe; but moſt certainely hee taketh Hades in the Creede for hell, and for the paines thereof. Of the reſt, excepting Oleuian, I haue ſpoken before: and Oleuians reaſons to prefer his ſenſe before all other ſenſes of this Article are very weake; and not worthy a man of his learning. He layeth this for the maine ground thereof (which is not graunted, and cannot be prooued) That this Article, of Chriſtes deſcending to Hades was Chriſts extreameſt and loweſt humiliation, and no part of his exaltation. Which way will you, or Oleuian prooue that? and yet this is the onely cauſe, why he would haue Hades ſignifie the ignominious ſtate of Chriſtes bodie in the graue, where he *lay oppreſſed*, and *as it were ſwallowed vp of death*. But Oleuians ſuppoſitiõ, that certainly Peter in the ſecond of the Acts ſpake of Chriſts extreameſt humiliation, and deriued it from Dauids wordes, is vtterly void of all iuſt proofe. For Peter propoſeth the manner and power of Chriſtes reſurrection. Now that was no part of Chriſtes humiliation. Againe the words, which Peter citeth out of Dauid, argue rather the ſingular prerogatiue, which Chriſt had ouer death aboue Dauid and others, that *his fleſh ſaw no corruption*, nor *his ſoule was forſaken in hell*; which things whatſoeuer their meaning be, ſound rather to Chriſts honor and Soueraignitie, then to his abaſement and humilitie. Thirdly Oleuian referreth this to the baſeneſſe of the graue; where I hope Chriſtes ſoule was not. And if you make heauen or Paradiſe, where Chriſtes ſoule was, the loweſt abaſement that Chriſt could ſuffer, you will

[d] Defenc. pag. 198. li. 11.

Oleuians coniectures are but weake.

proue a mad merrie diuine. Laſtly where Oleuian would haue the ſhame of the graue to be the victorie of thoſe helliſh paines, which he ſuppoſeth Chriſt ſuffered on the croſſe, call you that the victory of hell ouer Chriſts ſoule, when it aſcendeth with honour and bliſſe to heauen and the ſociety of all the Saints? Theſe things muſt hang better together before I can be induced to admit them, whoſoeuer offereth them: though I make it as lawfull for me to refuſe Oleuians coniectures, as he maketh it for himſelfe to leaue all the Fathers, and the reformed churches of the Auguſtane confeſsion expounding that article of the Creed, as I doe.

*Defenc.pag. 198.li.23. [c] *But we are to know that (as you cite them and vrge them) they haue no ſuch authority and credit as hitherto we haue yeelded vnto them. And that for three cauſes. Firſt, for that your tranſlating and turning them, he deſcended into hell, is corrupt, partiall and vntrue.*] The exceptions, which you take againſt theſe words, are three. Firſt, that they are ill tranſlated by me. Secondly, that they were lately put into the Apoſtles Creed. Thirdly, that they conteine an error, which was Chriſts going to Limbus to fetch the Patriarks thence. If the reſt be no truer then the firſt, we ſhal ſoone haue done with them.

Hell in the Creede is no new tranſlation. Is this my tranſlation of the Creed, *he deſcended into hell*? Can you ſhew vs, ſince this Realme ſpake Engliſh, or ſince it receaued the Chriſtian faith, that euer it had any other word in this place of the Creed but hell, or a word equiualent to it? The Saxons before vs ſaid; *And he* ny ðep aþoah ðo helle; *and he downe went to hell.* The Britons before them, if that tongue be not changed, **Deſcenawdd y yffern**, *he deſcended to inferne.* So that in calling this tranſlation corrupt, partiall, and vntrue; you ſhew that you haue lately deuiſed a ſenſe of that article, which theſe parts of the Chriſtian world neuer heard before. And where you would haue me [f] *euidently and ſoundly conuince you by Greeke authority, that hades is neuer applied to the ſtate and condition of the godly deceaſed, and then you will yeeld:* I like well your wit, that wilbe ſure to ſay what you liſt without warrant or proofe, and then lay the burden on others. Muſt I prooue the negatiue or you rather not be beleeued till you haue iuſtly prooued by the Scriptures and by the auncient Greeke fathers, that hades with them did ſignifie the place where the ſoules of the righteous were receaued after Chriſts reſurrection: or that hades with them was not a place of darkeneſſe vnder the earth, which what that be in Chriſtian religion beſides hell, I leaue to the iudgement of the wiſe and indifferent Reader. Your weake and ſeely proofes taking hold of the Pagans error, that thought good and bad after death were vnder the earth in Plutoes kingdome, whom they called hades, will neuer conuince our Engliſh tranſlation to be partiall or falſe. Beſides in the meane time you muſt remember, you reiect and impugne the words receaued and allowed by the publike authority of this Realme; and ſo conuince your ſelf to refuſe an article of the faith confirmed by the lawes of the land.

f Pag.198. li.34.

‡Defenc.pag. 199.li.3. [g] *This clauſe of Chriſts deſcending to hades or to infernum is new or lately put into our vulgar Creed called the Apoſtles Creed. Ruffinus witneſſeth (who liued about fiue hundred yeeres after Chriſt) that it was not at all in the Creed in his time.*] You miſtake euery thing that you meddle with. Ruffine liued in Ieroms time, and wrote againſt him, which was within 400 yeeres after Chriſt; and ſaith *the Church of Rome*, and (ſome) *Churches of the Eaſt* had not thoſe words (he deſcended to hell) in their Creeds. Whence you moſt vntruely conclude, [h] *There was no ſuch article as this, nor any ſuch words any where in the Creed for the ſpace of 500 yeeres after Chriſt.* To clap in fiue hundred for fower, and the whole world for ſome Churches of the Eaſt, are ſmall matters with you, reſpecting how els where you intrude vpon others; but this is more haſt then good ſpeed, what your Author doth not ſay, to ſupplie of your owne. [*Will you ſay Ruffine lieth? or can you bring to the contrary any proofe? I thinke not, yea I am ſure, you cannot.*] Whatſoeuer I ſay, Ruffine ſaith; you doe little better then lie. For in that expoſition of the Creed, which you cite, he ſetteth downe this for a part of the Creed, [i] *Crucifixus ſub Pontio Pilato, deſcendit ad inferna. Crucified vnder Pontius Pilate, he deſcended to hell.* And therefore out of his report to inferre, *there were not any ſuch words any where in the Creed, for the ſpace of 500 yeeres after Chriſt*, is to bring your owne witneſſe to

h li.13.

i Ruffinus in Symbolum Apoſtolorum.

giue

giue the budge. That this clauſe was not conteined in the Creed of ſome Churches, may well be confeſſed; that it was no where receaued and profeſſed as a part of the Creed for 500 yeeres after Chriſt, is a manifeſt vntrueth, though Ruffine had ſaid it, which yet he doth not. Cyrill Biſhop of Ieruſalem 360. yeeres after Chriſt repeating and expounding ten points of the Creed for the better remembance of thoſe, that were baptiſed, after the crucifying, and burying of Chriſt, and before his reſurrection rehearſeth this as one of the ten, [k] καπῆλθεν εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια, *he deſcended to the places vnder the earth.* Chryſoſtom a Presbyter of Antioch 400. yeeres after Chriſt, repeateth the ſame as a part of the Creed. [l] *Crucified vnder Pontius Pilate, he was buried. Deſcendit ad infernum, he deſcended to hell, that this alſo might not want a wonder.* Auguſtine in his Sermon, *ad competentes, to thoſe that deſired baptiſme,* rehearſeth the whole Creed, and this article as a part, *deſcendit ad inferna; Chriſt deſcended to hell;* and thus expoundeth it. [m] *Dum corpus in ſepulchro iacuit, anima illa de infernis triumphaut, whiles Chriſts body lay in the graue, his ſoule triumphed ouer hell.* And elſwhere repeating it by parts, ſaith, [n] *Credite paſſum ſub Pontio Pilato, credite crucifixum, credite mortuum & ſepultum, credite eum ad inferna deſcendiſſe. Beleeue that Chriſt ſuffered vnder Pontius Pilate, beleeue that he was crucified, beleeue that he died and was buried, beleeue that he deſcended to hell.* Your ſelfe, if you varie not in this as you doe in other things touching this cauſe ſince the making of your Treatiſe, acknowledge ſo much. [o] *We know (the Creed) to be moſt auncient and very neere to the Apoſtles times:* [p] *yea this very article of Chriſts deſcending to hades; becauſe Ignatius ſpeaketh of it, and others moſt auncient likewiſe.* And howſoeuer you eleuate the credit of [q] Euſebius report, whereof we ſhall ſpeake anon more largely, the city of Edeſſa kept in their publicke monuments from the Apoſtles times the chiefe parts of the Apoſtles Creed, touching the worke of our redemption by Chriſt, and amongſt them this one, καπέλθη εἰς τὸν ἅδην, *he deſcended to hades.* Which Ignatius one of S. Iohn the Euangeliſts ſcholars likewiſe numbreth amongſt the ſpeciall matters of our redemption; as that [r] *truely, and not in opinion onely, Chriſt was crucified, died,* καπῆλθεν εἰς ἅδην, *deſcended to hades, and roſe the third day, and was aſſumed vp to his father, and ſitteth at his right hand.*

[k] *Cyrill. Hieroſoly. Catech. 4.*

[l] *Chryſoſt. de expoſitione Symboli, homil 2.*

[m] *Auguſt. ſermo. 131. de tempore.*

[n] *Idem ſermo. 195.*

[o] Treat. pag. 94. li 25.

[p] Pag. 93. li. 7.

[q] *Euſeby hiſt. eccleſiaſt. lib. 1. ca. 13.*

[r] *Ignaty epiſt. ad Trallianos.*

[s] *This Eraſmus may ſeeme to haue ſome colour for his conieCture, that about Thomas Aquinas his time they might (peraduenture) be put into the Creede.*] You can haue no colour for your error in miſtaking Eraſmus words. Could not Eraſmus, being a man of that learning and reading which he was, tell whether this Article were in the Creed before Aquinas time or no? and could Aquinas ſo eaſily put this clauſe into all the Creedes that were vſed amongſt Chriſtians throughout the world? *Innocentius* the third, aboue 60. yeeres before Aquinas, expreſsing the myſteries of their maſſe, ſetteth downe the twelue parts of the Apoſtles Creede, and this for the fift Article, [t] *Deſcendit ad Inferna, tertia die reſurrexit a mortuis. He deſcended to Hell, and roſe the third day from the dead.* The ſame Innocentius in his great *Laterane* Councell propoſing the Catholike faith, as he calleth it, putteth downe this for a part thereof. [u] *Deſcendit ad Inferos, reſurrexit a mortuis. Sed deſcendit in anima, reſurrexit in carne. Chriſt deſcended to hell, and roſe from the dead: but he deſcended in Soule, and roſe with his fleſh.* Of this could not Eraſmus be ignorant, ſince it was openly publiſhed to all mens eyes in the Decretals of Gregorie: li. 1. Tit. 1. *de ſumma Trinitate & fide Catholica cap. 1.* Eraſmus therefore had no ſuch meaning, that Thomas Aquinas was the firſt, that added this clauſe to the Creede, as you and others much miſtake his words; but doubteth whether Aquinas in commenting on the Creede expounded that Article, or no. And that appeareth by his next words cleane contrarie to your conceite, which you neuer tooke the paines to view. [x] *Nonnulla ſuſpitio eſt, hanc particulam ab alio adiectam, vel hoc argumento, quod non eſt ſuo loco. There is ſome ſuſpition, that this part* (he deſcended to hell) *was added* (to Thomas expoſition of the Creede) *by ſome other, euen for this reaſon, becauſe it is not put in his due place. For where he maketh the Reſurrection to be the third article, the deſcent to hel he maketh the fourth: vnles happely he thought, that Chriſt returning from death to life deſcended to hell both in Body and Soule.* Eraſmus

[s] Defenc. pag. 199. li 18. *Eraſmus ſowly miſtaken by the Defender.*

[t] *Innocent 3. de myſteriis Miſſæ. li 2. cap. 15.*

[u] *Concil. laterane. ſub Innocent. 3. cap. 1. de fide Catholica.*

[x] *Eraſ. in Symbolum Catechiſ. 4.*

saith no such thing, that Aquinas was the first, who added this Article to the Creede; but he would seeme to suspect, that Thomas did not accept this as a part of the Creede in his time, for that he doth not set it in the right place, where it should be, but putteth it after the Resurrection. Howbeit Erasmus might haue suspected, that some other had changed Aquinas order, as well as augmented Aquinas worke. For it is euident, that Aquinas in his summe of Diuinitie acknowledgeth that Article (of Christs descent to hell) [7] to come from the Apostles, and numbereth it in the 4. place before the Resurrection of Christ from the dead. And this reason he giueth, why it was not mentioned in the Creedes of the Fathers, because *no heresie was then risen about that point*, and therefore they still *presupposed it as foredetermined in the Apostles Creede*. And yet there want not Councels and Fathers declaring and confirming this to be a part of the Catholike and Christian faith. The Councell of Orleance kept in the 46. yeere of Charles the great, in the profession of their faith, say thus. [a] *Descendit ad Inferos, he descended to hell to deliuer the Saints, which there were held, deuictóque mortis Imperio, and subduing the kingdome of death, rose againe:* concluding also thus: *this is the faith of the Catholike Church, this confession we keepe and hold*. The Councell of Foroiulij otherwise called Aquileia, (in which Citie Ruffinus, that expoundeth the Creede, was a Presbyter) made this exposition of the Creede in the time of Carolus Martellus, and Pipine his Sonne, Father to Charles the great. [b] *In Eadem dignatus est mori, sepeliri, ad Inferos descendere, tertia dei resurgere. In the same* (humane nature) *Christ vouchsafed to die, to be buried, to descend to hell, to rise againe the third day*. Which they close with this attestation. [c] *This most sincere puritie of the Catholike faith we will all degrees of the Church distinctly to learne and commit to memorie, ita vt ne vnus quidem apex intermittatur vel augeatur. so that not one the least point of it be omitted or encreased*. The 4. Councell of Toledo in the time of Sisenandus King of Spaine, about 630. yeeres after Christ, made the same profession word for word, which the Councell of Orleance did after imitate. [d] *Christ descended to hell to deliuer the Saints, which there were held, and subduing the kingdome of death rose againe*. Venantius Bishop of Poictiers in France, that dedicated some of his poems to Gregorie the first, commenting on the Apostles Creede distinctly rehearsed the Article, [e] *descendit ad Infernum, he descended to hell*, among the rest; and saith farder of it; *but descending to hell Christ suffered no iniurie, for that he did it in respect of* (his) *mercie. As if a King should enter a prison, not to be there held himselfe, but to loose such as were guiltie*.

[7] *Aquinas 2. 2. quæst. 1. Articulo. 7 & 8.*

[a] *Synod. Arelaten sub Carolo. ca. 1.*

[b] *Concil. Foroiulens. in Symbolo fidei.*

[c] *Ibidem.*

[d] *Concilium To. leta. 4 cap. 10.*

[e] *Venantius in Symbolum Apostolo.*

[f] Defenc. pag. 199. li. 21. [f] *We can not see but that whensoeuer, whosoeuer put it first into this place, they signified thereby, it seemeth, that Christ went to Limbus a place vnder the earth, where they imagined the blessed Patriarkes rested.*] When this clause was first inserted into the Creede, no man can directly pronounce. Some places had it not for a time, and some had it aunciently transmitted from the first founders of their Churches; which being duely considered by the rest, that wanted it, and the Article on euery side confessed to be true, it was at length generally receaued throughout the Church, not as a thing newly deuised by themselues, but formerly commended to many Churches euen from their first erection [g] *Thaddeus, Ignatius, and Athanasius haue these very words: yet say they not any where that they were in that set forme of the Apostles Creede, which we now haue.*] If Thaddeus deliuered it to the Church of Edessa at the first preaching of the faith vnto them, and they kept a record thereof in the publike monuments of their Citie to the time of Eusebius; why should it not be counted and called a part of the Apostles Creede, that is, of the short and plaine forme of the faith deliuered to the people, when they first receaued the Gospell of Christ? And how should Ignatius, Athanasius, and all the auncient Fathers both Greeke and Latine throughout the world light on the same words in effect, & agnise them for a point of Christian faith, if sundry Churches had not retained that Article in the Summarie confession of their faith euen from the beginning? [h] *Ruffine alleageth truely these words, descendit ad Infernа, but not out of any example of the Apostles Creede, yea he expresly denyeth it to be there-*

[g] Pag. 199. li. 31.

[h] Pag 199. li. 38.

in

in any where at that time.] Cyrill and Chryſoſtom expound theſe words as parts of the common Creede receaued in their Churches, and called Apoſtolike, becauſe it was deſcended from the Apoſtles times. Ruffine doth the like for the Church of Aquileia, where he was a Presbyter; he ſetteth downe theſe words as a part of the common Creede, which he expoundeth, and nameth Apoſtolike. And here for triall of your truth and modeſtie, (if you know what thoſe things meane) I referre my ſelfe to the printed Copies of Cyprians and Ieroms works, (where this expoſition is extant,) whether theſe words, *crucifixus ſub Pontio Pilato, & ſepultus, deſcendit ad Inferna, He was crucified vnder Pontius Pilate, and buried, he deſcended to hell:* be not expreſly ſet downe as a part of the Creede, which Ruffine expoundeth and calleth Apoſtolike. The Copies printed at *Baſile by Frobenius,* and at Lyons by Gryphius, 1537; at Baſile by Heruagius 1540; at Antuerpe by Crinitus, and at Paris by Stephan Petit. 1541; ſeuer theſe words with an halfe moone from Ruffinus explication, as they doe the reſt of the Creede. Thoſe printed at Rome by Paulus Manutius, 1563; at Antuerpe by Stelſius 1561; by Peter Bellerus 1589; and by Iohn de Preux 1593. at Paris by Sebaſtian Niuellius 1603. diſtinguiſh them by greater or different letters from the reſt. So that your denying them to be part of the Creede, which Ruffine bringeth for Apoſtolike, is a manifeſt *mentirie.*

As you peruert Ruffines wordes, ſo you doe his meaning. For he doth not ſay, that Chriſtes deſcent to hell was all one with his buriall; but where the Churche of Rome with ſome others wanted thoſe wordes, *he deſcended to hell*; yet with them the effect thereof was contained in the word, *buried.* And no maruaile, that the Church of Rome (for that he chiefly noteth by the Latin word, *ſepultus*) extended the word buriall to hell; ſince they did, and to this day doe follow the olde Latine tranſlation of the Bible *Luke* 16. where it is written, the *rich man was buried in hell.* It was an eaſie matter therefore for them by Chriſts buriall to vnderſtand his deſcent to hell, ſince as they thought, they found the word ſo farre extended in the Scriptures. And graunt that Ruffine and others of the auncients (as you affirme) did thinke it conſequent as an effect to Chriſts buriall, that his ſoule did deſcend to hell; what prooue you by this, but againſt your ſelfe, that ſuch as had not thoſe wordes expreſſed in their Creede, yet retained the ſenſe and meaning of them in that they were perſwaded, this was the law of humane neceſsitie, without Chriſt, that as mens bodies were buried, ſo their ſoules deſcended to hell; which deſcent Chriſt refuſed not to reſtore men, as Hilarie and others auouch. This you ſay was Ruffines owne meaning, who [*'going about to proue by the Scripture that Chriſt deſcended to Infernum, ſheweth that he meaneth his death hereby & his buriall.*] I ſuppoſe few men will truſt you, hauing tried you falſe ſo often. Ruffine going about to prooue by the Scripture of the old Teſtament, that euery part of Chriſtes paſsion and his reſurrection was fore-ſhewed in the law and the Prophets, plainely diſtinguiſheth his *death, buriall, and deſcent to* Hell. For Chriſts death he ſaith; [k] *ſpiritum poſt hæc ſcribitur reddidiſſe; after this it is written, that hee gaue vp the Ghoſt. This was foreſpoken by the Prophet ſaying; into thy handes I commend my ſpirit. Sepultus quoq; perhibetur. He is then ſaid to be buried.* For which he alleageth a place of Ieremie, and addeth. *Euidentiſſima hæc Sepulturæ eius indicia propheticis vocibus deſignata ſunt, accipe tamen & alia. Theſe moſt manifeſt ſignes of his buriall are expreſſed in the Prophets ſpeeches, and yet thou ſhalt haue other.* Where he alleageth three other places of Scripture; how fitly to his purpoſe, I need not pronounce. Then commeth he to Chriſtes deſcent to hell, and ſaith; *Sed & quòd in Infernum deſcendit, euidenter prænunciatur in Pſalmis. That alſo he deſcended to hell, is euidently foretold in the Pſalmes.* Now whether his places bee aptly cited or no, is not to the queſtion, though you make that your whole aduantage. For firſt, they be as aptly cited, as the reſt. Next they haue euery one of them ſomewhat more in Ruffines apprehenſion, then of Chriſtes buriall. For hee ſtandeth not onely on thoſe wordes, the *duſt and corruption of death,* but hee faſtneth moſt on the words of *deſcending and bringing downe in limum profundi, to the mire of the deepe.* Which things though you flurt at, as waighing light in your eyes, it is certaine

i Defenc. pag. 200. li. 24.

k *Ruffinus in expoſitione Symboli Apoſt. What Ruffinus meaneth by Chriſts deſcent to hell.*

certaine, he intended thereby more then the graue as is euident by his owne wordes. For citing the place of Peter thus. *In which* (spirit) Christ *descended to preach to the spirits inclosed in prison which were incredulous in the dayes of Noe*, he addeth, *in quo quid operis egerit in Inferno, declaratur*; *in which it is declared, what Christ did in hell.* In the graue I trust Christ did nothing. In Paradise he did not preach to those, *that were in prison* (& disobedient) *in the dayes of Noe.* Since then this end of Christs descent to hell is expressed by Ruffinus, and this could not bee done either in the graue, where nothing can be done; or in heauen, where these disobedients were not in prison: It is cleere that Ruffinus had no such meaning, as you make him by Christes descent to intend *no more but his death and buriall.*

[1] Defenc. pag. 200. li. 5.

[1] *He holdeth indeed that Christ went downe to Infernum, that is to Limbus patrum, as an opinion then common among them, and worthie (as he thought) to be beleeued.*] If hee ment this, as you now confesse; then he ment more by Christes *descending to Infernum* then Christes death and buriall. And so by your owne mouth you are conuinced of a lie fathered on Ruffinus against both his words & meaning. And yet I find no such expresse mention or description of Limbus in Ruffines words, as you would seeme to impose vpon him. He mentioneth Christs conquest ouer hell; [m] *quód Inferna sibi Regna subjceret, that Christ would subiect the Infernall kingdome to himselfe; & qui mortis habebat Imperium, disruptis Inferni claustris, velut de profundo tractus; he that had the rule of death, was drawen as it were from the deepe, the cloisters of hell being broken open.* He saith also, *Animabus de Inferni captiuitate reuocatis, the soules being reuoked from the captiuitie of hell*; but whom he thereby meaneth, he expressed before with the Apostles words, when he said, [n] *qui simul consuscitauit nos, simulq; sedere fecit in cælestibus: Christ raised vs vp together with himselfe, and made vs sit in heauenly places with him.* So that if you and your friends when you prate so much against all or the most of the auncient fathers as vpholding Limbus, would bethinke your selues, that most of them speake indifferently as well of the liuing and yet vnborne, as of the dead before Christes time, when they say that soules were deliuered out of the bondage and captiuitie of hell and Satan, you should doe them lesse wrong, and lesse deceaue your selues, then now you doe. And for those fathers, that indeede were of this opinion, that before Christes resurrection Abrahams bosome was vnder the earth, you shall doe well to thinke and speake more reuerently of them, considering what master Bullingere, a learned and graue Diuine resolued euen of that point. [o] *Sinus Abrahæ aliud non est quam portus salutis: vbi autem fuerat quondã hic locus, an apud superos, an apud inferos, nolo pronunciare, imo malo ignorare, quam temere definire, quod literis sacris expressum non habeo. In his vt curiosus esse nolo, ita nihil definio, cum nemine super hac re contendere volo. Satis mihi est intelligere & fateri, veteres sanctos in refrigerio, loco vtiq; certo, non in tormentis, ante ascensionem Domini fuisse, vt maximè ignorem, vbi ille locus fuerit. The bosome of Abraham is nothing els but an* (entrance or) *port of saluation. Where this place formerly was, whether aboue in* (some part of) *the heauens, or below* (vnder the earth) *I will not pronounce. Yea I had rather be ignorant thereof, then rashly to define that, which I find not expressed in the Scriptures. In these things, as I will not be curious, so doe I determine nothing, neither will I contend with any man about this matter. It shall suffice me to vnderstand and confesse, that the godly of the old Testament were in a certaine place of rest, not in torments before the ascension of Christ, though I know not where that place was.* That it was no part nor member of hell, we haue S. [p] Austins firme resolution, grounding himselfe on the words, which our Sauiour in the Gospell ascribeth to Abraham. [q] *Betweene you and vs there is a great gulfe setled.* But whether it were vnder the earth till Christs resurrection, of that some fathers doubted; wherein we may not be reprochfull to them, though we dissent from them, since the Scriptures, as this great Diuine thinketh, expressly decide not the question.

[m] *Ruffinus in Symbol. Apost.*

[n] Ephes. 1.

The place of Abrahams bosome vnknowen.

[o] *Bullingerus in Luc. ca. 16.*

[p] *August. Epist. 99.*

[q] Luke 16.

[r] Defenc pag 201. li. 8.

[r] *Ignatius you thinke is cleerely yours: likewise one Thaddeus, by Eusebius report, one of the 70. disciples, which the Euangelist Luke speakes of. Also Athanasius Creed. Ignatius saying Christ descended to hades alone, but rose againe with many, meaneth euidently his buriall*

buriall, and going downe into his graue: as you acknowledge that hades many times may well signifie.] With the septuagint, that were Iewes, (and translated the old Testament out of Hebrew into Greeke almost 300. yeeres before Christes birth) I said indeed Hades stood aswell for the graue as for hell, euen as the Pagans also did vse it: but the Euangelists and Apostles retaining a difference betweene *Thanatos*, *death*, and *Hades*, take Hades for hell, and neuer for the graue: whose example the Greeke Diuines doe follow; and therefore Hades with them doth not signifie the graue, but the place where the wicked are tormented after death, as it doth in the Gospell of S. Luke. Secondly the wordes of *Ignatius* agree not with that in Matthew, by which you would expound them. For Matthew saith, [f] *the graues did open* (at Christs death) *and manie bodies of the Saints, that slept, arose; and comming out of their graues,* μετὰ τὴν ἔγερσιν αὐτοῦ, *after his resurrection, came into the holy citie, and appeared to many.* They did not rise with Christ, but after him, as [t] Austen well expoundeth it; that Christ alone might be [u] *the first fruits*, and [x] *first borne from the dead.* And therefore Ignatius did not speake this of Christes resurrection, but of his ascension, euen as Thaddeus did in the selfe same sort. [y] κατέβη μόνος, ἀνέβη δὲ μετὰ πολλοῦ ὄχλου πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ *He descended alone (to Hades) but he ascended to his Father with a great multitude.* That Ignatius here noteth Christes *buriall in none* [z] *other wordes besides*; If you meane in the same sentence, there was no cause nor need he should; if you meane in the same place, it is not true: for the next sentence saue one is this. [a] *The day before the Sabbaoth at the third houre Christ receaued sentence of condemnation from Pilate, at the sixt houre he was crucified, at the ninth he breathed out his spirit, and before the Sunne-set he was laid in his graue. The Sabbaoth day he staied vnder the earth in his graue; and at the dawning of the Lords day he rose from the dead.* But that Ignatius wordes can not be verified of Christes buriall, is euident by the very purport of the wordes themselues, *he descended to hades alone*, saith Ignatius. To his graue Christ descended not alone. Those that were crucified with him, were buried at the same time with him. Besides he descended alone, is as much as of his owne accord, and by his own force, no man helping, or accompanying him; which was not the manner of his buriall. For his bodie was buried by others, and could not of it selfe descend to the graue. His descending to hades was a voluntarie action, euen as his ascending from it was; which in a dead bodie no man can imagine. Lastly the *wall neuer broken before*, can not be vnderstood of the graue, since from the graue some others rose long before the death and birth of Christ, as is plaine by the storie of him, that was [b] *cast dead into Eliseus graue*, and of [c] *Lazarus*.

Hades with Ignatius is not the graue.

[f] Matth. 27.

[t] *August. ep. 99.*
[u] 1. Cor. 1.
[x] Colos. 1.

[y] *Euseb. Eccle. hist. li. 1. ca. 13.*

[z] Defenc. pag. 201. li. 15.

[a] *Ignat. epist. ad Trallianos.*

[b] 2. Kings 13.
[c] Iohn 11.

Faine you would slubber vp these things, but they hang in your teeth, and will not goe downe. [*The power of the graue, or the strength of death, which remained indeed from the beginning of the world as a mightie wall not broken downe, was now* (you say) *by Christes death vtterly ouercome and dissolued.*] In this answer you include three vntrueths. First, Christ neuer descended into the *power of the graue*, nor *strength of death*, as you conceaue; they had no power or dominion ouer him, he breathed out his owne soule at his owne pleasure; to be resumed againe when pleased himselfe; though for the proofe of his death to be true and vnfained, hee was content his body should lie in the graue till the third day. Againe, *the power of the graue or strength of death* was no wall vnbroken from the foundation of the world. Many rose from the dead before Christ, and some were translated, that [d] *they should not see death.* Thirdly, it is not yet, as you affirme, *vtterly ouercome and dissolued.* For the bodies of the Saints are vnder it, and so shall be till the last day; when the wicked shall rise from their graues aswell as the Saints, though not to heauenly blisse, as they shall. Besides this, the words as well of Ignatius, as these of Thaddeus, must be performed betweene Christs descent to hades and his resurrection. For so Eusebius reporteth the wordes of Thaddeus. [e] *Christ descended to hades, and brake the wall neuer broken before since the world began. And rose againe*, and *raised the dead, which had slept from the beginning.* Hades then hath a partition, which neuer man brake, as Abraham told the rich man: Onely Christ,

The wall of hades neuer broken but by Christ.

[d] Heb. 11. v. 5.

[e] *Eusebij hist. li. 1. cap. 13.*

Christ, who was God and man, voluntarily descended thither, and with his returne thence broke the wall, that was neuer broken before.

f Defenc. pag. 202. li. 4. f *Though some being dead did rise to life againe before Christs resurrection, (as touching the time) yet the vertue and power of Christs resurrection was before them, by which onely and meerely they rose againe. Neither yet was resurrection to all the dead forthwith performed by the resurrection of Christ: neuertheless purchased it was euen then, and by the onely power and vertue thereof is and shalbe performed to all in due time.* | You would seeme in this to answere me, but indeed you refute your selfe. For you confesse, that this partition betweene death and life was often broken before Christs resurrection, howbeit the power of Christs resurrection, you say, *was before them, by which onely they rose againe.* But both Ignatius and Thaddeus say, it was neuer broken before the time, that Christ descended to hades. They therefore doe not meane the graue, as you doe. If you say, the graue was a partition to stay men from heauen till Christ was risen, then were not the soules of the Saints in heauen, whose bodies were in the graue, which is repugnant to your owne position. So that the graue, neither hindering the body from life, nor the soule from heauen before Christs comming, was not the wall vnbroken till Christs descent to hades, of which these auncient writers speake. Our resurrection was *purchased* by Christs death, and openly confirmed, and assured to vs by Christs resurrection; but since it shall not be performed vnto vs till the last day, this wall is not yet actually broken downe to all Christs elect, no more then death is abolished to them, which is the last enemy, that shalbe destroied, but is not yet subiected vnder Christs feet in respect of his members, which doe and shall lie in their graues to the end of the world. Neither doth the Apostle call Christ the first fruits of the dead, (as you intend) because others, who rose from the graue before Christ, did rise by the vertue and power of his resurrection: you commit heerein a double error. Christ was truely the first, that euer rose from death to an immortall and celestiall life, and the power and force of his resurrection bringeth not men backe to a mortall and miserable life in this world, but to be conformed to his glorious body, that is, to incorruption and immortality.

p Defenc. pag. 202. g *Thus I vnderstand your Thaddeus, also Athanasius in his Creed (as it seemeth most reasonably and necessarily) because they expresse neither his death nor his buriall at all in any other words saue these, he descended to hades.* | You runne so fast on your owne conceits, that you see not what you passe by. Hath Thaddeus no words touching Christs death? what make you then of these scant a line before; h *πῶς ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν, καὶ ἀπέθανε, how Christ humbled himselfe, and died?* And though the Creed, prouided for the simpler sort, distinguisheth Christs *crucifying, death, buriall, and descent to hell*; yet what need is there, that the learned euery time they talke of Christs crosse or death, should number all these seuerally and orderly as they stand in the Creed? crucifying is enough to note his death, for they crucified him vnto death. Christs buriall had in it no more but the certainty of his death, and by Gods prouidence the vigilancie of his enemies, that his body should not be thought to be stolen away by his owne Disciples. Other moment or matter of our redemption there was none in Christs buriall. The goodly words, with which you would feed vs, that in the graue he *came vnder the power, strength, dominion, and kingdome of death*, are rather variations for a nouice, then any points of sensible doctrine for a diuine. So that Athanasius expressing Christs *suffering for our saluation, his descending to hades, and rising the third day from the dead*, fully compriseth all the principall works, which Christ performed for our saluation from his crosse to his resurrection. Now what Athanasius meaneth by hades, since his works are extant in Greeke, we shall not need to depend on your partiall coniectures. We haue many plaine and perspicuous places, which deliuer his sense and meaning vnto vs. I haue shewed before, which I must not so often repeat, that Athanasius maketh two places of condemnation, whither man after death was adiudged for sinne: i *τὸν τάφον καὶ τὸν ἅδην, the graue and hades.* And of Christs body and soule he directly saith, k *τὸ μὲν τὸι μέχει τάφυ φθάσαν, ἡδὲ μέχει ἅδυ διαβᾶσα, διαμε-*

h *Euseb. hist. li. 1. ca. 13.*

i *Athanas. de incar. Christi.*

τῶν

τῶν δὲ ὄντων τῷ τόπων πολλῷ μεταξὺ, καὶ τῆς μὲν τάφε σωματικὴν ἐπιδεχομένης τὴν ἐπίδασιν, ἐκείνης παρῆν τὸ σῶμα, τῆς δὲ ἅδε ἀσώματο. *The bodie* (of Christ) *went to the graue, the ſoule to hades: theſe places being diuided with a great diſtance: and the graue receauing the preſence of his body, (for there was his body preſent) and hades receiuing his* (humane) *ſpirit.* Thinke you this to be plaine enough, that Chriſts deſcent to hades was not his buriall, where his body lay; but the going of his ſoule to hades, whither man was condemned for ſinne, and which Athanaſius ſaith, *The Diuell* kept as the onely place of his ſtrength? *The enemie* ſaith he, *fallen from heauen, remoued from the earth, expelled from the ayre;* [l] παντα χόθεν ἡττημένος ἔγνω καὶ τὸν ἅδην φύλαξαι; τοῦτο γὰρ ἓν τὸ χωρίον ὑπελείπετο τότω; *euery where vanquiſhed, determined, if he could, to keepe hades ſafe. For this place was yet left vnto him.* But [m] *as ſoone as Chriſt died, the world wanted the light of her Sunne, the Vaile of the temple rent, the earth trembled, the Rocks did cleaue in ſunder,* οἱ στρατιῶται σὺν τοῖς πυλωροῖς τοῦ ἅδε κατεπλήξαν, *and the ſouldiers together with the keepers of Hades did ſhake for feare* [n] καὶ νομίσας εἰς ἅδην καταφέρειν, ἐκβέβληται τοῦ ἅδε. *And* the Diuell *thinking to carry* (Chriſt) *to hades, was himſelfe throwen out of hades.* [o] ὀ πολὺ χρόνον δὲ ὕστερον, καὶ τὰς ὠδῖνας ἔλυσε τοῦ ἅδε. *For it was not long after, but* (Chriſt) *looſed the* (ſorrowes or) *paines of hades.* Athanaſius then without peraduentures taketh hades for hell, and Chriſts deſcent thither in ſoule to worke the ſubuerſion of Satans kingdome, and deliuerance of all his elect thence, were they liuing, dead, or yet vnborne.

[l] *Ibidem.*
[l] *Idem in paſſionem & crucem Domini.*
[m] *Ibidem.*
[n] *Ibidem.*
[o] *Ibid.*

[p] *Your ſeeking to peruert this reaſon becauſe the auncient Creedes want ſundry other Articles, which now are in our Creede, is to no purpoſe. For ſo much as they all doe euermore intend to ſet downe perfectly the ſumme of Chriſts accompliſhed Redemption and mediation at the leaſt. Not any of thoſe his maine workes are in them omitted.*] If your pride were not greater then your skill, we ſhould haue a great deale leſſe prating from you. How ſhall the Reader beleeue your report of Fathers and their meanings, when you neuer ſaw ſo much as the Creedes of the auncient Councels, and yet pronounce ſo boldly of them, as if you had peruſed them all but yeſterday. The great Nicene Creede maketh no mention of Chriſts *death or buriall*; but ſaith. [q] *He ſuffered, and roſe the third day.* The firſt generall Councell of Conſtantinople, whoſe Creede was after vſed in the Church Seruice, ſaith; Chriſt [r] *ſuffered, and was buried, and roſe the third day*; omitting his crucifixion and death. The great Councell [s] of Aphrica, and the generall Councell of [t] Epheſus concurre with the Nicene, and ſay, *he ſuffered, and roſe the third day.* What truth then is there in your words, where you ſay, *they all doe euermore intend perfectly to ſet downe the Summe of Chriſts Redemption* for vs; *not any of thoſe his maine works are in them omitted?* Is the death of Chriſt none of his maine works for our Redemption? finde you now, that his buriall may be omitted, and yet the Creede not be imperfect? Theſe things, good Sir, are implyed as conſequent or antecedent to the parts expreſſed. For if Chriſt did riſe the third day, he roſe from the Graue, where he had lien three daies; and buried he was not, before he was dead. As alſo he roſe not but from the dead. Wherefore in his reſurrection are both his death and his buriall compriſed. Beſides he ſuffered vnto death. Which things were all plainly propoſed to the ſimple in their Creede called Apoſtolike, but not in the Creedes concluded by the learned Paſtours in their Councels. The ſame courſe kept the Greeke and Latin Fathers, ſometimes expreſsing Chriſts *death, buriall, and deſcent to hell*: ſometimes omitting ſome of them, as the cauſe required. Epiphanius ſaith, [u] σταυροῦται, θάπτεται, κατέρχεται εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια ἐν θεότητι καὶ ἐν ψυχῇ αἰχμαλωτεύει τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν, καὶ ἀνίσταται τριήμερος. Chriſt, ſaith he ſpeaking of the things as they were done, *is crucified, buried, he deſcended to the places vnder the earth in his Deitie and in his ſoule, he leadeth Captiuitie Captiue, and riſeth the third day.* Vigilius. [x] *Conſtat Dominum noſtrum Ieſum Chriſtum ſexta feria crucifixum, & ipſa die ad Infernum deſcendiſſe, ipſa die in ſepulchris iacuiſſe, ipſa die Latroni dixiſſe, hodie mecum eris in Paradiſo. It is certaine, that our Lord Ieſus Chriſt was crucified on the ſixt day, and that day deſcended to hell, that day lay in the graue; and that day ſaid to the Theife; This day ſhalt*

[p] Defenc. pag. 202. li. 27.

The auncient Creeds are imperfect in words.

[q] *Symbolum Niceni concilij.*
[r] *Symbolum Conſtantinop.*
[s] *Concil. Aphrica. ca. 104.*
[t] *Concilium Epheſ. ca. 13.*

[u] *Epiphanius in hereſium Anacephalaioſi.*
[x] *Vigilius contra Eutichen. li. 2. ca. 3.*

[y] Ibidem.

ſhalt thou be with me in Paradiſe. And declaring how this was verified in Chriſt; [y] *ergo dicimus Dominum iacuiſſe in ſepulchro, ſed in ſola carne, & Dominum deſcendiſſe ad Infernum, ſed in ſola anima. Then we ſay, that the Lord lay in his graue, but with his Body alone, and deſcended to hell, but with his Soule alone,* without his Body.

[z] Defenc. pag. 203. li. 2.

[z] *Howbeit to ſpeake plainly your Thaddeus whom you ſo highly eſteeme, is a meere counterfait. You ſay this report of him in Euſebius by ſome men is counted fabulous. Nay who euer ſince Euſebius, I thinke, held it for better?*] Were there no more in it but the records of Edeſſa then remaining, and the report of Euſebius tranſlating the ſame, they fairely proone this clauſe *of Chriſts deſcending to Hades,* to haue beene auncientlie and openly receaued and profeſſed in the Primatiue Church. Otherwiſe the religious of thoſe Ages, that liued with and after Euſebius, if he had vnder this pretence broched any new point of faith; as in duety they were bound, ſo no doubt they would haue reſiſted and refuted it. But the whole Church accepting and allowing that Hiſtorie, hath likewiſe admitted and approoued this Article of Chriſts deſcent to Hades, to be a part of the Chriſtian faith; and the beſt learned of thoſe times in their writings acknowledge the ſame. And where you aske, *Who euer ſince Euſebius held it for better* then a fable; it is a ſigne how little conuerſant you are in any mans labours, that fit not your licentious humors. Your owne Author, on which you ſo much build, Ruffinus tranſlated theſe bookes of Euſebius, [a] Ierom commended them, and [b] Gelaſius an auncient Biſhop of Rome with a Councell confirmed them. And touching this very Hiſtorie, Nicephorus largely reporteth it, and many of the beſt Hiſtoriographers before our time alleadge it; not as fable, but for a truth. As namely, Blondus *Decadis* 2. li. 5. Nauclerus *volumine* 2. *generat.* 2. Sabellicus *Enneadis* 7. li. 1. Volateranus. *geographiæ li.* 11. *de Sectis Syriæ:* Martinus Polonus *in Friderico* 1. Platina *in Lucio* 2. I am not alone then in allowing Euſebius report; but you rather are ſo headſtrong and withall ſo ignorant, that you cenſure all men beſides your ſelfe.

Euſebius report allowed by the beſt Hiſtoriographers.

[a] *Hiero. de Eccleſiaſt. Scriptoribus in Euſebio.*

[b] *Diſtinct. 15. Sancta Romana.*

[c] *Nicephor. li. 2. ca. 7.*

[d] Defenc. pag. 203. li. 9.

[d] *It is all forged and fowly corrupted for theſe reaſons: Firſt this writing ſaith that Iudas the Apoſtle was the ſame, who was alſo called Thomas the Apoſtle. But the Scripture it ſelfe ſheweth that Iudas and Thomas were diuers and ſeuerall Apoſtles.*] When you goe about to challenge a record, neuer corrupt it; for ſo you challenge your ſelfe, and not that which you would ouerthrow. The writing doth not ſay, that thoſe two Apoſtles were one, as you dreame; but rather obſerueth that with them, Thomas had two names. Now what inconuenience is in this, that one Apoſtle ſhould haue two names, or that they ſhould call Thomas alſo Iudas? Peter had three, if not foure names: *Simon,* [e] *Cephas, Peter & Bar-Ionas,* and [f] Iudas the brother of Iames Matthew calleth [g] *Lebbeus and Thaddeus.* Matthew was alſo called [h] *Leui.* It was a thing moſt vſuall with the Iewes to haue two or mo names, as appeareth in the genealogie of Chriſt rehearſed by Matthew and Luke, who vſe many wordes in that Catalogue, no where recorded in other Scriptures. And ſince *Thom* in Hebrew, whence Thomas commeth, doth ſignifie no more but a Twinne, which name is common to both the brethren borne at one time; it muſt needs be that Thomas then had an other name to diſtinguiſh him frō his brother. This therfore is no iuſt exception, to diſcredit that auncient Record with a thing moſt vſuall among the Iewes. Againe with the Syrians not skilfull in the Hebrew tongue, how eaſie a skippe was it in ſteed of יהודי *Iehudi* a Iew, to conceaue יהודה *Iehudah,* which is *Iudas*; (*he* and *Iod* being letters, that are often changed one from another:) and where the writer would haue ſaid; *a Iew which was Thomas ſent Thaddeus,* ſo to ſet it downe as if it were *Iehuda,* which was *Thomas, ſent Thaddeus.* Yea the Syriack words for a Iew and Iudas, יהודיא and יהודא differ but a *Iod,* י which in auncient writings is ſoone worne out of ſight: I omit other diuerſities, which might eaſily happen in the Greeke; as that *Iudas ſent Thaddeus,* ὁ καὶ Θωμᾶς *which alſo Thomas did,* one ſmall title added to the Article to make it the neuter relatiue; or changing their places, & ſaying, καὶ ὁ Θωμᾶς, *Iudas and alſo Thomas ſent Thaddeus.* There is neither Greeke nor Latin Father, in whoſe Treatiſes I will not readily find greater ſlips. This I may

How Thomas might bee called Iudas.

[e] Galat. 2.
[f] Acts 1.
[g] Matth. 10.
[h] Mark. 2.

I may coniecture, becauſe [l] Nicephorus writeth, that Iudas the brother of Iames came after to the Citie of Edeſſa, the Citie of king Abagare which alſo [k] Bede and [l] Oecumenius doe witneſſe and ſupplying what wanted in Thaddeus miniſterie, there ended his life, and ſo might be one of thoſe that ſent him. But you that thinke this ſo great a matter in the recordes of Edeſſa, what ſay you to the Syriack tranſlatour of the new Teſtament, who twice calleth this Iudas the Apoſtle, *the* [m] *ſonne of Iames*, where indeed he was the brother of *Iames*, and the *Sonne of Alpheus*? If you will excuſe him, for that he neuer ſaw the Epiſtle of Iude, where hee calleth himſelfe *the* [n] *brother of Iames*: how great reaſon then is it to excuſe the men of Edeſſa, that were ignorant of the Hebrew tongue, and altogether vnacquainted with the Scriptures at that time, when this was written; if they put *he* for *Iod*, which letters are often permuted the one for the other? howbeit, as I firſt ſaid, I ſee no ground of any iuſt challenge in this, that the record, which is auncient, importeth Thomas to be called Iudas in the place where he liued and died farre from Iewrie, which was a thing very common among the Iewes in their owne countrie: or *Thomas* to be called a *Iew*, and thereby to diſtinguiſh him from others that were not Iewes.

[l] *Nicepher. li. 2. ca. 40.*
[k] *Beda in 1. ca. Actorum.*
[l] *Oecumen. prolegomena in Acta.*
[m] Luke 6.
[m] Acts 1.
[n] *Iude epiſt.*

[o] *Secondly we may probably conceiue another error, that this Thaddeus (one of the 70.) ſeemeth to be miſtaken in the Syrian writing for Thaddeus one of the twelue Apoſtles.*] This is rather an error in you to thinke, that none were called Apoſtles but the twelue, or that *Apoſtle* doth not ſometimes ſignifie a *Meſſenger*. Chriſt himſelf is called *the* [p] *Apoſtle of our profeſſion*. Paul ſaith to the Philippians, [q] *Epaphroditus your Apoſtle*; and to the Corinthians he ſaith of ſome ſent by him with Titus, [r] *They are the Apoſtles of the Churches*. And to the Romanes *he* [s] *ſaluteth Andronicus and Iunia, which are honorable* ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις, *in the (number of the) Apoſtles*. He chalengeth others for [t] *transforming themſelues into the apoſtles of Chriſt*, not that they affirmed thẽſelues to be of the twelue, (for Paul himſelfe was none of them) but they pretended to be ſent of Chriſt, when they were not. And ſo Chriſt meant when he ſaid to the Angel of Epheſus, [u] *Thou haſt examined them which ſay they are Apoſtles, & are not*; that is which ſay, I ſent them, when I did not. Now the Syriack writer taking knowledge, that Thomas was [x] τῶν ἀποστόλων εἷς τῶν δώδεκα, *an Apoſtle one of the twelue*, and that he ſent Thaddeus, τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐν ἀριθμῷ καὶ αὐτὸν τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα τῶν ἁγίων μαθητῶν, *his brother one of the number of the 70. Diſciples of Chriſt*: how could he after erre ſo much, as to meane that Thaddeus was one of the twelue Apoſtles, ſpecially the next wordes being: ἕνα τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα, *one of the ſeuentie*. Wherefore this is worſe then a cauill, when the wordes inferre no ſuch thing to collect contrarieties vpon your owne conceits. He ſent Thaddeus, as Chriſts meſſenger, (or their Apoſtle) *being one of the ſeuentie*.

[o] Defenc. pag. 203. li. 16. *More Apoſtles then twelue.*
[p] Hebr. 3.
[q] Philip. 2.
[r] Corinth. 8.
[s] Rom. 16.
[t] 2. Cor. 11.
[u] Reuel. 2.
[x] *Euſeb. li. 1. ca. 13.*

[y] *Further this counterfeit Thaddeus was content to receaue (and did receaue) euen from a king himſelfe and alſo (as it ſeemeth) from one of his nobles Adoration and worſhip. Whereas the true ſeruants of Chriſt Peter and the Angel refuſed vtterly the ſame in ſuch very maner offered vnto them by meaner perſons in reſpect of ſtate. Therefore this Thaddeus was ſome falſe Apoſtle; and came not by Chriſts ſending.*] By this reaſon, if it were any thing worth, you may prooue many Patriarkes and Prophets to be idolaters, and aſwell receiuers, as giuers of that adoration, which you ſuppoſe is due to God alone. Omit, that the word προσκυνεῖν heere vſed, is with Suidas and Phauorinus as much as προσεγγίζειν to *approch* or draw neere to a man: and that Budeus obſerueth it in the eccleaſticall hiſtorie to be taken for a *reuerend ſalutation*; and *ſo the King approched*, or *reuerently ſaluted Thaddeus*; let it ſtand for bowing the bodie, which is a ſigne of reuerence or ſubmiſsion in the Scriptures; what inferre you thence? that the King, beholding the face of Thaddeus at his entrance in to ſhine with a ſtrange and diuine brightnes, did him reuerence contrarie to the cuſtome of Kings, which receaue from others, and giue not reuerence to others? If you thinke this word, προσεκύνησε τῷ θαδδαίῳ, *he bowed himſelfe to Thaddeus*, is more then the godly may yeelde to men, or take from men; you fooliſhly deceaue your ſelfe. Of *Abraham* the Scripture ſaith, that ſpeaking with the Hittites for a place to bury his dead, vpon their gentle and friendly anſwere,

[y] Defenc. pag. 203. li. 18.

[x] προσεκύνησε

[a] Genes. 23. vers. 7. [b] Genes. 33. [b] Ibid. vers. 7. & 6. [c] Exod. 11. [d] Exod. 18. [e] Luke. 10. [f] Galat. 4. [g] Philip. 2.

[a] προσεκύνησε τῷ λαῷ τῆς γῆς, *hee bowed himselfe to the people of the Land.* Of Iacob when he met his Brother *Esau*, the Scripture saith, [a] προσεκύνησεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν; *he bowed himselfe to the earth seauen times:* So [b] *Leah and her children*, *Rachel* and *Ioseph*, Iacobs *maides and their children*, euery troupe of them, προσεκύνησαν *bowed themselues* to Esau. Moses said to Pharoh, [c] *all these* (thy) *seruants shall come downe to me*, καὶ προσκυνήσουσί μοι, *and shall bow themselues to me.* So afterward, *Moses went out to* [d] *meete his Father in Law*, καὶ προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ, *and gently or reuerently saluted him.* Infinite are the places in Scripture, where the word is vsed in that sense; and noteth the dutifull, friendly, or fauorable respect had to Superiours, Equals, and Inferiours by bowing the Body. Now whether it were meete for a King gently to intreate, or reuerently to receaue the Messenger of Christ, directed to him to cure him selfe of his sickneſse in this life, and to giue him assurance of eternall life, being no subiect of his, but a stranger sent vnto him; this is all that can be doubted. Wherein though I be most willing to reserue to Princes, not onely their Soueraignty ouer their Subiects, but their dignitie towards strangers, yet see I no cause, but when they receaue any speciall graces or blessings of God by the hands of men not subiected to them, they should adore the giuer, which is God; and acknowledge the bringer. [e] *He that despiseth you, despiseth me*, saith our Sauiour excepting no man. The Apostle commendeth the Galathians *for* [f] *receauing him as an Angell of God*; and chargeth the faithfull to receaue their godly Pastours [g] *with all ioy in the Lord, and to haue them in honor.* You and your adherents, when you take vpon you to censure Princes in your Consistories, will not absolue them without some signe of submission, such as you like. And call you Thaddeus, sent of purpose to cure a Prince of his bodily and ghostly diseases, a false Apostle because the good King glad of his comming rose from his Seate, and bowed to him, as to the Seruant and Messenger of so great a Lord and Benefactour, as he beleeued Christ to be?

Angels and good men haue receiued the bowing of the body.

[h] Acts. 10. [i] Reuel. 19. [k] Genes. 19. [l] Reuel. 3.

Peter and the Angell, you say, vtterly refused the same in such very manner offered vnto them by meaner persons. | Haue you so little good manner, that you know not the difference betwixt bowing the body as *Abraham* did to the Sonnes of CHETH, and MOSES to IETHRO; and falling flat at an others feete to giue him worship, as *Cornelius* did to *Peter*, and S. *Iohn* to the *Angell?* of Cornelius Luke saith, [h] πεσὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας προσεκύνησε, *falling at* (Peters) *feete, he worshipped him.* And Saint Iohn saith of himselfe, [i] καὶ ἔπεσον ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ προσκυνῆσαι αὐτῷ. *And I fell downe at his feete to worship him.* This the Angell refused in Iohn; but the bowing of the Body euen to the ground the two Angels refused not from [k] *Loth*; and Christ himselfe said to the Angell of Philadelphia; [l] *Behold I will make them of the Synagogue of Satan, which call themselues Iewes and are not, to come*, καὶ προσκυνήσωσιν ἐνώπιον τῶν ποδῶν σου, *and bow themselues at thy feete.* Yea Dauid, when he was a priuate man, gaue this kind of reuerence to [m] Saul; and being a King receaued it of [n] *Abigail*; [o] *Mephibosheth*, [p] *Ioab*, [p] *Absalon*, [q] *Ahimaas*, [r] *Aranah*, and from [s] *Nathan* the Prophet: which if it wholy pertained to God, could not be giuen to men nor Angels without danger of Idolatrie. But the deuotion of the hart ioyned with the submission of the body, and testified thereby, is adoration due to God alone; and differeth much from ciuill curtesie and duetie reserued for Magistrates, friends, and strangers. Since then there is no such thing reported of Thaddeus, that the King fell at his feete, why compare you these examples together, which are so farre distant ech from other? of Abdus the Sonne of Abdus it is said, that *hauing the goute*, (and therefore not able to stand) [t] *he fell at the feet of Thaddeus, and with praiers & laying on of hands was healed.* Where perchance you will mislike, that Abdus was suffered to kneele, whiles praiers were said ouer him; & hands imposed on him, that he might recouer; but since this submission was to God, and not to man, and dured the time, that prayers were made to God for him; I see no iust cause of condemning Thaddeus for suffering men to kneele, whiles they asked ought at Gods hands.

[m] 1. Sam. 24. vers. 9. [n] 1. Sam. 25. vers. 23. [o] 2. Sam. 9. vers. 6. [p] 2. Sam. 14. [q] 2. Sam. 18. [r] 2. Sam. 24. [s] 1. King. 1. [t] Eusebij li. 1. ca. 13.

Now what if this were profered to Thaddeus, doth that prooue, he therefore accepted

cepted it? had he written the Storie of himselfe, it had beene his duetie, not onely to refuse that, which was vnlawfull, (if it were more then was permitted to the seruants of Christ, which we doe not know) but to witnesse his refusall. But others not then well acquainted with Christian Religion being the writers thereof, how easily might they report the one, and omit the other? Looke to the Story of Daniell, and see whether he doth not say of him selfe, that [u] *King Nabuchad-nezzar fell vpon his face, καὶ τῷ Δανιὴλ προσεκύνησε, and bowed himselfe to Daniell, and willed them to offer Sacrifice, and sweete odours vnto him.* This the King profered by Daniels owne confession, and though we doe not doubt but Daniel refused it, and otherwise aduised the king; yet there is no such thing recorded in the Text. Hence if you will conclude Daniel to be a false Prophet, you shall shew your selfe to be a rash, false and wicked teacher: but if you will excuse him, because he was one that feared God, and knew his duty, though there be no mention made of his deniall; what spleene mooueth you to condemne Thaddeus, being not him selfe the writer of the Storie, and one that was not onely trained vp in Moses Law, but a Disciple of Christs, and sent by him to preach, and which more is, endued with the power of the holy Ghost to heale the sicke, to plant the Gospell, and conuert nations vnto the faith?

[u] Daniel. 2. vers. 46.

[x] *Fourthly, I doe not see how it can possibly be true which this Thaddeus saith, that Christ ascended vp to his Father with a great multitude; seeing the Scripture sheweth how after fortie dayes he ascended in all their sights alone vp to heauen.*] Might Christ doe nothing, but he must first acquaint you with it, that you take so straight a view, who went vp to heauen with him? The Apostle noteth that God said of his Sonne, when he brought him into the world, [y] *Let all the Angels of God worship him.* Can you tell when this was done? *Christ* [z] *spoiled powers*, saith Paul, *and principalities, and made an open shew of them.* It would trouble you to tell; how, where, and when. So, *Christ* [a] *ascending on high, led captiuitie captiue.* Who knoweth how farre, or how many? that he ascended to his Father with a multitude, may be referred either to Angels, or men. If all the Angels adored him, when he came into the world; what did they, when he ascended to heauen? Nazianzene saith, [b] *If Christ ascend to heauen, ascend thou with him; and ioyne thy selfe to the Angels, that accompanie him or receiue him.* So Cyprian. [c] *Non indiget vectoribus Angelis, sed precedentes & subsequentes applaudebant victori.* Christ ascending *needed not Angels to beare him, but they going before and following applauded him as a conquerer.* And Austen. [d] *Sublatus est Christus in manibus Angelorum, quando assumptus est in cælum, non quia, si non portarent Angeli, ruiturus erat; sed quia obsequebantur Regi. Christ was caried vp by the handes of the Angels when he ascended to heauen not that he should haue fallen, if he had not beene stayed by Angels; but that they might serue their King.* And touching men, why might not Thaddeus speake this of those, that were raised out of their graues, when Christ rose from the dead, since they were partakers of Christs resurrection, why should they be reiected from his ascension? They rose from the dead, not to die againe, much lesse to bee left wandring on the earth. Ascend before Christ they could not, he was in all things as the head to haue the preeminence. Then must they ascend with him, or after him; neither of which is expresly mentioned in the Scriptures. It appeareth by Tertullian, the Church in his time was opposite to his conceit, and made him this answere; [e] *Our abode after death,* (which there is called sleeping.) *is in Paradise, quò iam tunc & Patriarchæ & Prophetæ appendices dominicæ resurrectionis ab inferis migrauerunt; whither the Patriarkes and Prophets, that were dependents on the Lords resurrection, passed euen then* (with him) FROM THE PLACES BELOW. Cyprian saith of Christ, [f] *spolians Inferos, & captiuos præmittens ad superos, spoiling the places below, and sending the captiues before towards heauen.* Austen saith, [g] *Reddunt Inferna victorem, & superna suscipiunt triumphantem. Hell restoreth him a conquerer, and heauen receiueth him a Triumpher.* Where then the Apostle saith, that [h] *Christ triumphed ouer powers and principalities in his owne person,* and likewise that he [i] *ascended on high, leading captiuitie captiue,* which prooueth his ascent to heauen to be the *fulnesse and perfection of his triumph*: since triumphes amongst

[x] Defenc. pag. 203. 27.

[y] Hebr. 1.

[z] Colos. 2.

[a] Ephes. 4.

[b] *Nazianzen. oratio. in Pascha*

[c] *Cyprian. de ascens. Christi.*

[d] *August. in Psal. 90.*

[e] *Tertull. de anima. ca 55.*

[f] *Cyprian. de resurrectione Christi.*

[g] *August. de tempore sermo. 138.*

[h] Colos. 2.

[i] Ephes. 4.

Triumphs are not solitarie.

mortall men are not secret nor solitarie; shall we thinke that Christs triumphant ascension to heauen was the close conueying of him alone into heauen, neither Angels, nor man attending, nor magnifying him? or rather, as Peter saith, [k] *he went to heauen, hauing Angels, powers, and mights subiected to him*, that is all sorts and orders, were they neuer so excellent, high, or mightie; seruing, submitting, confessing, and applauding his humane nature, as the subduer of all his enemies, and Sauiour of all his Elect?

[k] 1. Peter 3.

Where you would faine perswade the world, that *the* [l] *Apostles Creed was not in the primitiue Churches, which we haue now, yea that at first it had no exact forme at all*; This is the way to discredite all thinges besides your owne deuices. You may say as much against some parts of the Scriptures, as you do against some parts of the Creed. For the Scriptures themselues were not fully receiued in all places, no not in Eusebius time. He saith, *the* [m] *Epistle of Iames, of Iude, the second of Peter, the second and third of Iohn, are contradicted*; as not written by those Apostles. The Epistle to the Hebrewes was for a while [n] *contradicted* by the Church of Rome not to be Pauls. Eusebius report is the truer, because the Churches of Syria did not receiue the second Epistle of Peter, nor the second and third of Iohn, nor the Epistle of Iude, nor the Apocalypse; as appeareth to this day by the translation of the new Testament into their tongue, which wanteth all these bookes, as no approoued parts of Scripture. The like might be sayd for the Churches of Arabia. Will you hence conclude, that these parts of Scripture were not Apostolike, or that we neede not receaue them now, because they were formerly doubted of? The Creede we doe not vrge, as vndoubtedly written by all the Apostles, for then it must needes be Canonicall Scripture; but we vrge it as the best and perfectest forme of faith, which was deliuered to the Christians at the first planting of the Gospell by the direction and agreement of the Apostles, and kept and professed in some of the most famous places; which when the Church of Christ had well considered and examined, she receiued and preferred before all others. Now that this forme of faith, which we haue, was both in auncient times, and diuers places preserued and professed as comming from the first erectors of the Churches; you haue seene the testimonies of Cyrill for Ierusalem, of Chrysostome for Antioche, of Austen for Africa, of Ruffine for Aquileia, of Venantius for Poyctiers: and this very Article, *he descended to hell*, is by them witnessed to haue beene then in their Creedes: of whom no doubt can be made, saue of Austen onely, because he sometimes repeateth the Creede without that clause, which yet he confesseth to be a maine point of the Christian faith.

[l] Defenc. pag. 201. li. 4.

Some Scriptures vncertaine for a time as well as the Creede.

[m] *Euseb. eccles. hist. lib. 3. ca. 25.*

[n] *Ibidem li 3. ca. 4.*

That in all places they did varie from this forme, though you pretend the names of *Ignatius, Irenæus, Iustine, Tertullian, Origen, &c.* yet they prooue no such thing. These Fathers do often, as learned discoursers, enlarge the parts of the Creed; & sometimes, as short comprisers of it, they contract the summe thereof into fewer wordes: but yet the most, and most famous churches had from the beginning a briefe collection of the Christian faith deliuered to the simple people to be learned and said by heart, before they could be baptized. Of this doe many learned and auncient Fathers beare witnesse. [o] *Duodecim Apostolorum Symbolo fides sancta concepta est. In the Creed of the twelue Apostles*, saith Ambrose, *is the holy faith conceaued (or comprised.)* So Leo [p] *Catholici Symboli breuis & perfecta confessio duodecim Apostolorum totidem est signata sententijs. The short and perfect confession of the Catholike Creed is sealed vp with twelue sentences of the twelue Apostles.* So Ierom. [q] *In the Creed of our faith and hope, which being deliuered from the Apostles is not written in paper and inke, but in the tables of mens hearts, after the confession of the Trinitie, and vnitie of the Church, all the mysteries of Christian Religion are closed vp with the resurrection of the flesh.* Isidore saith, [r] *the Apostles readie to depart one from another, Normam prius sibi futuræ prædicationis in commune constituunt: appoint first in common a summe of that they would preach, least seuered in diuers places, they should propose any diuers or dissonant thing to those, whom they brought to the faith of Christ. Rabanus Maurus de Institutione clericorum li. 2. ca. 56.* hath the very same wordes. Neither could Tertullian, whose name you vse, haue truely said, [s] *Regula fidei*

Twelue parts of the Creed.

[o] *Ambros. serm. 38.*

[p] *Leo epist. 13. ad Palcheriam.*

[q] *Hiero. ep 61. ad Pammachium cap. 9.*

[r] *Isidorus de ecclesiast. officijs li. 2. ca. 3.*

[s] *Tertull. de velandis virginibus.*

fidei vna omnino eſt, ſola immobilis, & irreformabilis; there is but one rule of faith, and only that immooueable and vnchangeable, vnleſſe there had beene ſome forme of faith receaued in the Church, which no man might alter or change. For how could he ſaie there is but ONE RVLE, if euery Church had a ſeuerall rule? Or how was it *immooueable or irreformable*, if there were no certaine wordes or parts, but euerie man might alter at his will? Tertullian therefore doth not repeat the words of the Creed, which he varieth in euerie place where he citeth it, but he pointeth to the chiefe parts thereof; no where keeping the ſame words, but in ſubſtance the ſame matter. Againſt Praxeas the heretike he ſaith; [t] *Hanc regulam ab initio Euangelij decurriſſe: This rule* (of faith) *hath had continuance from the beginning of the Goſpell.* Againſt heretikes in generall he ſaith, [u] *Hæc regula à Chriſto probabitur inſtituta: This rule ſhall be prooued to haue beene appointed by Chriſt.* And yet in theſe two places he keepeth not the ſame wordes, but the ſame *heades*, and as it were the ſame principles of faith. As likewiſe both theſe differ in wordes from that rule, which he cited before, being [x] *omnino vna, euerie where one*, and by no meanes *alterable*. Irenæus ſaith. [y] *The Church throughout the whole world, euen to the endes of the earth, receaued from the Apoſtles and their Diſciples, that faith which beleeueth in one God, the Father almightie maker of heauen & earth, &c: and in Ieſus Chriſt the Sonne of God, incarnate for our ſaluation: and in the holie ſpirit, which preached by the Prophets the diſpenſation and comming of God; and the birth of Chriſt our Lord by the Virgine, his paſſion, reſurrection, and aſcenſion with his fleſh into heauen; and his comming from heauen in the glory of his Father to recapitulate all: to raiſe vp all fleſh; and to giue iuſt iudgement in all.* [z] *This faith the Church diſperſed through the world, hauing receaued, faithfully keepeth, and conſtantly teacheth, and deliuereth theſe things as it were with one mouth. For though there be different languages in the worlde, ἀλλ' ἡ δύναμις τῆς παραδόσεως μία, καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ, Yet the ſumme and effect of the tradition* (or faith deliuered) *is one and the ſame. Neither doe the Churches in Germany otherwiſe beleeue or otherwiſe teach, nor thoſe in Spaine, nor thoſe in Fraunce, nor thoſe in the Eaſt, nor thoſe in Egypt, nor thoſe in Africke, nor thoſe in the middeſt of the world.* So that all the churches in the world had one and the ſame tradition and rule of faith; and though the wordes in ſome places did differ, yet in ſenſe they agreed, and the chiefer the churches were, the more was their care to preſerue this Creed not *written*, as Ierom and others confeſſe, but deliuered and receaued by hart euen from the Apoſtles and their Diſciples.

[t] *Tertull. ad. uerſ. Praxeam.*

[u] *Idem de præſcriptionibus aduerſus hæreticos.*

[x] *Idem de velandis virginibus.*

[y] *Irenæus li. 1. cap. 2.*

[z] *Ibidem li. 1. ca. 3.*

And ſince the Church of Rome, then one of the moſt famous Churches in the world, kept this Creede compriſed in twelue ſentences according to the number of the twelue Apoſtles, as Leo teſtifieth not long after Ruffines time; and Ambroſe ſaid the ſame in effect euen in Ruffines time, and other Churches likewiſe both Eaſt and Weſt had & retained the ſame from their firſt foundation, as Irenæus witneſſeth; It can not be, but the Creede, which we haue at this day, was the verie ſame which the primitiue churches had and kept; and theſe auncient Fathers that alleage the authoritie thereof, bring not euerie where the exact wordes, but the chiefe parts and grounds thereof, as appeareth by Tertullian who ſaith; *The Rule*, or Creed, *is one and vnchangeable*, notwithſtanding he bringeth three ſeueral variations therof in wordes. For the clauſe of Chriſts deſcent to hell, I haue ſaid before it was retained in many places, though it wanted in the church of Rome, and ſome other churches of the Eaſt; and no doubt the Church of Rome and the reſt conceaued no leſſe by Chriſtes reſurrection from the dead, but that he roſe conquerer of death and hell, as the prophet foretold he ſhould, in ſaying: *O death, I will be thy death; ô hell, I will bee thy deſtruction*; as Chriſt profeſſed he did, when he ſaid, *I haue the keies of death and hell:* and as the great and generall Councels of *Epheſus, Chalcedon and Conſtantinople* did expound that Article of the Creed, *Chriſt roſe the third day, σκυλεύσας τὸν ἅδην hauing firſt ſpoiled hell.* And vpon this reſolution of theſe generall Councels, and not as you dreame vpon the opinion of Limbus preuailing, the Churches, that wanted that Article which others had, receaued it into their Creed, as contained there before in

force and effect, but now they concurred in one conſent of faith and wordes, which before they did not.

[a Defenc. pag. 205. li. 19. *Our third reaſon is: if there be no certaine beneſit to the godly by Chriſts going to hell, then doubtleſſe he went not thither. But there is no certaine benefit to the godly by Chriſts going to hell. Therefore doubtleſſe he went not thither.*] You profere vs reaſons very ſeldome, but when you puſh them forth, they want all things that ſhould ſupport them. Your maior heere hath no force in it, your minor hath no trueth; and ſo your concluſion is like a forward bud, that ſhrincketh before it bloweth. That Chriſt ſhould triumph ouer powers and principalities, and all knees of thoſe in heauen, earth, and hell bow vnto him, was aſwell for his ſoueraignty, as for our ſafety. Your maior then muſt haue both thoſe parts in it, that if Chriſts deſcent thither were neither for his glory nor our good, then was it needleſſe. But it was both. He was to riſe ſuperiour to *all* his and our enemies, that as in the croſſe he ſubmitted his life to the rage & fury of Satan & his members, ſo when he roſe he might be made Lord ouer heauen, earth and hell. It was therefore his right to haue the keyes of death and hell, wherby Satans kingdom aſwell in hell as in earth ſhould be ſubiected to the power of his humane nature, which could not be but beneficiall for vs, whoſe redeemer and Sauiour he was. Againe what need is there that you ſhould know the depth of Gods counſels, and reaſon of Chriſts doings in euery thing, as though you were to take an account of him, what cauſe he had to doe, as he did? If the Scripture beare witneſſe, that Chriſts ſoule was not left in hell, though we could not diſcerne the preciſe purpoſe of his deſcent thither, we may not therefore reiect it as ſuperfluous. But what ſay you to thoſe two maine points expreſſed in Scripture; *the deſtroying of Satan, and deliuering of vs from feare of death*, which Chriſt performed by his death?

[b Pag 206. li. 11. *The benefits all and euery one, (which you euery where rehearſe) I moſt vnfeinedly and religiouſly beleeue: but what is this to his locall being in hell?*] You acknowledge the words, but not the deeds of Chriſts deſtroying and ſpoiling Satan, through, but not after his death: and ſo in name, but not in proofe you make him Lord ouer hell, as where he neuer ſhewed the power and prerogatiue of his humane nature, but onely by taking his body from the graue. Now this doth not anſwere the reall and actuall ſubduing of Satans ſtrength and kingdome mentioned in the Scriptures with ſo magnificent and euident words, as the Apoſtle vſeth; that Chriſt led *captiuity captiue, and made an open ſhew of powers and principalities, and triumphed ouer them in his owne perſon.* You call theſe [c Pag. 206. li. 19. *blaſts of vanity*, becauſe I ſay they were performed on euery part of Satans kingdome, and euen in the place where his chiefeſt ſtrength and power was, which was hell: but your replies are rather beeſoms of infidelity, which would ſweepe away whatſoeuer the Apoſtle ſaith of Chriſts moſt glorious triumph ouer Satan and his whole kingdome, with the taking of his fleſh out of the graue, where it lay dead; and aſcribe no more to Chriſts conqueſt ouer death and hell, then you doe to all the faithfull, when they ſhalbe raiſed from the earth to the fruition of eternall life. This I ſay is not ſufficient in Chriſts perſon. For he muſt not onelie be free himſelfe, and the freer of all his from death and hell, but all infernall places and powers were to ſtoope to him, as Lord of all, when God would bring him to the glory of his reſurrection.

[d Defene pag. 206. li. 22. *This conqueſt, you ſay, Chriſt purchaſed by his Paſſion, but hee did not execute it till his reſurrection. If hee executed nothing till his reſurrection, and purchaſed all by his Paſſion, then he did nothing in hell. For his reſurrection was diſtinctly after his ſuppoſed being in hell.*]

[e Philip. 2. The Apoſtles wordes are plaine, that Chriſtes croſſe was his *humiliation. Chriſt [e] humbled himſelfe being obedient to death, euen the death of the croſſe.* Then Chriſtes Paſsion and death were parts of his debaſing, and not his triumphing ouer death or hell. After death muſt his triumph beginne, and not before, nor at the time of his breathing out his ſoule: but when the time of his reſurrection came, God looſed the ſorrowes of death before his humane ſoule, which was not left deſtitute of glory & ſoueraintie in hell, and raiſed his bodie from the graue, reſtoring him to life as the ſubduer and Lord

Lord of all his enemies, that is as well of hell as of death. You would calculate the minutes, and ſee what diſtance of time there was betwixt the returne of Chriſtes ſoule from hell, and the raiſing of his bodie from the graue; but this is like the reſt of your vanities, to be more then audacious in blaſing your owne deuiſes, and curious in ſearching Gods ſecrets reſerued to himſelfe. What time the ſoule of Chriſt aſcended to Paradiſe, or deſcended to hell, we doe not know; we muſt leaue that to God; it ſufficeth vs, that Chriſtes *Soule* by the witneſſe of holy Scripture was not left *in hell, nor his fleſh in the graue*, but both reſtored to life as conquerers of death and hell. Chriſtes reſurrection therefore containeth the bringing of his ſoule from hell, and the ioyning of it to his bodie, that both might be reſtored to celeſtiall and perpetuall glory; and conſequently the ſubduing of hell, as his ſoule returned to his bodie, is iuſtly reputed a part of the glorie of his reſurrection. [f *I would willingly beleeue you, but alas who ſayth ſo beſides your ſelfe; or onely ſuch as can tell no better then you.*] If auncient Fathers and later writers, if prouinciall & generall Councels did not profeſſe the ſame that I doe, you might beleeue as you liſt; but if they all concurre, that this is teſtified in the Scriptures, which you labour to elude with phraſes and figures; then pitie your ſelfe as ſtretching and ſhrinking the Scriptures at your pleaſure; pitie not me, who haue the maine conſent of all ages, and Chriſtian aſſemblies (from the Apoſtles to this very time, wherein we liue) to interpret the wordes of the holy Ghoſt, as I doe; and to make Chriſtes ſubduing of hell conſequent to his death and precedent to his reſurrection. Neither can the Apoſtles wordes, (that Chtiſt g *through death deſtroyed him, that had power of death, and deliuered all them, which for feare of death were all their life long ſubiect to bondage*) haue any full or effectuall performance, if Chriſt after death, and before the raiſing vp of his bodie, did not in that part of his humane nature, which lay not in the graue, ſhew himſelfe the conquerer of Satan and his Infernall kingdome, that by Chriſtes ſubduing eternall death, and taking the whole power thereof into his hands, we might be aſſured of our deliuerance from that, which we moſt feared; which was not the death of the bodie, but the deſtruction of bodie and ſoule in hell fire. This Conqueſt we both beleue; neither may we much differ about the time, ſince it muſt be through his death, and ſo after he was dead, and before his reſurrection; the manner is all that is queſtioned, which you ſay was without any preſence of his humane ſoule, and conſequently muſt be referred to his diuine nature. I affirme the contrarie, that this exaltation, to be Lord ouer heauen, earth and hell; pertained not to Chriſtes Deitie, which neuer wanted that Soueraintie, but to his manhood, which was obedient vnto death, and was therefore aduanced to this hight. And ſince this conqueſt ouer hell was reall in proofe, not verball in claime; ſpeciall to Chriſtes perſon, not generall to all his members; and performed after Chriſtes death, not by Chriſtes diuine, but by his humane nature; this muſt needs be referred to Chriſtes ſoule; which might deſcend to hell, and muſt before it could ſhew it ſelfe vanquiſher of hell; and not to his bodie, which lay dead in the graue, and could neither aſcend nor deſcend till it was reſtored to life. You make Chriſt Lord ouer hell, becauſe he kept himſelfe from thence; but ſo were all the faithfull, whoſe ſoules were not incloſed in hell; whom yet the Scriptures make not Lords ouer death and hell, but deliuered from both. There muſt be a conqueſt peculiar to Chriſt, whereby he did take all power from them, and reſerued it to himſelfe, and roſe from death, as hauing the keyes of both. The particular manner whereof in time and other ſuch circumſtances, though the Scriptures do not expreſſe, yet muſt not the general be doubted, becauſe the Scriptures witneſſe, that *Chriſts ſoule was not left, nor forſaken in hell* of Gods diuine power and preſence, but thence returned as conquerer of all Satans power and Dominion. This the Church of Chriſt hath alwayes profeſſed, and this may the godly ſafely beleeue, notwithſtanding M. Broughtons bedlom proclamation, that it is the *generall corruption of religion, Scripture, and all learning.*

Chriſts reſurrection ſheweth his conqueſt ouer hell and death.

f Defenc. pag. 205. li 32.

g Hebr. 2.

Chriſts manhoode muſt conquere hell.

h *Our fourth reaſon. There is altogether as great reaſon, and as vrgent cauſe, that Chriſt, whole man, (both ſoule and bodie) ſhould be preſent in hell to free vs thence wholy (that is our ſoules*

h Defenc. pag. 206. li 34.

ſoules and bodies) as there is that his ſoule muſt be there preſent to free thence our ſoules. Heere I wiſh you would anſwere my propoſition without skoffes and taunts and hautie diſdaine, as your manner is.] You cannot mocke, and that is great pitie. When your propoſitions want not only proofe and trueth, but learning and vnderſtanding, ſhall I ſay they be ſage, wiſe, & Chriſtian reſolutions? your deuices I call dreames, your contradictions I call contrarieties, your neglect of all Councels and Fathers I call preſumption; and your ſhifting, and outfacing, affirming that which is falſe, and denying that which is true, I call vnſhamefaſtneſſe, if not impudencie. What other names ſhould I giue them? I profeſſe I cannot flatter you in your fanſies, neither ſee I any cauſe, why you regarding no man beſides your ſelfe, ſhould thinke your ſelfe fit to be regarded with the diſgrace of all auncients and others. Where the matter is not meet to be reiected with diſdaine, I vſe it not; and where it is, why ſhould I not? Yet now you would haue a direct and faire anſwere to your propoſition; though you little deſerue it, you ſhall. This which you mention (to wit, our deliuerance from hell) was not the onely cauſe of Chriſts deſcent thither, his owne *honour and right*, that ſuffered *ſhame and wrong* at Satans hand on the croſſe, was the chiefe cauſe of his deſcent, that after death he might ſhew himſelfe in his manhood the conquerer and deſtroier of Satans power. This you cleane leaue out of your propoſition, becauſe you would be ſure to bring nothing that ſhould be ſound and ſufficient. Againe your propoſition, as it ſtandeth, hath no ſtrength in it beſides your owne imagination. For hell once ſubdued and conquered by Chriſt needeth not the ſecond time to be conquered. Since then till the day of iudgement hell hath no more but the ſoules of the wicked, (ſome few excepted who deſcended aliue to hell;) what needed more then the ſoule of Chriſt to conquer hell? Thirdly, ſeing the body is caſt into hell to increaſe the paines of the ſoule; the ſoule being acquited and freed from hell, there is no cauſe the body ſhould goe thither. And ſo in reſpect aſwell of Gods ordinance till the day of doome, as of the ſoules preeminence in and ouer the body, the ſoule of Chriſt after death might iuſtly diſcharge our bodies and ſoules from all the power and claime that Satan had againſt vs. Laſtly, the proportion, which Fulgentius, Athanaſius, and others mention, as deriued from the Scriptures, that as the two parts of man after death were for ſinne appointed to two ſeuerall places; his ſoule to hell, and his body to the graue; ſo the Redeemer did fetch man backe againe from thoſe two places of condemnation, with the preſence of his ſoule ſubduing hell, and of his body reſiſting corruption; this proportion, I ſay, grounded on the Scriptures is more then you can any way confute, or open your mouth againſt with any trueth.

[i] Pag. 207. li. 26.

You aske, [i] *why this going to hell by our Sauiour was not rather after his reſurrection*, when both parts were ioined together.] Firſt, becauſe by death, which is the ſeparating of the ſoule from the body, Chriſt was to deſtroy both death and hell. Next, he was to riſe conquerer of them both; and not after his reſurrection, which was a conqueſt of both, to reconquer them againe. This therefore is an vnwiſe demand, and ſheweth that you doe not vnderſtand, what belongeth to Chriſts death or reſurrection, who was to riſe the full conquerer and Lord of all his enemies in his owne perſon, and not after his reſurrection to make a new conqueſt ouer them. And therefore your heaping of ſeuenteen places of Scripture in the [k] margine of your booke, to ſhew that Chriſt died and roſe againe, is to let men ſee, that you haue emptied your note Booke, and there find that Chriſt did riſe from the dead. To which if you will adde, which is the true intent of all thoſe places, that Chriſt was to riſe a perfect conquerer of death and hell, you ſhall make ſo many proofes that Chriſt conquered both before and with his reſurrection, and by no meanes after it. For his reſurrection was manifeſt proofe, that *neither his ſoule was forſaken in hel, nor his fleſh left to ſee corruption* in the graue; and therefore both hell and death were perfectly ſubdued, when he ioined againe his ſoule to his body, and aduanced them both to an immortall and celeſtiall life. Conſidering then whence the parts of Chriſts manhood were taken, when he roſe from the dead, to wit, his ſoule from hell, where it was not forſaken, and his

Chriſt was to riſe full conquerer of hell and death.

[k] Pag. 207. *ad marginem* li. 31.

his body from the graue, where it was not corrupted; you shall easily see, if you doe not wilfully shut your eies, that the power and force of Christs resurrection beganne with the subduing of hell by his soule, and ouermastering putrifaction by his body. Against whose soule and body since neither destruction nor corruption could preuaile it was not possible, but he should rise vanquisher and Lord of death and hell. And where you thinke it absurd, that *one part of Christ, (his soule) should gloriously triumph, the other, (his body)* ALL THIS WHILE *lying in humiliation*; the time was not so long, as you would haue it seeme; since these things were done in that shortnesse and neerenesse of time which pleased God; and the soule once remoued from the body, whether in heauen or in hell, was first to goe towards, and to the body, before that could receaue life from the soule; and so of force the glory of the soule must begin before the glory of the body. And euen according to your owne conceit, if the soule were in heauen all the while, that the body lay dead in the graue; did not the exaltation of the soule in heauen begin a good while before the body, which the third day was restored to life, and till that time lay senseless in the dishonor and dominion of the graue, as you conceaue? And is this so strange a thing with you in Christian religion, that Christs soule should enioy honor, blisse, and glory before the body, when the soules of the faithfull so many hundred yeeres before their bodies are partakers of heauenly ioy?

Your likelihoode, that [l] *Christ would cleere himselfe first wholy and intirely in both parts before he would begin to strip and spoyle Satan for vs*; [m] *seeing it is a greater degree of victorie to spoyle the enemy and to treade him vnder foote, then to get freedome to himselfe*; Hath no likelihood but in your owne eyes. If Christ were in doubt of the victorie, or afraide of the enemie, it were good policie first to make him selfe sure, and after to helpe others; but the Sonne of God, hauing no such doubt nor dread, might destroy and spoile those Infernall places and powers, when & as pleased him selfe with the most dishonour and shame that might be to Satan and his kingdome. For as he would die to shew his power in raising himselfe from the dead, so when he was dead he would conquere Satan, that his strength might the more appeare in dissoluing the sorrowes of death, and returning to life with the full command ouer death and hell. And therefore your *strong likelihoods*, as you call them, are childish conceits and distrusts of Christs power and habilitie to performe his victory. Like to these are those other points which you aske. [n] *Why might not one part of Christ haue sufficed in his sufferings, righteousnesse & obedience (which Apollinaris an heretick affirmed,) as well as that one part serued to triumph for vs in hell?*] Christ suffered for vs in this life, where body and soule were ioyned together in suffering and meriting; but he conquered hell by death, that is after death, when the Soule was yet seuered from the Body. What Apollinaris the Heretick affirmed, you vnderstand not, if you thinke he did hold that the Soule of Christ did suffer or merite for vs: his heresie was, that Christ had no humane Soule, but his Deitie did moue and rule his body in steede of a Soule. Next you aske, [o *Why the body ouercomming corruption in the graue*, which I call a part of Satans kingdome, *did not thereby destroy the whole kingdome of Satan, and so saue our Soules, that Christ might not haue needed to haue come to hell for that purpose?*] He that hath nought else to doing, may intend to aske such idle questions. Why God would haue the flesh of his Sonne by resisting corruption in the graue to assure our bodies of incorruption; and his Soule by subduing hell, to free our Soules from the power and feare of hell; you were best aske him a reason, whose will is the rule of all things: but since we were in danger and feare of both deaths, least the one should lead vs to the other, which was most to be feared; what reason can you bring against the Counsell and wisdome of God confirming vs against the power of death and hell, by the conquest of both parts of Christs manhoode ouer both his and our enemies? You would otherwise haue ordered our safetie and indemnitie, from death and hell, if your aduise had been asked; but nourish these impieties at home in your bosome; blaze them not so busily to the world, as if you would beleeue nothing till you saw a reason

[l] Defenc. pag. 207. li. 37.
[m] Pag. 208. li. 1. *Christ ordered his conquest most to Satans shame.*
[n] Pag. 208. li. 15.
[o] Pag. 208. li. 18.

a reaſon thereof that fitted your fanſie. What God might haue done, is not for you nor me to aske; what improportion or diſcohærence with the Chriſtian faith is there in this, that the power of Chriſts Soule and Body ſuperiour to hell and to the graue, ſhould aſſure our Bodies and Soules the victorie ouer both in ſuch ſort and at ſuch time, as God hath appointed?

p Defenc. pag. 208 li. 24. p *If they meane, that Chriſts fleſh being in the graue and his ſoule being in hell did ſeuerally and diſtinctly ſaue our fleſh and our ſoules, then how will you be reconciled to them, who doe denie that point?*] You would faine put downe Fulgentius, Athanaſius, and others; as if they did not vnderſtand the firſt points of their Catechiſme, that the ioynt Redemption of our Soules and Bodies was obtained by the ioynt-ſufferings of Chriſt in Soule and Body on the Croſſe; but yet ſince we are to die, when our Soules ſhall be ſeuered from our bodies; to aſſure vs that our Soules are freed by the merits of his paſsion from the danger of hell, and our bodies ſhall be raiſed from the duſt of the earth, why might it not pleaſe the Sonne of God by the preſence of his body in the graue without corruption to confirme the Reſurrection of our bodies from corruption, and by the preſence of his Soule in hell, ſubduing the power and kingdome of Satan, to ſtrengthen our faith, that our Soules ſeuered from our bodies ſhall be free from all danger and feare of hell, which he hath conquered in his owne perſon, and whereof he hath taken the keyes into his hands, as him ſelfe affirmeth? This was no new ſauing of our Soules and bodies, as you ſuppoſe; but rather the ſecuring of vs by his example, that our Soules and bodies ſeuered by death, ſhall be ſubiected to neither, but be reſerued to eternall life, that we may be partakers of his victorie.

q Defenc. pag. 208. li. 28. q *Further, why was it needefull, that an actuall preſence of his manhoode ſhould be in hell, ſeeing indeede it is certaine, that the whole actuall triumph of Chriſt ouer Satan proceedeth not of the proper vertue of the manhood, but only from the vertue & power of the Godhead of Chriſt?*] Conflict between the godhead of Chriſt & Satan there neither was, nor might be any: but as by Adams diſobedience Satan gained vs into his poſſeſsion, ſo by the obedience of Chriſts manhood euen to the death, Satan loſt vs out of his power and dominion. Neither might the Deitie of Chriſt through death be made Lord ouer all his enemies, except you will touch on a trick of Arianiſme; but the manhoode of Chriſt for his ſubmiſsion vnto death receiued the keyes of death & hell, and power to diſpoſe of Satans kingdome at his pleaſure. Now had not thoſe Infernall powers been ſubiected to the Soule of Chriſt after death, how ſhould it haue appeared that his manhood, not his godhead, had the conqueſt ouer Satans ſtrongeſt holds, and that the keyes of death and hell were reſigned vnto him? for ſince the Scripture beareth witneſſe, that his *Soule was not forſaken in hell*, that is not there left deſtitute of his diuine power & glory, what reſiſtance could be made, that he ſhould not returne thence the Lord and Ruler of all his enemies, whereof hell and Satan were the chiefeſt? His godhead then was the giuer, but his manhoode was the receauer of this power and preeminence ouer hell & Satan, that they for euer ſhould ſtoupe to him, and ſee both what wrong they did him, and what vengeance was heaped on them; as alſo how righteous mans redemption was by the Croſſe and death of the Sonne of God.

Christs manhood was to conquere though by power of his Godhead.

r Defenc pag. 209. li 1. r *Laſtly, why did not the preſence of his fleſh in the graue keepe ours, that it ſhould not come there, or at leaſt that it ſhould neuer putrifie nor rot, as his fleſh did not?*] Euen becauſe ſuch was Gods will, it ſhould not. God by his ſentence pronounced on Adam and his ofspring, adiudged them to returne to duſt, from which Chriſt ſhall raiſe them at the laſt day, and not before. And from duſt to reſtore them, ſheweth greater power in Chriſt, then to preſerue them from duſt. This therefore verifieth the iuſtice, and magnifieth the power of God; and for you to aske, why it might not be aſwell otherwiſe, as ſo; is to enter more ſaucely then wiſely into thoſe things, which you ſhould religiouſly and faithfully beleeue. And where you ſay, *all theſe ſequels are as good and as likely as my aſſertion*, you ſhew your accuſtomed boldneſſe, if not haughtineſſe, that condemne ſo many learned and auncient fathers for plaine fooles in not ſeeing, what abſurd conſequences depended on their aſſertion. Howbeit in the midſt of your pride

God would not haue our fleſh as yet freed from the graue.

pride you shew little wit, that all this while you can light on none other reason of Christes descent to hell, but onely this that we should neuer come there. This indeed was one of the causes, euen to secure vs by his conqueſt, that hee hath the keyes of death and hell; and therefore we shall not need to feare either, since both are wholy subiected and submitted to his power, though he stay the time prefixed by his father, when we shall be partakers of his victorie ouer death at the end of the world, as we are ouer hell at our departing hence; assuring vs in this life by faith in him, that we neede not feare either death or hell, both which he hath conquered.

[f] *I made this argument in my former Treatise; that Christes descending into hell (if euer he did so) could not be iudged any part of his exaltation or glorification. To which your reply is, I know not whether more strange or skornefull. But you resolue that these words, hee descended to hell, importeth his exultation and triumph.*] This argument was drawen from your imagination taking vpon you to dispose of the parts of the Creede as best pleased you, which because I reiected, as wanting all warrant besides your owne note booke, you interpret it to be a strange and skornefull answere. Howbeit there is no strangenesse in mine answere, but to him that neuer peeped farder then in his owne shell. The Fathers with one consent referre that clause to Christs Conqueſt ouer hell. *Christ* [t] *had power,* (saith Athanasius) *in the graue to shew incorruption, and in his descent to Hades* (hell) *to dissolue death, and to proclaime to all resurrection.* Cyprian. [u] *When in Christs presence hell being broken open, captiuitie was captiuated, his conquering soule presented to the sight of his Father, returned to her bodie without delay.* Epiphanius. [x] *Christ was crucified, buried, he descended to hell in his Deitie and his soule, he tooke captiuitie captiue, and rose the third day with his holy bodie.* That he was [y] *free among the dead, signifieth hell had no power ouer him, but that of his owne accord he descended to hell with his soule, because it was impossible he should be held of it.* So Austen. [z] *Reddunt Inferna victorem. Hell restored him a conquerer; and whiles his bodie lay in the graue, his soule triumphed ouer hell.* The Councels prouinciall and generall do the like, [a] *Christ descended to hell, & denicto mortis imperio, and subduing the kingdome of death, rose the third day.* Euen as the generall Councels of Ephesus and Constantinople say. Yea the later writers, as [b] *Innocentius,* [c] *Durandus, and* others ioyne this clause with Christs resurrection, and make them both but one Article of our faith, as *descendit ad inferna, tertia die resurrexit, he descended to hell, and rose the third day*, they set for the fift Article of the Creede; euen as that auncient writer among Saint Austens [d] workes did before them. So that neither Elder, nor later writers ioyne with you in this conceit of yours; that Christes descent to hell was the lowest part of his humiliation; they directly professe it to be the first part of his exaltation, and a preamble to his resurrection. And where you thinke it much, that his descending should belong to his exaltation, not the place, but the purpose of his descent maketh that alteration. The Scripture saith. [e] *The Lord himselfe shall descend from heauen with a shoute and with the trumpet of God,* when he shall come to iudge the quicke and dead: and yet that descent shall be the greatest part of his glorie.

[f] *You skoffe at me for the like, as if I had said his descending was ascending, and heauen was Hell. But herein you affirme vntruely. First I say though his soule leauing his bodie ascended, yet this is not meant by that phrase, he descended to Hades. Secondly, I neuer sayd that Hades signified heauen, although some in Hades are in heauen. Thirdly, much lesse did I euer say that hell is heauen.*] The interpretation, which you made of the Article, *Christ descended to hell*, I sayd had none other matter of faith in it (except you thought the Church in her Creede went to varying of phrases) but that Christs soule ascended to heauen. For where Hades in the Creede must signifie not a priuation, nor a generall and indefinite condition, (as if Christ went some whither, yet no man knew whither) but a determined place, whither Christs soule after death repaired; that place of force must be heauen or hell. And since by no meanes you will haue Christs soule descend to hell, as the whole Church hath hitherto receaued and beleeued, you must acknowledge the meaning of that Article to be, that Christs soule ascended to heauen: and so whether

[f] Defenc. pag. 202. li. 7.

[t] *Athanas. de incarn. Christi.*
[u] *Cyprianus de passione Christi.*
[x] *Epiphanius in 80. heresium. anacephalaiosi.*
[y] *Idem in Ancorato.*
[z] *August sermo. 138. & 131.*
[a] *Concilium Toleta. 4. ca. 10. & Arelatens. ca. 1.*
[b] *Innocent. de mysteriis missæ. li. 2. ca. 50.*
[c] *Durand. in rationali diuinorum li. 4. rub. de Symbolo.*
[d] *Appendix de diuersis sermo. 42.*
[e] 1. Thess. 4. ver. 16.

[f] Defenc. pag. 209. li. 12.

whether you will or no, if that be the effect and intent of those wordes in the Creede, *descending* must be taken for *ascending*, and *hell* for *heauen*. [*This is not meant*, you say, *by that phrase.*] It is one of your skilles to bring Articles of the Creede to be *phrases*, as if the Apostles and their followers, which were the first planters of Churches, had ment to teach the simple people not principles of faith, but certaine Greeke or Hebrew phrases. He that will suffer you to turne his faith into a phrase, let him take heed that insteed of heauen he light not on hel, which is one of your chiefe phrases. [*But you neuer said, that Hades signified heauen.*] You may saue this from a lie, if you be not he that wrote this part of your booke; as by the crossing and changing of your owne assertions it is euident to euery wise man, you did not: but otherwise, if the quoting of other mens authoritie to proue Hades to be heauen, may conuince you to be of that mind with them, whom you cite for that purpose; you haue most plainely auouched hades to import and containe heauen. Whose words are these, I pray you, in your Treatise?

[g] Treat. pag. 97. li. 28. [g] *This most singular place sheweth, that Hades with them is not properly for hell, but for the world of the dead*; *and* SOMETIMES AS NAMELY HEERE EVEN FOR HEAVEN. So in the next page. [h] Pag. 98. li. 6. [h] *Againe he saith of heauen, that it is an vnseene estate,* EVEN HADES, AS IT IS (COMMONLY) CALLED. [i] li. 10. [i] *Wherefore it is plaine by Plato, Hades sometime may bee vnderstood for heauen*; *yea and with the Grecians it was a common phrase.* [k] li. 27. [k] *And Stephan citeth Plutarch concerning the godly departing & being in hades, that is in heauen, he meant I thinke, and not in hell.* Infinite places might be brought to like purpose, but these may suffice; which whether they, & you by them auouch hades to be taken for heauen or no, I leaue to the iudgement of the Reader, as also whether this be not impudent facing, and worthy of other wordes, at which you take so much offence. Yea this very Article *Christ descended to Hades*, you expound by pretence of Bullingers wordes, [l] Treat. pag. 102. [l] *he did goe to Abrahams bosome, that is into heauen.*

[m] Defenc. pag. 171. *That you auouch Philip. 2. for it, is more strange: where we haue not one word of his local being in hell. And that the Coloss. 2. should proue it, passeth all the rest. Where, (though we graunt you your reading) yet the expresse text referreth that triumph to Christes crosse: which you openly deny.*] You doe well to make an Apologie for your impudency and facing, the next sentence before; but if you reclaime those trades of yours, you renounce the most part of your obiections and probations in this your defence. For doe I cite either of these places in the Pages, which you quote, to proue Christes descent after death to the place of hell? When you in your proud and scornefull humour mocked at Christes actuall conquest and triumph ouer hell in generall, and called it a [m] *woorthie priuiledge surely, and very honorable,* [n] *to triumph and insult vpon the thrice miserable & wofull wretches in their present vnspeakeable damnation*; adding, [o] *All the world knoweth, it is the most inglorious and vilest debasing*; to represse this disdainfull and proud conceit of yours, I told you, [p] *The Apostle made it a part of Christes high exaltation, that euerie knee as well of things vnder earth, as of things in heauen should bow vnto him*; and did you thinke it a matter to be *mocked and derided?* and of the place to the Colossians I said, [q] *What letteth then, since these wordes were not verified on the crosse, but they did take place in his resurrection*; *and therein, as by the effects it was most euident and apparant to the eies of all men, he did spoile powers, and Principalities, and made a shew of them openly, and triumphed ouer them in his owne person?* When I speake of things euident and apparent to all mens eies, I speake not of things done in hell, where no man liuing was present; but prooued against you as well by your own wordes, as by the Apostles, that this triumph was not perfourmed and executed on the crosse, though there deserued and purchased. For you your selfe debase Christs triumph on the crosse, with woorse wordes then I doe; you say, [r] *it was a miserable triumph, yea* [s] *a piteous triumph it was indeede where himselfe remained in such woefull torment where appeared no shew of conquest.* I say not so, but that on the crosse Christ humbled himselfe euen vnto death, and thereby merited to be exalted aboue all names and sorts (of creatures) which God after death most gloriously perfourmed vnto him, when euerie knee of those in heauen, on earth, and vnder earth, bowed vn-

[n] Treat. pag. 164. [o] Pag. 154. [p] Pag. 156. [q] Conclus. pa. 353. [q] Conclus. pa. 358. [r] Treatis. pag. 156. [s] 159.

to

to him, and confeſſed him to be (their) Lord. This was all I ſaid in thoſe places, which you traduce; and yet if I had ſaid more, and applied them to the actuall triumph of Chriſtes ſoule after death, I wanted not better authoritie ſo to haue done, then you haue any for ſo many cart-loades of conceits, as you haue brought vs. But of both theſe places I haue ſpoken before what may ſuffice, and he that will ſee more thereof, may read what Zanchius hath learnedly and ſoberly written of thoſe places, *Epheſ.4.verſ.9.* and *Coloſſ.2.verſ.15.* Where he likewiſe affirmeth: [t] *Patres ferè ſic explicant, & ex noſtris non pauci, neque vulgares; The Fathers for the moſt part doe ſo expound it; and of our writers not a few, nor the meaneſt.*

[t] Zanchius in c.2.Coloſſ.v.15.

[u] *That of the Councels, how Chriſt roſe againe hauing ſpoiled hell, I eaſily yeeld; ſeeing that prooueth not his locall being there.* Then firſt you yeeld, that Hades with all theſe generall Councels ſignifieth *hell.* Next you yeeld that hell was ſpoyled by Chriſt before he roſe; for he *roſe hauing ſpoyled hell.* Thirdly you yeeld, that this was done by Chriſtes manhood, ſince his Godhead can be ſaid in no wiſe to riſe from the dead; and conſequently by his ſoule, ſince he ſpoiled hell before he roſe, when yet his bodie was dead in the graue. There remaineth no more but this queſtion, whether the ſoule of Chriſt did this abſent from the place, or preſent in the place, which was ſpoiled. And ſince the ſcriptures auouch, that Chriſts *ſoule was in Hades*, which was ſpoiled; as theſe three generall Councels affirme; it is without queſtion, that Chriſtes ſoule preſent in hell, ſpoiled hell before his reſurrection, and ſo returned to his bodie; which is the very point you all this while denied, and with ſo much loſt labour impugned. And leaſt this cauſe ſhould depend on your ſlipper turnes and returnes, we muſt vnderſtand, that not only the generall Councell of [x] Epheſus confirmed and allowed theſe wordes in the Synodall Epiſtle of Cyrill to Neſtorius, but the Councell of [y] Chalcedon and the ſecond Councell of [z] Conſtantinople ratified the ſame. So that what ſenſe Cyrill had in theſe wordes, the ſame did the Councell of Epheſus follow, Cyrill himſelfe there ſitting, and declaring his owne meaning. Yea the Treatiſes of Cyrill expounding theſe wordes are inſerted into the Acts of the Councell of Epheſus, which the Councels of Chalcedon and Conſtantinople doe fully approoue. Now what Cyrill meant by ſpoiling hades, appeareth in theſe words. [a] *Our Lord Ieſus*, ſaith Cyrill, σκυλεύσας τὸν θάνατον, καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖσε μυριάδων τῶν τῷ καθειρχθέντων πνευμάτων ἀπολύσας πλῆθος, ἀνεξίῳ τριήμερος *hauing ſpoyled death, and looſed the number of ſoules, that were detained in the dennes there, roſe the third day.* [b] *We muſt not ſay that the Deitie of the onely begotten returned from the denns vnder the earth, but his ſoule deſcended to hades, and vſing his diuine power and authoritie,* τοῖς ἐκεῖσε πνεύμασι καταφαίνετο, *ſhewed it ſelfe to the ſoules there, and ſaid to them in bands, come forth; and to them in darkeneſſe, receiue light.* This Cyrill tooke from Athanaſius, whom he much followed, and often cited. [c] *Thoſe wretches* (the diuels) *did not know, that the death of Chriſt ſhould giue vs immortalitie, and his deſcent* (to Hades) *ſhould procure our aſcent to heauen. For the Lord roſe the third day from the dead;* σκυλεύσας τὸν ἅδην, τὸν ἐχθρὸν καταπατήσας, τὸν θάνατον λύσας, τῆς καθεχούσης ἡμᾶς ἁμαρτίας τὰ δεσμὰ διαῤῥήξας, τοὺς πεπεδημένους ἐλευθερώσατο, λέγων ἐγείρεσθε, ἄγωμεν ἐντεῦθεν: *hauing ſpoiled Hades* (hel), *troden the enemie vnder foote, diſſolued death, broken the chaines of ſin with which we were tyed, and freed* (vs) *that were bound, ſaying, ariſe, let vs goe hence. Being therefore freed from the bondage of the diuell, let vs acknowledge our redeemer, and glorifie the Father, &c.* So elſwhere *What neede had* (Chriſt that was) *God, of the croſſe, of the graue, of hell to which things we were ſubiect; but that* (in them) *he ſought vs, quickning vs in this manner agreeable to vs?* [c] *For if the Lord had not bene made man, wee had neuer riſen from the dead, as redeemed from our ſinnes, but had remained dead vnder the earth; neither had we beene exalted to heauen, but had laine ſtill* ἐν τῷ ἅδῃ, *in hell. For vs therefore and for our ſakes it is ſayd, God exalted* (him), *and gaue him* (the dominion of heauen, earth and hell). By which places, as by infinite others in Athanaſius it is euident, that Chriſt conquered and ſpoiled hell and Satan for vs, and deliuered vs thence, aſwell as thoſe that were formerly deceaſed; to whom, as to vs, hell had a chalenge till

[u] Defenc. pag. 209.li.28.

[x] *Acta concilij Epheſ.*

[y] *Chalced. concilium. act.5.*

[z] *Conſtantinop. concilium act. 6.*

[a] *Cyrill de recta fide ad Reginas li.2.ca. quòd Chriſtus in virtute patris reſurrexit à mortuis.*

[b] *Idem de recta fide ad Theodoſium.*

[c] *Athanaſ. in illud profecti in pagum inuenietis pullum alligatum.*

[d] *Idem de incarnat. Chriſti.*

[e] *Idem contra Arianos orat.2.*

the Sauiour of the world freed both them and vs thence. And this is the true meaning of thoſe prouinciall and generall Councels, which ſay; *Chriſt roſe the third day, hauing* (firſt) *ſpoiled hell.*

f Defenc. pag. 209. li. 30. f *The ſame I affirme of that Allegory in Luke; which ſheweth Chriſts ouercomming, binding and ſpoiling of Satan indeed: but not by his locall being in hell. Chriſt expreſſely applieth it to his diſpoſſeſſing of Diuels out of mens bodies.*] I did not alleage this parable to prooue Chriſts going to hell in ſoule after death, but to ſhew what parts Chriſts conqueſt ouer hell and Satan muſt haue; to wit, that he muſt *ſubdue, bind*, and *ſpoile* Satan, before his conqueſt ouer Satan, could be perfect. Other places of Scripture applied theſe parts to Chriſts riſing from the dead, and ſpoiling the kingdome of Satan; for this parable it did ſuffice, that theſe things heere mentioned muſt be fully performed by Chriſt, before he did fully conquere Satan. Now that theſe things were throughly performed by Chriſt, whiles he liued on earth, is repugnant to the Scriptures. For ſo Chriſt ſhould neuer haue died, ſince death was a part of Satans power, which Chriſt was to ſpoile. It is therefore certaine, that Chriſts ouermaſtering of Satan began here on earth, when he caſt him out from ſuch as were poſſeſſed, but Chriſts conqueſt ouer Satan, had not his full and complete higth, no not in his owne perſon, till he roſe from the dead, and aſcended to heauen, leading captiuity captiue. That therefore it began before Chriſts death, I doe not denie; but that it was not finiſhed till his reſurrection and aſcenſion, the Scriptures auouch. *Chriſt* ſaith Origen, g *hauing bound the ſtrong man, and by his croſſe conquered him, went euen to his houſe, to the houſe of death, and into hell; and thence tooke his goods, that is, the ſoules, which he poſſeſſed. And this was that, which he ſpake by a Parable in the Goſpell, ſaying: Who can enter a ſtrong mans houſe, and ſpoile his goods, except he firſt bind the ſtrong man?* So Ierom. h *The ſtrong man was bound and tied in hell, and troden vnder the Lords foote, and the Tyrants howſen being ſpoiled, captiuity was led captiue.* And Zanchius, i *The Apoſtle to the Epheſians the 4. (where he ſpeaketh of Chriſts triumph, and ſaith, he led captiuity captiue, that is, he led the Diuel captiue, and triumphed ouer him) doth not there ſay, this triumph was made on the croſſe, but then performed (that is perfected) when Chriſt aſcended to heauen. Chriſt then obteined it on the Croſſe, but performed it afterwards.* k *Of euill ſpirits ſubdued and ſpoiled, the Sonne of God triumphed. Whither pertaineth that parable of Chriſts, when a ſtrong man keepeth his houſe* (his goods are in peace) *but when a ſtronger then he commeth vpon him, he taketh his ſpoiles from him.*

g *Origen li. 5. in ca. 6. ad Roma.*

h *Hiero in ca. 12. Matthei.*

i *Zanchius in 2. ca. ad coloſſ.*

k *Ibidem.*

l Defenc. pag. 210. li. 2. l *Remember I pray how God ſhewed his diſpleaſure againſt your wreſting of his word, by that ſtrange terrour, that happened euen then when you were deſcended into the depth of this vncouth doctrine at Paules Croſſe.*] Indeed it may be, that you and ſuch others were in a ſtrange terror at that time, otherwiſe there was no cauſe, nor harme, but the breaking of an old rotten forme, which men deſirous to heare had ouer loaden, and ſo where they ſtood halfe a yard aboue ground before, they were then faine to ſtand on their feet. But Sir, by what authority doe you take vpon you to interprete Gods will by the cracking of an old ſtoole? Are you of late become a Southſaier, that you profeſſe to declare Gods meaning by the breaking of an old borde in ſunder? What ſay you then to thoſe Coronations of Princes, and other aſſemblies, where many haue been ſlaine? What ſay you to S. Pauls Sermon, where m *Eutychus falling downe from a third loft, was taken vp dead?* Will you ſay his doctrine was vncouth, becauſe the hearers were a while troubled with that accident? had there any thing indeed fallen out, as God be thanked there did nothing, you would haue plaied the falſe Prophet apace to preſume of Gods purpoſe, when by your owne fooliſh feare vpon the cracking of an old forme, you proudely and prophanely take vpon you to pronounce of Gods pleaſure.

m Acts 20.

n Defenc pag. 210. li. n. n *Where you charge me in the end arrogantly and abſurdly to falſifie the Synod of this Realme, it is but what your ſelfe doth in effect. I ſaid our Synod corrected King Edwards Synod. You acknowledge and profeſſe that in the later words of that former Synod now left*

out

out are three things that cannot be iuſtified by the Scriptures.] If a man would hire you, you cannot leaue this outfacing and falſifying, no not, when you goe about to cleare your ſelfe of it, which whether it be abſurd or arrogant, I leaue to the Reader. *Our Synod*, you ſaid, *corrected King Edwards Synod.*] Said you no more? did you not luſtily conclude; ° *Therefore our Synod renounceth apparantly this ſenſe of the Creed, that Chriſt deſcended to the hell of the damned?* Now that is nothing ſo; they thought not good in this Article of the Creed to expreſſe more then was aunciently ſet downe for the people to beleeue: but they doe not reiect as falſe, whatſoeuer they omit of the later words of King Edwards Synod. For ſo they ſhould reiect this alſo for falſe, that *Chriſts body lay in the graue till his reſurrection*, which I truſt no Chriſtian man doubteth. Three things I ſaid there were, which the later Synod might conceaue to be conteined in the former, that could not be iuſtified by the Scriptures; and in that reſpect they might leaue out thoſe later words, *not cutting of, putting out, or caſting away* (as you ruffle in your termes) euery thing there mentioned, for ſo they ſhould caſt away aſwell the buriall of Chriſts body, as the preſence of his ſoule in hell, but refraining to confirme thoſe later words, both becauſe there was ſomewhat amiſſe in them, and they would not impoſe more on the people to beleeue, then was at firſt compriſed in their Creed; as alſo for that they would not eſtabliſh this to be the right and vndoubted ſenſe of Peters words, that Chriſt in ſoule preached to the ſpirits in hell.

° Treatiſ pag. 172.

[*You charge theſe words of King Edwards Synod with two points, which are not in them. Firſt, that it ſaith, how the ſpirits of the iuſt were in hell: and that Chriſt deſcending thither, ſtaied there till his reſurrection. In me you would make this a great matter ſo to miſreport the words of a Synod, which indeed ſaith nothing hereof.*] Were there no more but this in the words of that Synod, that the preaching of Chriſt to the ſpirits in hell is ſet down there as the ſole cauſe of his deſcent thither; or that this ſenſe of S. Peters words is impoſed on all men by their authority to be beleeued: either of theſe was reaſon ſufficient to omit thoſe later words of King Edwards Synod. But if we rightly looke into the manner and purpoſe of their ſpeach, we ſhall eaſily ſee, that I wrong them not. For by thoſe words they ment to ſhew the places, where Chriſts ſoule and body did abide, after they were ſeuered, vntill the reſurrection. *His body*, ſay they, euen *vntill the reſurrection lay in the graue, his ſoule being breathed out, was* (vntill the ſame time) *with the ſpirits in priſon or hell, and preached to them, as the place of Peter doth witneſſe.* To ſay, that the ſoule of Chriſt diſmiſſed from his body, was not at all in the place, where the ſpirits of the iuſt were, had been repugnant to Peters words in the next Chapter; if we grant as they did, by theſe words of Peter, that Chriſt preached to the dead. For there it is ſaid, *The Goſpell* (that is, the glad tidings of Redemption performed) *was preached to the dead.* Which could not be to the wicked, ſince the Goſpell was not preached vnto thē, but the iuſtneſſe of their condemnation rather publiſhed vnto them. Since then as they tooke S. Peters words, Chriſt preached to both the iuſt and vniuſt, and by their Article, declaring where Chriſt abode after death, no more is expreſſed, but that Chriſt *was with the ſpirits in priſon and hell, and preached vnto them*; How can it in any reaſonable mans iudgement be auoided, but that their words implie, the iuſt were in priſon and in hell, where Chriſt preached? Neither was this ſo ſtrange a thing in thoſe daies, ſince many hundred yeeres before it was receaued in moſt mens mouths and minds, that the iuſt deceaſed before Chriſts death were in the ſame place (called hell) with the wicked, though not in the ſame paines; and many of the Fathers directly affirme no leſſe. Seing then themſelues in their words make no difference betwixt the iuſt and vniuſt; and generally auouch, that Chriſts ſoule was with the ſpirits in hell, and preached to them, by warrant of Peters words, who ſaith, *The Goſpell was preached to the dead*; What reaſon had I to wreſt their words to any other ſenſe then that, which I ſaw currant in many fathers before them, whoſe ſteps, by the generall purport of their words they ſeemed to follow? And how iuſtly might the later Synod refuſe thoſe words of theirs, which were either ſo dangerons,

P Defenc. pag. 210. li. 19.

The things miſliked in king Edwards ſynod.

9 *Articuli Synodi Londinenſ. anno. 1552.*

or ſo doubtfull, that they might not ſafely be retained?

[*It is well that you renounce that of Peter (by Auſtens direction) as making not at all for any locall being of Chriſt in hell. But yet herein your ſelfe openly refuſeth the mind of all your Predeceſſors, yea of our later Synode, if they beleeued as you vrge they did. For if they liked Chriſts locall being in hel, they miſliked not the applying of that in Peter thereunto: as by Maſter Nowels Catechiſme may appeare.*] It is true, that I refrained to bring thoſe places of Peter, becauſe Saint Auſten, though he ſtrongly hold Chriſts deſcent to hell to be a part of the Chriſtian faith, yet he perceaued and confeſſed theſe places might haue an other ſenſe, and nothing touch Chriſts deſcent to hell. Your illation, that if *the Synode liked Chriſts locall being in hell, they miſliked not the applying of that in Peter thereunto*, is like the reſt of your collections. As if Saint Auſten did not like the one, and yet miſlike the other. Notwithſtanding there is difference betwixt liking a quotation as ſome way pertinent to the cauſe, and propoſing the ſame as a part of Chriſtian Religion for all men of neceſsitie to imbrace. The Synode might doe the one, and yet not the other; and ſo iuſtly leaue out that clauſe of the former Synode, though Peters words in their opinions might haue ſome ſuch intent. Neither doe I preiudice any man to like or alleadge that place of Peter for this purpoſe, ſince I bind no man to my priuate expoſition of the Scriptures; but rather ſtand on thoſe places which haue the full conſent of all antiquitie to pertaine directly to this matter. Yet this is no barre, but many auncient Fathers did vſe that place of Peter to prooue Chriſts deſcent to hell, as [1] *Athanaſius*, [2] *Cyrill*, [3] *Hilarie* and [4] *Ambroſe* did, though Auſten did not; and the Synode in her Maieſties time (that is now with God) might like thereof, to ſhew that Chriſt amongſt other things did alſo confirme by his preſence and preaching in hell the condemnation of the wicked there, though I did not cite thoſe places; becauſe Saint Auſten had otherwiſe expounded them. For take the word *Spirite* for the *Soule* of Chriſt, as the ſame word is taken in the next verſe following for the Soules of men, where it is ſaid, *In which he went, and preached to the Spirits in priſon*: and expound the word ζωοποιηθεὶς, *kept aliue*, or continuing in life, as the Syriacke tranſlator doth in ſaying, Chriſt *died in body, and liued in ſpirit*; in which ſenſe the Scripture ſaith, *A man may* [f] *quicken his ſoule*, that is keepe it aliue; and then the words of Peter runne more eaſily for Chriſts deſcent to hell, then for his preaching in the daies of Noah. There is no doubt, but Auſtens ſenſe hath ſome difficulties and muſt haue ſome open additions to the text, before it will agree therewith; as *by which he went, and preached to* (thoſe that now are) *ſpirits in priſon* (and were) *once diſobedient in the daies of Noah*. Againe, neither wicked men liuing on earth, are called πνεύματα *ſpirits*, by the courſe of the Scriptures; neither were the deſpiſers of Noahs preaching then in priſon, when he preached. Beſides that Peter heere purpoſely ſpeaking of the death of Chriſt, verſe 18. perſueth the conſequents thereof in order, as his *deſcent to the ſpirits in priſon verſ. 19. his reſurrection, verſ. 21. his aſcenſion and ſitting* on the right hand of God verſ. 22. The impediment to the former ſenſe is, that they onely are mentioned, which were diſobedient in the daies of Noah; where if we make the former words to be generall, *in which he went, and preached to the ſpirits in priſon*, and the next ſpeciall, as the point betweene may entend, (and) to *the diſobedient in the daies of Noah*; or if this example be produced as the moſt famous, wherein the whole and firſt world was drowned; and ſo likeſt to the time of preaching the Goſpell, the contempt whereof ſhould bring deſtruction on the ſecond world and the iuſt be ſaued by water, (as Noah was) through the reſurrection of Chriſt; that impediment is likewiſe remooued. Howbeit I leaue it indifferent to euery man to follow, what ſenſe he liketh beſt, the rather for that many old and new interpreters referre theſe words of Peter, that Chriſt [e] *preached to the ſpirits in priſon, and* [f] *the Goſpell was preached to the dead*, to Chriſts deſcent to thoſe places, where theſe dead were, both good and bad; though I thought not fit to preſſe them, when Auſten had once reſigned them.

And

[1] *Athanaſ. epiſt. ad Epictetum.*
[2] *Cyrill de fide ad Theodoſium.*
[3] *Hilar. in Pſal. 118. verſ. 82.*
[4] *Ambroſ in ca. 10. ad Roma.*

[e] 1. Peter 3.
[f] 1. Peter. 4.

[s] Defenc. pag. 210. li. 24.

[f] Ezechiel 18. verſ. 27.
[f] Luk. 17. v. 33.

And where you cite Master Nowels Catechisme to prooue that the later Synod misliked not the applying of Peters words to Christs descent to hell, what doe you therein, but as your manner is, take the paines to refute your selfe? For if they liked that which Master Nowell hath written of Christs descent to hell, they allowed as much as I defend; and consequently they did not *apparantly renounce the doctrine of Christs going down to the hell of the damned*; as you did openly, I must not say arrogantly pronounce. It may be you will turne about, when you see your selfe thus angled, and say Master Nowell teacheth no more, but that the power and efficacie of Christs passion was reuealed to the damned: but the first point he teacheth, is this, [x] *Christū, vt corpore in terrę viscera, ita anima à corpore separata ad inferos descendisse*; *Christ, as in body* (he went) *to the bowels of the earth* (which was his graue) *so in soule seuered from his body he descended ad inferos to hell.* The ends of Christs descent he maketh to be three, where he saith; *Simulq; etiam mortis suę virtutem atq; efficacitatem ad mortuos, atq; inferos adeo ipsos ita penetrasse, vt & incredulorum animę &c. And withall* (that is together with his soule) *the vertue and force of his death so pearced to the dead, and euen to hell it selfe, that first, the soules of the faithlesse perceaued the condemnation of their infidelity to be most sharpe, but most iust. Secondly, and Satan the ruler of hell, saw all the power of his tyranny, and of darkenesse to be weakened, broken, and vtterly ruined. Thirdly, Contrag; mortui, and the deceased, which in their life time beleeued in Christ, perceaued the worke of their redemption to be now finished, and found the force and fruit thereof with most sweet and certain comfort.* Heere is as much as I desire, grant this and I vrge you no farder. And thus much the late Synod liked and approoued, if you doe admit, as you doe when pleaseth you, Master Nowell for their interpreter.

[x] Catechis. anno. 1574. pa. 70.

[y] *Neither misliked they his tarying there till his resurrection, which also Austen holdeth as firmely, as that he was there.*] If you speake of the later Synod, you speake more then you can prooue. If of others, you must tell vs, whom you meane. It is not true, that Austen fastened Christs soule to hell for three daies, but rather confessed him to be free amongst the dead, and so left to his owne liberty; though the Scripture in Austens opinion nameth no place, where Christs soule was after death, besides hell. [z] *If the soule*, saith he, *be straightway called to Paradise, when the body is dead, thinke we any man so wicked, as to dare say, that the soule of our Sauiour was for those three daies of his bodily death restrained to the custody of hell?* Gregorius Nyssenus doth the like. [a] *That the soule of our Lord commended into his Fathers hands, quum ita bonum & commodum illi visum esset, etiam ad inferos descendit, went also to hell, when it seemed good and conuenient vnto himselfe, that he might publish saluation to the soules in hell, and be Lord ouer quicke and dead, and spoile hell, and might prepare a way for mans nature to returne to life, after hee himselfe had beene the first fruits, and first borne from the dead, may be perceaued by many places of Scripture.* Anselmus a thousand yeeres after Christ, sheweth that the Church in his time held not this so firmely, as you imagine. For asking by way of a Dialogue, [b] *whither went Christs soule after death?* He answereth; *to the heauenly Paradise, as he said to the Thiefe, this day shalt thou be with me in Paradise. When then went he to hell? at midnight before his resurrection, at what hower the Angell destroyed Egypt, at that houre, euen at midnight Christ spoiled hell, and made their darkenesse as bright as day.* So that you talke out of time, when you talke so much how long time Christ staied in hell. The time and manner of his descent we leaue to God; It sufficeth vs, that the Scriptures witnesse he was there, and rose both Sauiour of his owne, and Lord of all.

[y] Defenc. pag. 210. li. 31.

[z] *Augustin. contra Felicianum Arrianum. ca. 15.*

[a] *Gregorius Nyssenus in illud Euangelij, & statim exiuit sanguis & aqua.*

[b] *Anselmus in Elucidario totius Christiana Theologię.*

[c] *That our English Clergie generally did or doe beleeue Christs locall descent to hell (although they read and rehearse these words so translated) certainly no man will nor ought to acknowledge.*] That al did, I neuer sayd; we haue to much experience of you and some others, that loue alwaies to be opposite to Lawes, Creeds, Canons and whatsoeuer pleaseth not your fansies; but that all should, I doe auouch; by reason the Church of England in her publike seruice, the Synod in their Articles, and the Parliament of this

[c] Defenc. pag. 210. li. 35.

Realme in their confirmation of both, enioyne all men not only to reade those words so translated, but to beleeue that *Christ descended to Hell.* If you tell them, they are bound to beleeue your emphaticall phrase, or your phantasticall imagination of you know not what, *generall, indefinite, priuatiue* condition of death, they will smile at your presumptuous folly. If it be a matter of faith, it is no phrase; if we must beleeue, as they teach, that Christ (after his death and buriall) *descended to hell*; you must shew vs some other hell, to which Christ descended after death; or els I conclude that the Lawes of this Land bind all men to beleeue and professe, that Christ descended to that hell, which the Scriptures acknowledge, and not which your roling conceits and tottering tongue would establish against the warrant and word of God; whose only will should be the line, whose only trueth should be the guide, whose only praise should be the end of all our professions and actions.

THE TABLE, SERVING
for their vse, that are desirous with
more ease to finde out the speciall contents of this booke, as they are handled in their seuerall places.

A

Abrahams bosom. pag. 552. the place therof vnknowen. 656
Abyssus in the Newe Testament is hell. 619
Accursed, innocents and penitents are not, though hanged on a tree. 238
Christ was not *Accursed*, how great soeuer his paines were. 164.165
S. Austins iudgement how Christ was *accursed*. 241
Men can not be truly blessed and *accursed*. 253
That is *accursed* which God hateth. 257
A sacrifice for sinne is not *accursed*, but accepted of God 258
Adam sinned aswell by bodie as by soule. 183.184
Was punished for his sinne after Christ was promised. 147
What God threatened to *Adam* if he sinned. 177.178
Aeternall death for whom Christ might feare. 484
Against *aeternall* death, as due to him, Christ could not pray. 378.379.
Aeternally God doth not punish one for anothers fault. 336
Affections are painfull to the soule: 439 make sensible alterations in the heart. 193.194
Good *affections* of loue and zeale are not painfull. 26
Euill *affections* are punishments of sinne. 31
Inward *affections* make outward impressions in the heart. 193
The heart is the seat of mans *affections* and actions.
Christ could represse and encrease his *affections* as he saw cause. 400
The *Affixe* cleaueth to the Verbe and not to the Noune. 216
Afflictions of the godly are moderated punishmēts 9. 10. 11. 17. manifest Gods displeasure against sinne. 148
Agony what it is. 339
The paines of hell were not the cause of Christs *agony*. 58.59
The causes that might be of Christs *agony* in the gardē. 96. they crosse not one another. 97
I did not resolue what was the cause of Christs *agony*.
The precise cause of Christs *agony* is not reuealed in the Scriptures. 338. 346. though the general occasions may be coniectured 346
The parts of Christs *agony*. 339
An *agony* proueth rather zeale then feare. 339
Feare and sorrow the Scriptures witnesse in Christs *agony*. 342
Submission to God and compassion on men, the generall causes of Christs *agony*. 347
The first cause cōcurring to Christs *agony*. 347
The second. 354
The third. 370
The fourth. 371
The fifth. 375
The sixt. 399
The Fathers determine not the exact cause of Christs *agony*. 371
How some vse the word *agony*. 403
The different affections in Christs *agony* had different causes. 558
Amazed neither Moses nor Paul were in their praiers. 368
Christ was not *amazed* in his praier. 369.479
Christs praier prooueth hee was not then *amazed*. 469
Christs praier was no *amaze*. 467
The Defender yeeldeth perfect knowledge to Christ in his *amazednes*. 481
Angry God was with our sinnes, but not with Christs person. 463
God is truely *angry* with his childrens sinnes. 14
Angels sinned in their whole nature as men doe. 197
Angels and good men receaued the bowing of the body. 662
Ἀπὸ signifieth For as well as From. 501
The *Apostle* 1. Cor. 15. speaketh onely of the resurrection to glory. 640. What his wordes Heb. 5. inferre. 498.499.500
Beleeuers may not iudge of the *apostles* words. 89
More *Apostles* then twelue. 651
The diuers reading and translating of the *apostles* words, 1. Cor. 15. 55. 639
Astonishment what it is. 441
What *astonishment* with feare is. 468
Christ did not pray in *astonishment*. 441
Why Christ might be somewhat *astonished*. 468
Athanasius lewdly falsified by the Defender. 275
taketh Hades for hell. 569.600.601
What *Athanasius* speaketh of Adam, the Defender referreth to Christ. 275
Augustine not ignorant of the Greeke tongue. 608
his iudgement how Christ was accursed. 241
keepeth the sense of Peters word, Act. 2. 626
is grossely mistaken by the Defender. 627

Beginne

B

Beginne we may, and not continue. 476
Blood shedding of Christ the onely meanes to pacifie Gods wrath. 445
Bloody sacrifices represented no death but onely bodily. 105
What might be the cause of Christes *bloody* sweat. 64
Christs *bloody* sweat proceeded from his earnest praier. 340. was not onely miraculous, but proper to Christ. 375
The work of our redemption was cause enough to prouoke Christs *bloody* sweat. 384
What the Scriptures expresse next before Christs *bloody* sweat. 402
Comfort by an Angell, and intentiue praier, went next before Christs *blooddy* sweat. 401
It is not naturall for any paine to sweat *blood*. 402
Christs *bloody* sweat might haue signification as well as the water that came out of his side. 408
Whether Christs *bloody* sweat did purge the earth from sinne. 408
Christs *bloody* sweat is called teares. 488
It was power in Christ to sweat *blood*, as Historie saith. 406
Bodily death excludeth the death not the sufferings of Christs soule. 102
What is contained in Christes *bodily* death. 100.101
Christs *bodily* death was the perfect, not whol sacrifice for sinne. 104
Body communicateth with the soule in all sinne. 190.191.192.212
All acts of sinnes by the *body*. 202
The ready subiection of the *body* to the will. 195.196
The defects of the *body* hinder the actions of the soule. 205
The *body* hath not his redemption before the last day. 129.130
The Saints in heauen most earnestly desire their bodies. 638
Bound, the second person in Trinitie could not be, but by his loue to vs ward. 263
Christ no way *bound* to redeeme vs. 279
Neither Godhead nor manhood in Christ was *bound* to the Law. 280.281
The person of Christ could not be *bound* but his humane will was guided by his diuine will. 2 3
A man may discharge anothers debt, and yet not be *bound* thereto. 292
It is a most hainous error to subiect God to any *bondage*. 279
Gods promise must not be called *bondage*. 282
Brimstone, it is possible may be mingled with fire in hell. 47
Broken whether Christs body were, and how. 118 119.120
Christs body *broken* in that his flesh was cut, and bruized. 121
Christs body truely *broken* by the iudgement of old and new writers. 122.123
The Defender holdeth the soule may properly be *broken* in pieces. 122
The soule cannot properly be *broken*. 125

C

Calains opinion where the soules of the righteous are. 543
The *Catechisme* teacheth not that Christ suffered the paines of hell. 221
How the words of the *Catechisme* may be tolerated. 446
M. Nowels *Catechisme* confesseth Christs descent to hell. 677
The *causes* that might be of Christs agony 96.347
The *causes* that might be of Christs bloudy sweat 64
The *cause* of Christs sorrow for the Iewes. 356
Different affections in Christs Agony had different *causes*. 358
Chaines there are in hell, though not of iron. 47
No *Christian* should dare auouch that Christ died in soule. 505.506
Christ tooke our infirmities and bare our sorrowes. 4
Christ suffered not the death of the soule. 6
nor the substance of hell-paines. 36
Christ did not conceiue that God was inwardly displeased with him. 61.62
Christ apprehended Gods anger not against himselfe, but our sinnes. 63
Christ suffered not from Gods immediat hand. 63
Christ suffered no other death saue only the death of the body. 65.66 519.520.521
Christ might suffer in soule, and yet not hell paines. 69.70
Christ could not suffer the paines of hell. 71
Christ did not suffer all which we should haue suffered. 136
Christ suffered all our naturall infirmities. 141
Christ suffered death in no part but in his bodie. 144.145
Christ assumed both parts of our nature, to saue both. 166
Christ payd a price for vs, which we could not pay. 227
Christ was iust and innocent in his death. 261
Christ was not defiled with our sinnes. 266
Christ cleansed vs, we polluted not him. 267
Christ could not cleanse vs, if defiled by vs. 267
Christ suffered as a sinner, but was none. 271
Christ in his sacrifice to God was a willing offerer, in his martyrdome from men a patient sufferer. 276
Christ is our assurance from God. 178
Christ made himselfe vnder the Law by loue, when he was aboue the Law, and Lord of the Law. 279
Christ calleth his members often by the name of himselfe. 289.290
Christ spoiled powers and principalities rather in his resurrection than in his death. 294.295.
Christ might see what he would. 309
Christ wrastled with all the powers of Satan, but ouercame all his force. 318.319
Christ helpeth men in many things which he neuer suffered. 322
Christ would feele all our passions to correct and temper them in vs. 329

Christ tooke our naturall, but not sinfull, affections. 330
Christ might beholde the power of Gods wrath, and yet not feare the vengeance due to the wicked. 348
Christ prayed for vs and against Satan. 352
Christ knew the burden of our sinnes must lie on his shoulders. 353
Christ and his members must drinke of one and the same cup. 353
Christ wept for the desolation of Ierusalem, and sorowed for the reiection of the Iewes. 354
Christ wept and sorrowed when he would. 355
Christ grieued at the wilfulnesse of the Iewes. 357
Christ sorowed that his death should be the ruine of the Iewes. ibid.
Christ chose the time and place to shew his vehement affections. 358
Christ could not be content to be separated from God for vs. 367
Christ suffered the likenesse of our punishment, not of our sinne. 273
Christ was not ordained to be damned for vs. 364
Christ feared not death, but his Fathers power. 370
Christ might pray to haue the deepnes of his sorrowes comforted, & paines asswaged. 374.375
Christ might pray against the sting of death, which he was to feele before he died. 381
Christ could not pray against eternall death as due to him, but vnto vs. 378.379
Christ was most earnestly to aske, what God had faithfully promised to graunt. 384
Christ felt all our affections not of necessitie, but according to his owne power and will. 386
Christ shewed in the garden how mans soule strugleth with the panges of death. 388
Christ was weake to comfort the weak, but stronger then the strongest on the crosse. 388.390
Christ saw the whole danger from which hee should redeeme vs. 392.393
Christ teacheth all his to feare Gods power as himselfe did in the garden. 393.394
Christ presented and dedicated his body in the garden, which he suffered on the crosse to be done to death. 399
Christ died not in the garden. 400
Christ could represse and increase his affections as he saw cause. 400
Christ found no ioy in his paines, but comfort in his hope. 411
Christ emptied himselfe of glory not of grace. 412
Christ citing the 1. vers. of the 21. Psalme, noteth the whole to appertaine to his passion. 434
Christ was mortified in flesh but not in soule. 507
Christ might passe from hell to heauen. 550
Christ needed no long time to descend to hel. 551
Christ presented himselfe in euery place, 564
Christ was to rise full conquerer of hell and death. 668
How *Christs* death was like the godlies. 7
How *Christ* laid downe his soule for vs. 132.133
How *Christ* shall the second time appeare without sinne. 27
How far *Christs* sufferings must be extended. 343
How *Christs* soule was in his Fathers hands. 549
How *Christ* was in Paradise the day of his death. 549
How *Christ* was like vs in all things sinne excepted. 86
How *Christ* might feare and yet be freed from it. 486. 487
How *Christ* loosed the sorrowes of death. 624
How *Christ* must rise from the dead. 627
What *Christ* discerned in all his sufferings. 317
What *Christ* vndertooke for vs. 324
What things *Christ* inwardly beheld in the garden 387
Why *Christ* might dislike the death of the body. 398
The ioynt sufferings of *Christ* in his bodily death most auaileable for our saluation. 68
Euery thing in *Christ* was meritorious, but not satisfactorie for sinne. 179.180
Both body and soule must suffer in *Christ*. 130.131
Christs bodily death part of the punishment of our sinnes. 11
By *Christs* corporal punishment we are freed from spirituall and eternall. 222.223
Christs blood could not be shed but by Satan and his instruments. 231
Christs recompence for the wrong receaued at Satans hands. 232
Christs suffering without the gate of the city. 113. 114
Christs death was most iust with God in respect of his will to saue vs. 262.263
Christs death not exacted as a debt but receaued as a voluntarie sacrifice. 264
Christs doings aboue mans reason. 310
The nature, measure, and purpose of *Christs* sufferings. 332
The paines of *Christs* soule as of his body were equall to the strength of his patience. 334
Christs faith did not faile in the sharpest of his paines. 335
All *Christs* sufferings were righteous and holie. 344.438
Christs words Iohn 12. auouch not contraries. 482. are expounded. 483
Christs senses were not ouerwhelmed with feare and sorrow. 477
Christs feares and sorrowes not like the reprobates. 448.449.450
We must not increase *Christs* sufferings at our pleasure. 478
Christs passiō did not kil his soul but his body. 528
Christs conquest secureth our soules seuered from our bodies. 670
Christs Soule was not tormented with Gods immediat hand. 34
Christs Soule suffered but died not for vs. 133
Christ soule suffered by all her powers but not the death of the Soule. 136.137.140
Christs Soule chiefe patient in paine and agent in merit. 179
Christs Soule could not merit, if it wanted vnderstanding and will. 480
Christs Soule in her greatest paines did most shew the life of patience and obedience to God. 524
Christs Soule was passible, but died not. 533

Christs Soule was not faſtned to hell three daies. 551
Christs Soule was in glory before his Body. 669
Christs Soule liuing by grace could no way be dead. 523
Neither Scriptures nor Fathers vnderſtand *Christs Soule* by his Body. 426.427
Christs Soule was not crucified through infirmity. 510
Christs Soule was not vnder the dominion of death. 650
What wee muſt beware in the ſufferings of *Chriſts Soule*. 536
Many writers teach the ſufferings of *Christs Soule*, without the paines of hell. 536
Why *Christs Soule* and not his Body was to conquere hell. 668
It is not againſt the faith that *Christes Soule* ſhould conquere hell. 622
Christs manhood praied for that with all humilitie, which his perſon by right might haue challenged. 378
Chriſts manhood might feare the glory of Gods iudgement. 380
Christs manhood might feare the power of Gods wrath againſt our ſinnes, which he was to beare. 380
Christs manhood might feare the ſting of death, as horrible to mans nature. 381
Christs manhoode was to conquere hell. 667. though by power of his Godhead. 670
Christs fleſh found no eaſe in death though his Soule were full of hope. 424
Christs fleſh was weake though his Spirite was willing. 508
Chriſts fleſh could not putrifie. 623
Christs praier in the Garden was well aduiſed. 397
Christs praier was no maze. 467
Christs praier was not againſt his Fathers will. 397. 465. 466. 470. 471. 472
Christs praier was full of faith. 474.475
Christs praier was with condition and reſeruation of Gods will. 382
Compaſſion and pittie are alwaies painfull. 27
Compaſſion is affliction though it be a vertue. 438
Chriſt more *compaſſionate* then Moſes or Paul. 359
Chriſts *complaint* on the Croſſe. 409
How many ſenſes it may beare. 418.420.421
The firſt ſenſe. 416
The ſecond ſenſe. 418
The third ſenſe. 421
The fourth ſenſe. 430
The fift ſenſe. 432
The ſixt ſenſe. 433
The Saints *complaint* in their afflictions. 418
The euent of Chriſts *complaint* on the Croſſe. 419
No ſhame for Chriſt to *complaine* on the Croſſe as he did. 420
Leo maketh Chriſts *complaint* on the Croſſe an inſtruction, no lamentation. 432
We were *conceaued* in ſin before we were quickned with life. 173
Mans fleſh is defiled in *conception* before the ſoule is created and infuſed. 174.175
None can be euerlaſtingly *condemned* for anothers fault. 363
Chriſts *conqueſt* ouer hell and death. 667
was ordered moſt to Satans ſhame. 669
Contradictions obiected by the Defender are eaſily anſwered. 69
Contradictions in the Defender. 320
A ſhametull *contradiction* of the Defender. 423
The words of the *Creed* examined. 648
How long this clauſe of Chriſts deſcent to hell hath beene in the *Creede*. 653.654
Hades in the *Creede* muſt ſignifie hell. 649
Hell in the *Creede* is no new tranſlation. 652
The *Creede* continued from the Apoſtles times. 664
Twelue parts of the *Creede*. 664
What *Croſſe* of Chriſt it was that Paul ſo much reioyced in. 73.74.75
How the Fathers and new writers expound that place. 76.77
How farre the *Croſſe* of Chriſt extendeth it ſelfe by the Scriptures. 79
We reioyce in the effects of Chriſts *Croſſe*. 81
Chriſt was not voide of all comfort on the *Croſſe*. 410. 411
What comfort Chriſt had on the *Croſſe*. 412
The death of the *Croſſe* the greateſt exinanition of Chriſt. 433
Chriſts Soule was not *Crucified* through infirmitie. 501
Figuratiuely the Soule may be ſaid to be *Crucified*. 80
What *Cup* Chriſt dranke of. 373
What Chriſt meant by the houre and *Cup* of his Paſſion. 443
Chriſt and his members muſt drinke of one and the ſame *Cup*. 353
What part of the *Curſe* Chriſt bare for our ſinnes. 234. 235
Hanging on a tree was not the whole *Curſe* of the Law. 236
A double *Curſe* of ſinne. 236
Two kindes of *Curſes* in the Law. 239
The bodily death which Chriſt ſuffered was the *Curſe* which he ſuſtained. 240
Curſing and bleſſing compared doe manifeſt each the other. 249
What is true *Curſing* and bleſſing from God. 250
How Chriſt was made a *Curſe* for vs. 257
Chriſts death was a kinde of *Curſe*. 259
Chriſt vndertooke to ſatisfie but not to ſuffer our *Curſe* 260
The *Curſe* for ſinne is triple. 266
Cyprian wreſted by the Defender. 274

D

Damnation, What paines are eſſentiall to it. 37.39
The horror of Gods iudgements not neere the paines of the *Damned*. 227
The Godly in this life feele not the paines of the *damned*. 320
Sharper paines are reſerued for the *damned* then now they feele. 334
Chriſt was not ordained to be *damned* for vs. 364
Dauid neuer felt the true paines of hell. 453
Dauids feare vnlike to Chriſts. 442
What *Death* Chriſt died. 19

A threefold

A threefold *death* the wages of sinne. 13.
Corporall *death* in all men is the punishment of sinne. 149.150.151.176
Death in Christ was the satisfaction for sinne. 176
Euerlasting *death* the wages of sinne which Christ could not suffer. 226
The *death* of the body is euill in it selfe though God to his make it a passage to life. 244.245
The consequents after *death* doe not proue *death* to be good. 246
The nature of *death* not changed in the godly. 252
God so hateth *death* that he will destroy it as an enemie. 254
Naturall *death* came not by the sentence of Moses Law. 261
There is no *death* of the Soule without sinne. 366
All feele the sting of *death* which Christ expressed before he died. 389
The *death* and life of the soule here on earth mistaken by the Defender. 430
What the second *death* is in the Scriptures. 492
Eight places of Scripture abused for the *death* of Christs Soule. 493
By one kinde of *death* Christ freed vs from all kinds of *death*. 504
To be vtterly forsaken of God is the *death* of the Soule. 517.518
The extreamest degree of pains where grace doth not faile is no *death* of the Soule. 524
What things the *death* of the body doth import. 649

The *Defender* grosly peruerteth my words. 44.45
The *Defender* contradicteth himselfe. 56.57
The *Defender* contemneth the Fathers and their iudgements. 82
The *Defender* deuiseth shifts to decline Scriptures and Fathers against him. 94
The *Defender* would make the maner of Christes dying onely vnusuall. 95
The *Defender* doth grossely mistake the reiection of the Iewes to be the meaning of Christes complaint on the crosse. 98
The *Defender* not able to support his errors, doth quarrell with the question. 99
The *Defender* eludeth the Scriptures with his termes of single and meere. 125.126.127
The *Defender* clouteth one conclusion out of diuers places. 146
The *Defender* maketh the sufferings of Christs flesh needlesse to our redemption. 168.169
The *Defender* peruerteth the doctrine of the Homilies. 224.225
The *Defender* maketh Christ sinfull, accursed, and defiled. 265
The *Defender* would not faile to cite Fathers if he had them. 273
The *Defender* compareth Christ in want of comfort with the damned. 291
The *Defender* vainly presumeth all places of his vnanswered to be granted. 319
The *Defender* hath deuised torments for Christs soule. 323
The *Defender* controleth the words of the holy Ghost by his new phrases. 413
The *Defender* in steed of prooving falleth to granting his owne positions. 503
The *Defender* misciteth S. Iohns words and on that error groundeth all his reasons. 644
The *Defender* giuing a reason of nothing, asketh a reason of all things. 415
The *Defender* claimeth like reuerence to his words as to the Scripture. 325
The *Defender* saith the Scriptures are ordinarilie true, that is, sometimes false. 367
The *Defender* doth euery where mistake and misapply what is said. 384
The *Defender* forgeth a pace new parts of the Christian faith. 393
The *Defender* taketh the parts of Christs agonie for the causes thereof. 401
The *Defender* is somewhat pleasureable. 528
The *Defender* corrupteth S. Luke. 402.403
The *Defender* ascribeth a liuely affection to Christs dead flesh. 422
The *Defender* vttereth a flat contradiction to his owne doctrine. 422.423
The *Defender* confesseth the Fathers prooue my meaning. 425
The *Defender* is driuen to contrarieties. 431
The *Defender* taketh from Christ inward sense and memory in his sufferings. 440
The *Defender* yeeldeth perfect knowledge to Christ in his amazednesse. 481
The *Defender* foolishly prooueth the death of Christs soule. 495.496
The *Defender* abuseth the Scriptures. 534.535
The *Defender* cannot discerne a conclusion from a quotation. 568
The *Defendours* foure restraints of hell-paines. 4
The *Defendours* disdaine of the fathers. 98
The *Defendours* vaine shifts. 114.115
The *Defendours* skill in framing arguments. 327
The *Defendours* absurd deuises. 490
The *Defendours* manner of reasoning as illogicall as his matter is false. 336
Dereliction in the Scriptures neuer implieth the paines of the damned. 415
Deepe what it signifieth. 566
To what *Deepe* Christ descended after death. 565 567
The true sense of Paul and Moses words. Rom. 10. concerning the *Deepe*. 568
The whole church taught that Christ after death *descended* to hell. 544. 545
New Writers teach Christs *descent* to hell. 546. 547
Christ needed no long time to *descend* to hell. 551
Of Christs *descending* and ascending. 553
Christ *descended* and ascended to be Lord ouer all. 563
To what deepe Christ *descended* after death. 565 567
Descending is to places below. 569
How long this clause of Christs *descent* to hell hath been in the Creed. 653.654
What Ruffinus meaneth by Christs *descent* to hell. 655
Descending to hades was not the buriall of Christs body. 556. 557. 558
The causes of Christs *descent* to hell. 666
Descending to hell was a part of Christs exaltation. 671

The

The *descent* of Christ to hell confessed by the Catechisme. 677
The Lawes of this land doe binde all to beleeue Christs *descent* to hell. 678
Desperation in hell is no sinne. 71
Desperation is the forest torment in this life. 238
A small *Difference* of wordes may quite alter the sense. 199
Difference of Christs offering and suffering. 276
Difference of outward and inward temptatiõs. 314
Difference betwixt Gods threats & iudgements. 472
How the *Diuell* may discerne and incense our affections. 192
The *Diuell* tormented not Christes soule on the Crosse. 295
Christ suffered as deepe paines but not as deepe *Doubts* as we may. 321

E.

Elect. Who is enemie to Gods *Elect*. 233
The *Elect* are neuer truely accursed. 252
The *Elect* cannot perish. 364
Erasmus fouly mistaken by the defendor. 653
Foure notable *Errors* grounded by the defendor vpon the facts of Moses and Paul. 363
The first. 363
The second. 365
The third. 367
The fourth. 368
What impressions *Euill* maketh in the soule of man. 341
Euill past, present, or to come worketh sorrow, paine, and feare in the soule of man. 341
Ἐυλάβεια what it importeth. 485
Is contrarie to feare. 501
Esay doth not touch the death of Christes soule. 526. 527
Esay 14. Sheol for hell. 559.560
Eusebius report of Thaddeus allowed by the best historiographers. 660

F

Fathers: their iudgements may be called Authorities. 83
The *Fathers* may be left in some priuate opinions. 84
I leaue not the *Fathers* in the grounds of faith. 85
The *Fathers* doe not teach that Christ suffered all which we should haue suffered. 138.139
The *Fathers* disclaime all necessitie in the death of Christ. 285
The *Fathers* determine not the exact cause of Christs Agonie. 371
Wherein we should follow the *Fathers*. 415
Some *Fathers* expound *me* in Christs wordes, for my members. 416
No *Father* auoucheth the death of Christs Soule. 142.143
Diuerse *Fathers* euidently corrupted for the death of Christs Soule. 428.429
By the iudgement of the *Fathers*, Christ died no death of the Soule. 519
The *Fathers* professe true fire to be in hell. 46
The *Fathers* plainly remoue the death of Christs Soule from the worke of our redemption. 330.331
All Christs *Feares* were holy. 215
Feare and sorrow in Christ were sufferings for sinne. 345
Christs *Feare* in the Garden was religious. 371
Christs *Feare* and sorrow were painfull but religious sufferings. 372
What *Feare* and sorrow Christ was to yeelde vnto God, when he offered the ransome of our sinnes. 374
What things Christ might iustly and greatly *feare* in the Garden. 380
Feare may be intellectiue or sensitiue. 383
Christ might *feare* many thinges besides hell paines. 385
Why Christ *feared* more then Martyrs doe. 395
Christ might iustly *feare* the power of Gods wrath. 380
Figuratiuely the Soule may be said to be crucified. 80
Fire in hell is not allegoricall. 40.41.42.43
The Fathers professe true *fire* to be in hell. 46
It is possible that brimstone may bee mingled with *fire* in hell. 47
The same *fire* punisheth the wicked both before and after iudgement. 55
What *fire* did signifie in sacrifices. 112.113
What *fire* might note in the holocaust. 116
How Christ was *Forsaken* on the crosse. 409
How farre and wherein Christ was *Forsaken* are the things questioned. 414
What *forsaking* could not be found in Christ 414
We were *forsaken* of God till Christ reconciled vs by his death. 417
Christ neuer *forsaken* of hope and comfort. 417
God shewed by the present euent that he had not *forsaken* his Sonne. 419
We striue not for the word but for the sense and maner of *forsaking*. 431

G

Ghenna was not vsed in speaking to the Gentiles. 618
God can doe more then he will. 23
Gods loue to Christ appeared euen in his death. 20.21
Gods purpose in the death and crosse of Christ. 154.155.156
God vseth meanes and instruments in punishing. 33
God tempereth loue and iustice in punishing his elect. 147.255
God worketh good by euill. 254
God is iust as well in forgiuing as in punishing sin. 262
God was able to saue vs otherwise then by Christs death. 287
God was the author of all Christes afflictions, but not with his immediate hand. 298.299
God vseth his creatures to performe his iudgements. 302
God is the principal agent in all our sufferings, but not with his immediate hand. 302

Gods hand worketh whatsoeuer meanes he vseth. 300.301
Gods loue to his sonne ouerswaied his hatred to our sinnes. 268
Gods iustice in subiecting Satans kingdome to Christs manhood. 230
The *Gospell* differeth much from the Law. 264
How the *Graue* is no habitation for the godly. 575
God would not haue our flesh as yet freed from the *Graue*. 670
Christ was not *Guilty* of our sinne though he took our punishment on him. 162. 163
The whole man is *guilty* of all sinne. 185. 186 187. 208
Guilty stretcheth as well to the punishment as to the fact. 266
A mediator not *guilty* of the sinne for which he doth mediate. 276

H

Hades what it signifieth with the Greeke Fathers. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593
Hades what it is with Chrysostom. 589
Athanasius taketh *Hades* for hell. 599. 600
Hades in Athanasius Creed is not the graue. 659
Hades with Ignatius is not the graue. 657
The soules of the godly are not in *Hades*. 602
Hades is a place of darkenesse. 609
How *Hades* is vsed in the new Testament. 629
Hades with new writers is the graue or hell. 609. 610 611
Hades is a place vnder the earth. 613
Hades an vnseene and darke place. 618
Hades in the Creed must signifie hell. 649
Hades is not the ignominie of the graue. 651
Hades was first the name of the diuell. 615
Hades is hell or the diuell in the new Testament. 619
Hades is hell in the new Testament without any figure. 621
Why *Hades* signifieth hell in the new Testament. 647
Hades with the Pagans was the place not the state of the dead. 616
The whole created world is *Hades* with the Defender. 615
Hades in effect is nothing but death with the Defender. 624
How θανάτου ἅδης and Inferi concurre in signification. 579
How the Defender wauereth about *Hades*. 619
How *Hades* is vsed in the Reuelation. 642
How *Hades* shall be cast into hell fire. 644
S. Luke maketh *Hades* a place of torment. 621
What *Hades* Matth. 11. 23. is threatned to Capernaum. 630
Many Greeke copies haue Act. 2. 24. the sorrowes of *Hades*. 625
Hades in the Scriptures opposed to the highest heauens. 635
Christ loosed the sorrowes of *Hades*. 625. 626
The wall of *Hades* not broken but by Christ. 657
Hades hath not all the dead. 646
Hades followeth after death. 643
Hades taken for the rulers or persons in hell. 647
The soules of the godly are not in *Hades*. 602

Hanging on a tree was not the whole curse of the law. 236
Hanging on the crosse a cursed kind of death. 237
Innocents and penitents not truely accursed though *Hanged* on a tree. 238
Hard speeches should rather bee qualified then strained to the highest. 271
All affections make sensible alterations in the *Heart*. 193. 194
The *heart* is the seat of mans affections and actions. 203
The *Heart* suggesting euill sinneth. 311
The ioyes of *Heauen* are proper to the place. 455 456
The sight of God in this life much differeth from the sight of his face in *Heauen*. 456
The Saints of God had some sight of God in earth, but not comparable to that in *Heauen*. 460
The soules are not yet in the same height of *Heauen* where Christ is. 520 541
How many *Heauens* the Scriptures make. 541. 542
The graces of God in earth are not the ioyes of *Heauen*. 461
Why the *Heauens* are compared with hell in the Scriptures. 634
God is not the immediate and principall inflicter of *Hell paines*. 28. 29
The sentence of the iudge containeth the essence of *Hell paines*. 35
Christ suffered not the substance *of hell paines*. 36
Reiection from Gods kingdome essentiall to *Hell paines*. 37. 38
Malediction essentiall to *Hell paines*. 38
Hell fire is not allegoricall. 40. 41 42. 43. 49. 53 54
I neuer said *Hell* fire was materiall. 44
The Fathers professe true fire to be in *Hell*. 46 51. 52
So doe later Diuines. 49. 50
It is possible that brimstone may be mingled with fire in *Hell*. 47
Chaines there are in *Hell* though not of iron. 47
Whether there be true fire in *hel* before the iudgment is not the question. 54
Christ suffered not the essentiall part of *hell paines*. 56
Hell paines not the cause of Christs agonie. 58. 59
The sharpnesse of *Hell paines*. 60
The foretast of iudgement in *Hell*, is neither full, finall, perpetuall, nor generall. 210
Positiue punishment now in *Hell*. 214
The suffering of *Hell paines*, no way necessarie to our saluation. 220
Men may feare, but not feele the true paines of *hel* in this life. 320
The paines of *hell* are no naturall affections. 383
Christ might feele somewhat extraordinarie yet not the paines of *hell*. 391
The vehemencie of *hell paines* passe the patience of Men and Angels. 450
The true paines of *hell* are not felt in this life. 451. 462
The true paines of *hell* are proper to the place 454. 455
The true paines of *hell* are aboue and against nature. 464. 465

We must not reioyce in suffering *hell* paines. 441
A broken spirit is not the paines of *hell*. 516
Christ brought vs backe from *hell*. 607
No place for soules vnder earth but *hell*. 614
It is not against the faith that Christs Soul should conquere *hell*. 622
Christ must rise conquerer of death and *hell*. 628
The Iewes were promised their Messias should conquere *hell*. 628
All the names of *hell* proove it to be in the earth. 632
Hell is in the earth & yet some diuels in the aire. 633
Why the heauens are compared with *hell* in the Scriptures. 634
Our victorie against death and *hell* not full till the last day. 637.638
Christ hath the keyes of death and of *hell*. 642. 643
Nothing but persons cast into *hell*. 645
The Defender maketh three *hells* in steede of one 645
Christs spoiling of *hell* precedent to his resurrection. 673
Heretickes alwaies vrged the same places that the Defender doth. 425
What the *Holocaust* did signifie. 111.112
What fire might note in the *Holocaust*. 116

I.

Immediate. What suffering is *Immediate* from God. 27.32
God is not the *Immediate* and principall inflicter of hell paines. 28.29
Christs soule was not tormented with Gods *Immediate* hand. 34
God can punish the soule by meanes without his *Immediate* hand. 219
God the author of all Christs afflictions but not by his *Immediate* hand. 298.299
God is the principall agent in all our sufferings but not with his *Immediate* hand. 302
How ἅιδης ἄδης and *Inferi* concurre in signification.
What place Tertullia taketh *Inferi* to be. 585.586
Inferi are places and persons vnder the earth. 587
Inferi are not now the place and state of good and bad deceased. 588
Saint Austin taketh *Inferi* for hel, and not for the state of the dead. 198.590
The soules of the godly are not in *Inferi*. 602
Infernus with the latin fathers is more thē death. 603
Inferi not found in the Scriptures in any good sense. 604
Inferi no place for the godly after Christes resurrection. 605
Infernus is not the place nor state of all soules deceased. 606
Christ did not suffer paines truely *Infinite*. 161
Christs *Infirmitie* was voluntarie. 407
Christs *Infirmitie* was power. 416
How all the kingdomes of the earth might bee shewed vnto Christ in an *Instant*. 308.309
Irenæus did write in Greeke. 584
Where *Irenæus* thought Christs soule was after death. 583.584
The rule of *Iustice* suffereth the stronger to beare the burden of the weaker. 292
Gods *Iustice* in subiecting Satans kingdome to Christs manhood. 230
Gods *Iustice* might punish Christs bodie, but not Christs soule with death. 337
The *Iudgement* of God to which Christ submitted himselfe for our redemption. 348
Gods *Iudgement* for our redemption concerneth Christ, men, and Angels. 348
In this *Iudgement* God required of Christ satisfaction for the sinnes of men. 349

K

Kεφαλίδαι what it signifieth. 625
Christ hath the *Keyes* of death and of hell. 642. 643
Kindred goeth by blood and not by the soule. 509
Our naturall *Knowledge* commeth by sense. 196
The meanes of mans *Knowledge*. 199
Our loue and ioy doe follow our *Knowledge*. 462

L

Leo maketh Christs words on the Crosse an instruction, no lamentation. 432
How Christ was *like* vs in all things sinne excepted. 86.324
Christ not *like* vs in any sinfull affections. 322
How Christ was *like* vs in his sufferings. 323
Christ not *like* vs in any want of grace or touch of sinne. 326
To what *lower* parts of the earth Christ descended. 554
What is ment by the *lower* parts of the earth. 555
The *lower* earth is all one with the lower Sheol. 556
The *lower* Sheol signifieth hell and not the graue. 557.558
The *lower* earth Ezechiel vseth for hell. 561
The *lower* parts of the earth are hell. 562

M

Martyrs and *Malefactors* haue a stronge conflict with death though we perceaue it not. 389
The glory of *Martyrs* were not great, if their paines were not great. 390.391
Martyrs find ioy and ease after death, but not in death. 391
Why Christ feared more then *Martyrs* doe. 395
Christs senses might not be ouerwhelmed as *Martyrs* are. 396
The manner of breathing out Christs Soule was *miraculous*. 87.88.89.90
The Fathers obserue that it was *miraculous*. 91. 92.93
So doe the new writers. 94
Moses praier for the people examined. 359
The purpose of *Moses* praier for the people. 360
How *Moses* in his praier is excused from sin. 365

Moſes face did ſhine when he knew it not. 461
Moſes was not amazed in his prayer. 368

N

THe name of *nature* in the graces of God and ioyes of heauen is a vaine diſtinction. 461
There was no *neceſſitie* in our redemption but Chriſts will, power, and libertie. 283 284.285
The Fathers diſclaime all *neceſſitie* in the death of Chriſt. 285
No *neceſſitie* in the death of Chriſt 286
Chriſts feare and agony came not from *neceſſitie* but from his humilitie and feruencie. 339
Neither *neceſſitie* nor infirmitie could oppreſſe Chriſt. 405
New writers teach the ſufferings of Chriſts Soule without the paines of hell. 536
New writers teach Chriſts deſcent to hell. 546. 547
New writers obſerue Chriſts manner of dying to haue beene miraculous. 94

O

OLeuians coniectures for his ſenſe of Chriſts deſcent to Hades are but weake. 631

P.

PAines of this life Chriſt did beare, but not of hell. 217.218
Chriſtes *Paines* might be vnknowen and yet not the paines of hell. 161
In outward *Paines* men perceiue and acknowledge Gods hand vpon them. 170
Paines proper to the ſoule are not by and by the paines of hell. 214
All Chriſts *Paines* were holy. 215
More required in our ranſome then onely *Paines*. 216
We cannot iudge of other mens *Paines*. 328.
Exceſſiue *Paine* bringeth death. 447
How Chriſt was in *Paradiſe* the day of his death. 549
The *Parable* of the ſtrong man bound and ſpoyled. 574
Chriſtes *Patience* was greater then any mans whatſoeuer his paines were. 394
How Chriſts *patience* exceeded all mens. 395
Chriſts *patience* at the higheſt before he complained on the croſſe. 418
Saint *Paul* 1. Cor. 15. keepeth the true ſenſe of the Prophet Oſee. 641
Pauls wiſh for the Iewes conſidered. 360
The time was when *Paul* ſo wiſhed. Ibid.
If *Paul* ſpake of the time when he wrote, his words were conditionall. Ibid.
What *Paul* meant when he wiſhed to be ſeparated from Chriſt for the Iewes. 361.362
How the Grecians expound *Pauls* words. 361
How *Paul* in his wiſh was excuſed from ſinne. 365
Paul wiſhed if it were poſſible or lawfull. 366
Paul was not amazed in his prayer. 368
The true ſenſe of *Pauls* and Moſes words. Rom. 10. 567 568.
Poſitiue puniſhment now in hell. 214
No *Poſitiue* thing common to good and bad after death. 581
Chriſt ſuffered not the *proper* wrath of God. 19
What *proper* applied to wrath ſignifieth. 18
The Scriptures often intermingle *proper* ſpeeches with figuratiue. 19
Proper oppoſed to Metaphoricall. 123
A part may *Properly* denominate the whole. 124
The ioynt ſufferings of ſoule and body moſt *proper* to man. 167
The whole ſuffering of Chriſt was not Gods *proper* action. 303
What the *Prophets* foretold of Chriſtes ſufferings that the Euangeliſts confirme was verified. 299
In *puniſhing* his elect God tempereth both loue and iuſtice. 147
Corporall death in all men is the *puniſhment* of ſinne. 149.150.151
God is moſt iuſt in *puniſhing* his Saints. 262
The Defenders partition of *puniſhment* applied to Chriſt is inſufficient and impious. 153
All *puniſhment* is not for correction or vengeance properly ſo called. 154
The godly iuſtly *puniſhed* for their offences. 256

Q

QVæſtion. The firſt *quæſtion* wholy peruerted. 3
The chiefe points coincident to the firſt *Queſtion*. 9
Whether there be true fire in hell before the iudgement, is not the *Queſtion*. 54
When and how farre Chriſt was forſaken are the things *Queſtioned*. 414

R

RAnſome. To whom our *ranſome* was paid. 228
To ſaue from death is to *raiſe* from death. 50
Whence their ſoules come that are *raiſed* to life. 25
Redemption by Chriſts blood moſt ſufficient 67
The Scriptures teach no *redemption* but by the blood and death of Chriſt. 127
Both body and Soule are *redeemed* by the blood of Chriſt. 128.129
The body hath not his *redemption* before the laſt day. 129.130
Chriſt vndertooke to be our *redemer* 4000. yeers before he was made man 280
The willing offer of the Sonne to be our *redeemer* did induce the decree of the whole Trinitie. 281
The *redeemer* might pay as well for the priſoners as for him ſelfe. 377
Chriſts ſufferings no way like the ſufferings of the *reprobate*. 331.332
Chriſts feare and ſorrow not like the *reprobates*. 448.449
What is ment by ſitting at Gods *right* hand. 651
The clauſe of Chriſts deſcent to Hades was in the Creede before *Ruffinus* time. 655

What *Ruffinus* meaneth by Christes descent to hell. 655

S

Sacrifice. Three properties of the true *Sacrifice* for sinne. 99.100
The bloody *Sacrifices* represented no death but onely bodily. 105
No *Sacrifices* of the Iewes figured the death of Christs Soule. 106
What Salt, flower, oile and wine added to the Iewes *sacrifices* might signifie. 109.110
What fire did signifie in *sacrifices*. 112.113
What is consequent to the true *sacrifice* for sinne. 272
Why the people laid their hands on the head of their *sacrifices*. 277
Feare and sorrowe necessary in the *sacrifice* for sinne. 379
More then affliction requisite to Christs *sacrifice*. 437
A dead Soule is no *sacrifice* for sinne. 527
What the *Sacraments* of the new Testament import. 117
Sacraments doe constantly and continually signifie and represent the same. 117
The spirit of *sanctification* is the holy Ghost. 511
My exceptions to the Defenders instance of the *Scape-goate*. 106
What was figured by the *scape-goate*. 107 108
The *scape-goate* might in some sort be a sighe of Christ. 108
How the *Scripture* limiteth Christs death. 5.180
What the *Scriptures* meane by the wages of sinne. 12
What they meane by the wrath of God. 15
Phrases of Gods wrath against the wicked in *Scripture* are improper. 15.16
Scriptures neuer mention that Christ suffered Gods wrath. 21. nor the death of the Soule. 493.494.515 nor the paines of hell. 399
How the *Scriptures* speake of Christs Passion. 22
The *Scriptures* often intermingle proper speeches with figuratiue. 48
The *Scriptures* sometimes put a conditionall to things most certaine. 473
True rules how to expound the *Scriptures*. 435
Many places of *Scriptures* haue diuerse expositions. 434 which may be tolerated though they cannot be reconciled. 435
The *Scriptures* keepe the words but not the errors of the heathen. 612
Some *Scriptures* vncertaine for a time. 664
Satan was conquered fast by iustice, then by power. 229
Satans kingdome subiected to Christs manhood. 230
Satan assaulted Christ on the Crosse but by externall meanes. 296. 297
Satan might doe nothing against Christ but what Christ would. 315
Satan worketh not but where he is. 306
Christ ordered his conquest most to *Satans* shame 669
What was impugned in the *Sermons*. 2
The text of my *Sermons* was not mistaken. 72
But rightly and orderly pursued. 78
Our naturall knowledge commeth by *Sense*. 196
Prouocations and pleasures come by the *senses*. 200.201
The soule for want of her *senses* sometimes ceaseth to sinne. 206
Christs *senses* might not be ouerwhelmed as martyrs are. 396
In what sense Ezekiah vseth the gates of *Sheol*. 247
The lower *Sheol* signifieth hell and not the graue. 557.558
Sheol for hell Esay. 14. 559. 560
The soules of the Saints are not in *Sheol*. 571
Sheol is no meere priuation of this life. 572
Sheol is properly a place vnder earth for the dead. 573
The soules in Gods hands are not in *Sheol*. 574
The *Sheol* of soules is more then a meere priuation. 575
What *Sheol* is to the wicked and what to the godly. 575
To what *Sheol* Iacob would descend mourning 576
Sheol no place for iust mens soules. 577
There is neither knowledg nor praise of God in *Sheol*. 578
Sheol is no destruction to the godly. 575
What is meant by drawing neere to *Sheol* and almost dwelling there. 580
The Defender abuseth Plato and Plutarch, to haue a *Sheol* for all things. 630
Prooueth Moses and Dauid to haue a *Sheol* for all things. 631
To what *Sheol* Corah and his company descended. 631
The Defendours absurd proofes for the *Sheol* of all things. 632
The *Similitude* of an earthly fuerty not fit for Christ, though the name may well be vsed. 282 283
No humane *similitude* can throughly fit Christes sufferings for vs. 293
Similitudes are not alwaies of things lawfull. 293
Similitude is no equalitie. 328
How we are freed from *Sinne* by Christ. 152.153
We inherit *sinne* and death from our parents flesh 171
How *sinne* is communicated from the soule to the body. 188.189
All acts of *sinne* by the body. 202
Bodie and soule that were ioyned in *sinne* shal be ioyned in paine. 209
How *sinne* maketh men vncleane. 265
How sinne was condemned in Christs flesh. 268
How Christ was made *sinne*. 269.270
Our *sinnes* were imputed to Christ, that is, he was punished for them. 272.277
Inward and infinite *Sorrow* for sinne must bee found in Christs sacrifice for sinnes. 372
Christ must as well *sorrow* as suffer for sinne. 373
Inward and voluntary *sorrow* of the soule is a sacrifice to God. 438
Sorrow differeth from paine. 444
What *sorrow* is. 444

We

We may both *sorrow* and reioice at one time. 489
What meanes of suffering the *Soule* hath. 24
The passibilitie of the *Soule* is but one faculte of the soule. 25
The soules suffering by the body is the proper suffering of the *soule*. 26
The meanes by which the *soule* suffereth paines. 30
The *soules* suffering from and with the bodie not common with beasts. 31
The substance of the *soule* suffereth in and by all her powers. 134.135
The *soules* suffering by sympathy is the Defenders owne phrase. 170
The *soule* is not deriued from the fathers of our bodies. 171.172
The *Soule* chiefly sinneth and chiefly suffereth, but not onely. 181.182
What powers and faculties of the *Soule* the Fathers call corporall and why. 187
The *Soule* ioyned with the Body hath one state, and seuered another. 198
The *Soule* vseth her corporall spirits in thinking and remembring. 207
The *Soule* leadeth and the flesh followeth to all sinne. 210.211
The *Soule* hath a tast of sinne and paine before the last day. 213
The *Soule* feeleth paine and griefe by her vnderstanding and will. 344
Whence the *Soules* come that are raised to life. 425
The *Soule* is a consequent to a liuing body but no part of it. 426
The *Soule* is some time called flesh. 529
The *Soule* taken for life. 570
The *Spirit* of sanctification is the holy Ghost. 511
Flesh and *Spirit* doe not alwaies note the two natures of Christ. 512
The *Spirit* signifieth the Soule of man. 529
The preaching to the *Spirits* in prison. 676
The law which curseth offendors admitteth no *Suerties*. 264
Christ no way bound to be our *Suertie*. 277
Christ a *Suretie* to vs of the new Testament. 278
Though Christ may be called a voluntary *Suerty*, yet was he truely a mercifull Redeemer. 280
The similitude of an earthly *Suertie* not fit for Christ, though the name may well be vsed. 282.283
The Law alloweth no offendors any *Suerties*. 288
I mislike not the name but the bondage of a *Suertie* in Christ. 291.292
Submission to God and compassion on man the generall causes of Christs Agony. 347
Submission with great feare and trembling Christ yeeldeth to God sitting in iudgement. 350.351
The correcting of King Edwards *Synode*. 675
The things misliked in king Edwards *Synod*. ibid.

T

Tartarus a part of Hades with the Poets. 613
Tartarus with the Pagans is hell. 617
Tartarus taken for the aire ouer vs. 617
Christ could not be *tempted* to euill by any motion of his owne hart. 304.305.306
Christ was *tempted* in the wildernesse by the suggestion of Satan. 307
Christ was *tempted* after 40. daies. 307
Christ was *tempted* all his life long, but not inwardly. 312
Perswasion *tempteth* as well as compulsion. 314
Difference of outward and inward *temptations*. 314
No *temptations* without desperation kill the soule. 525
The *Terror* of God felt by Iob and Ionas were not the paines of hell. 452
Tertullian ascribeth all sinne to the whole man. 208
What forsaking *Tertullian* speaketh of. 427
Tertullian nameth no death but of Christs body. 428
Tertullian is farre from affirming the death of Christs Soule. 532
Tertullian admitteth none to Paradise before the last day but Martyrs. 594.595.596
Tertullian therein followed Montanus the Heretick. 597
How θάνατος, Hades and Inferi concurre in signification. 579
The storie of *Thaddeus* no fable. 660
Thaddeus did not receaue adoration. 662
Thomas, how he might be called Iudas. 660
Euill *Thoughts* defile the whole man. 204
Our will the cause of our euill *thoughts*. 200
Christs bodily *transfiguration* was imperfect and transitorie. 458.459
Triumphes are not secret and solitarie. 664

V

Vengeance proper to the wicked appeared not in the Crosse of Christ. 156.157
All Christs infirmitie was *Voluntarie*. 407

W

What the Scriptures meane by the *Wages* of sinne. 12
A threefold death the *Wages* of sinne. 13
Weakenesse, appeared in Christs flesh, but willingnesse in his spirit. 424
Whole redemption, and propitiation are verie large and doubtfull termes. 103
The *Whole* man dieth though the soule liue. 513 514
Euill thoughts defile the *whole* man. 204
The *whole* man guilty of all sin. 185.186.187.208
Our *Will* the cause of our euill thoughts. 200
What is ment by the *Worme* that neuer dieth. 46
What the Scriptures meane by the *Wrath* of God. 15
What proper applied to *wrath* signifieth. 18
Christ suffered not the proper and meere *wrath* of God. 19.23
What *Wrath* of God Christ suffered. 57.58
What is Gods *Wrath* against sinne. 60
God had neuer displeasure or *Wrath* against Christs person. 61
God *wrath* against sinne hath many degrees and parts. 157

How the *wrath* of God in this life differeth from wrath to come. 158
Chriſt might ſuffer the *wrath* of God and yet not the true paines of hell. 159.160
Wrath muſt be meaſured by Gods intention, not mans diſcerning. 165
The triall of Gods Saints is no effect of Gods proper *wrath*. 313
What Chriſt diſcerned of Gods *wrath* againſt our ſinnes. 333
Chriſt did not apprehend of Gods *wrath* as the damned doe. 335
Chriſt was to ſee more of Gods *wrath* againſt our ſinnes then he felt. 376
Chriſt might iuſtly feare the power of Gods *wrath*. 380

Z

Zanchius what he teacheth of mans redemption. 537

Faults eſcaped ſhould thus be amended.

PAge 4. *line* 25. *for* fourth *read* foorth. *ibid. l.* 34. infimities. *r.* infirmities. *p.* 26. *l.* 48. neighbour. *r.* neighbour? *p.* 38. *title* to his. *r.* to hell. *p.* 58. *marg.* of agony. *r.* of Chriſts agony. *p.* 66. *l.* 47. death? *r.* death. *p.* 230. *tit.* in ſubuerting. *r.* in ſubiecting. *p.* 353. *l.* 47. what to doe. *r.* what they doe. *p.* 428. *marg.* in manibus. *r.* in manus. *p.* 466. *l.* 14. the comfort. *r.* to comfort. *p.* 468. *l.* 4. thambeeſa. *r.* thambeeſai. *p.* 469. *l.* 1. aſtoniſhed. *r.* aſtoniſhed him. *p.* 473. *l.* 38. becauſe God. *r.* becauſe Iacob. *p.* 485. throughout, enlabeia. *r.* eulabeia. *p.* 487. *l.* 49. eiſæxkonſtheis, *r.* eiſakouſtheis. *p.* 488. *l.* 6. eiſakonſtheis. *r.* eiſakouſtheis. *ibid.* 26. *&* *in marg.* Zinglius, *r.* Zuinglius. *p.* 502. *l.* 35. in members. *r.* in my members. *p.* 597. *l.* 23. ſince. *r.* ſenſe. *ibid.* 32. affections. *r.* afflictions. *p.* 520. *l.* 20. ἀνῶν. *r.* ἀνθρώπων. *ibid.* 22. ὤφειλε, *r.* ὤφειλε. *ibid.* 24. ἀναστησώμεθα. *r.* ἀναστησώμεθα. *p.* 522. *l.* 17. Vigius. *r.* Vigilius. *p.* 523. *l.* 39. enſtranging. *r.* eſtranging. *p.* 528. *marg.* your, *r.* the.,

LONDON
Printed by *Melchiſedech Bradwood*
for *John Bill*.

IRREGULAR PAGINATION:

p. 534, 533 534, 535, 536, 535, 538